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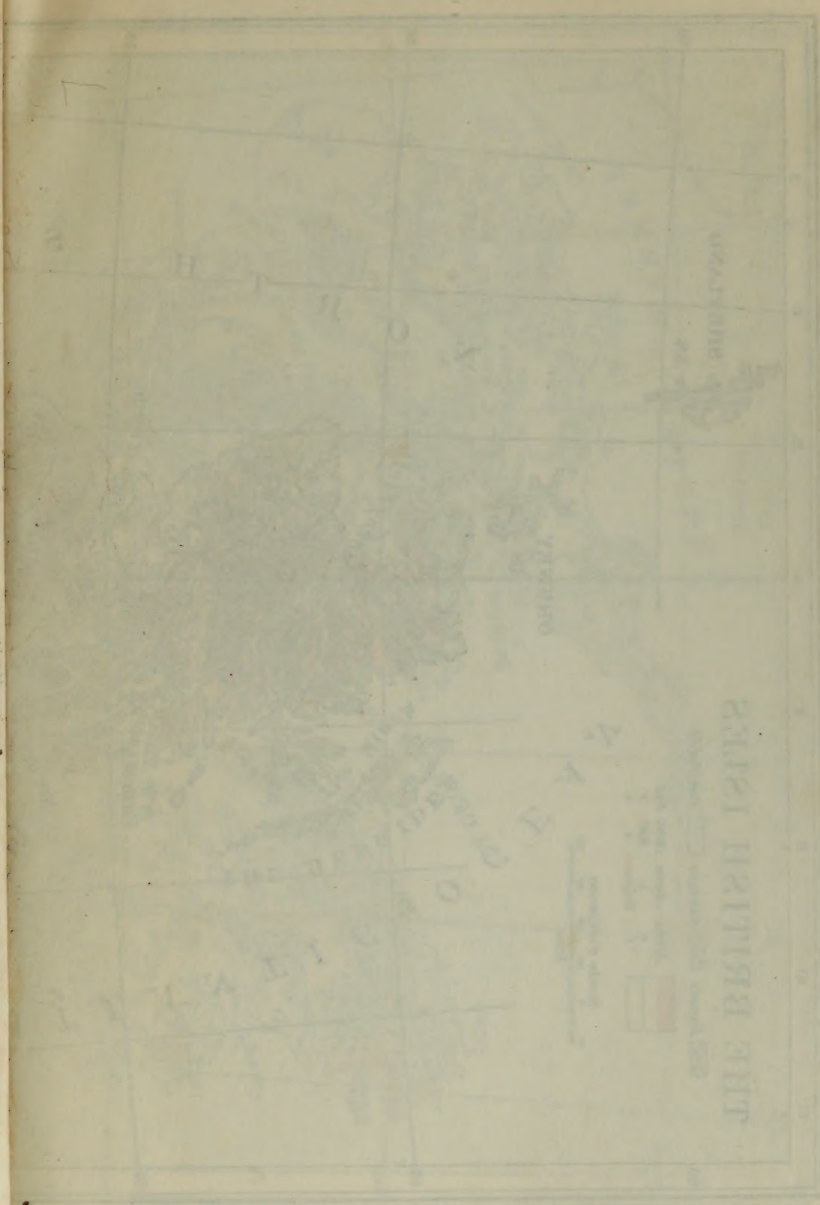
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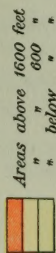
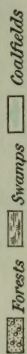
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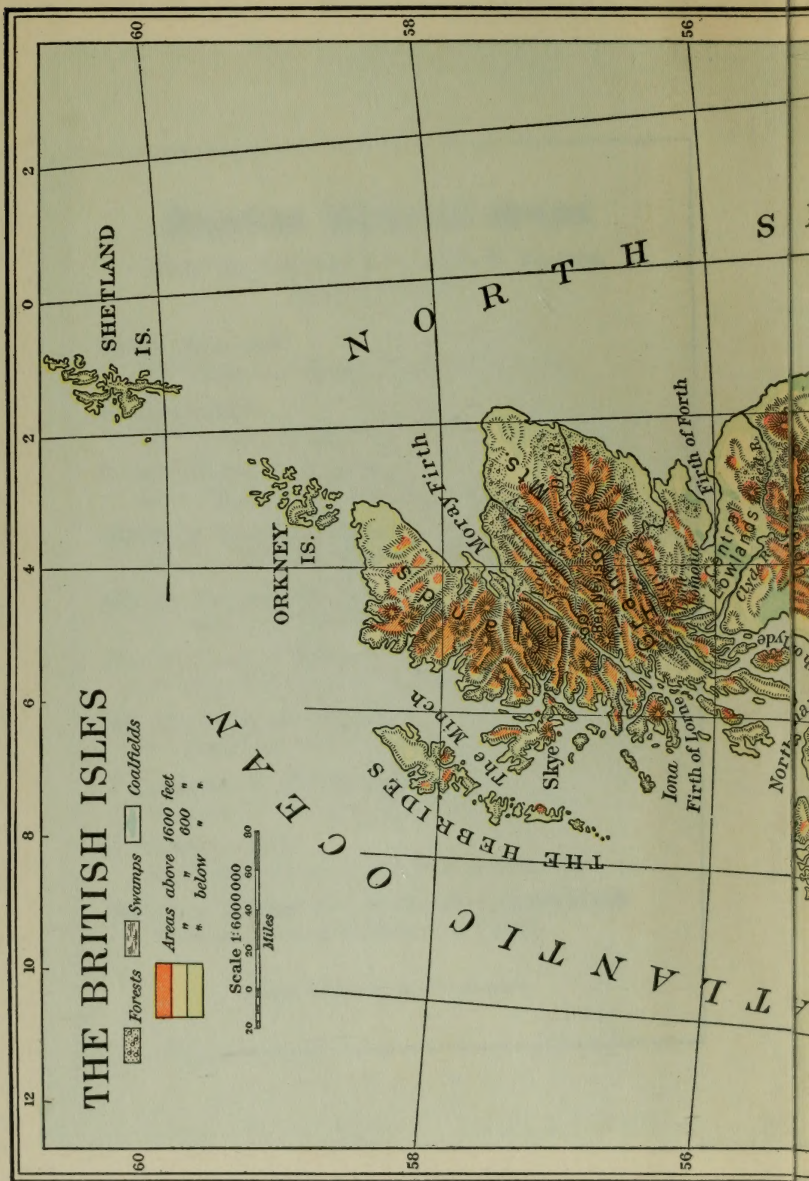
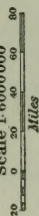
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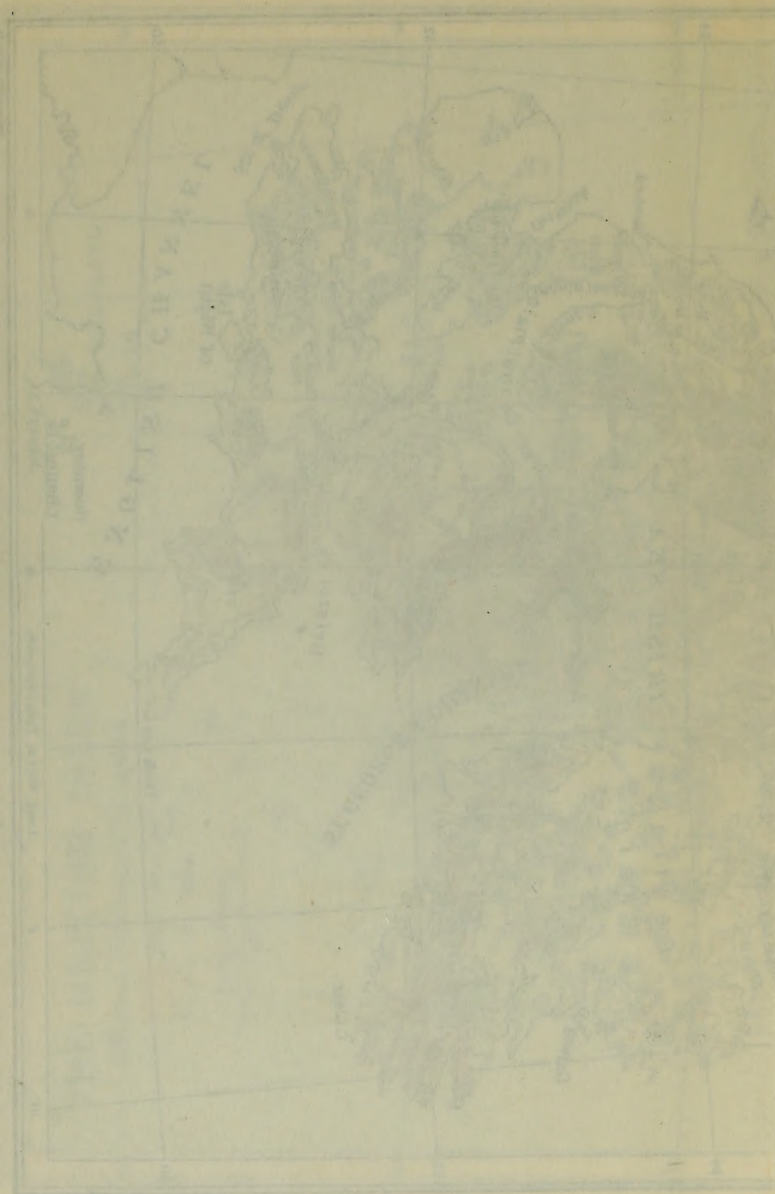
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

AND

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY
LAURENCE M. LARSON
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



NEW YORK
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND
THE BRITISH MONARCHY
1714-1801

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PREFACE

NEARLY five generations have now passed since the American colonies severed the political bonds that united them to the British kingdom and assumed the responsibilities of a sovereign state. The history of the American people does not begin, however, with the events of the American Revolution: it goes back to the planting of English settlements on the North American mainland; it goes back to the beginnings of English culture, for the men who founded and built the great republic of the West were fundamentally English in language, in religion, and in political thought; it goes back to the earliest days of the British race, for the men who signed the Declaration of Independence bore names that testify to a British origin.

In the course of our national development many nations have contributed to the total of our population, and the American race of the future will be European rather than English. What influence this fact may have on the future development of our institutional life cannot yet be determined; but whatever the result, in the fundamental matters of national culture we shall probably retain our kinship with the British peoples over the seas.

These are trite sayings, threadbare commonplaces of American history; but they still retain their earlier importance: they justify the claim that is made for English history to a place in our scheme of national education. Excepting the history of his own country, the American citizen will find no form of historical study more important than the story of organized social and political life as it developed in the British Isles and later renewed its strength in other lands.

At the same time it is quite evident that there is much in conventional English history that has little interest for the American student. Facts and events that have had a local significance only should have no place in an American textbook.

In preparing this volume I have therefore felt free to omit a great deal of interesting material which would ordinarily be included in a narrative of this sort. There are other reasons too (and quite as valid) for reducing the volume of facts to be presented in a course of general English history. The author believes that a leading purpose in such a course is to give the student some insight into the process of historic development, and to help him understand how the various forms of national life have come to be. But if one should try to present all the facts that seem important, the burden would become unbearable and the purpose of the course would be defeated.

Though recognizing the fact that one is rarely able to satisfy the demands of history in dealing with recent events, I have thought it advisable and even necessary to include chapters on the great series of events that have occurred during the last decade. The conclusions stated in these chapters are, however, of a tentative character only, and it is hoped that they will be regarded as nothing more. In this part of the work it has seemed necessary to introduce materials belonging to general rather than to English history; but the Great War cannot be treated merely as a chapter in British history, for such a treatment, even if truthful in details, would lead the student into hopeless error.

In the preparation of the volume I have received much assistance from colleagues and friends for all of which I wish to express my most appreciative thanks. Professor F. C. Dietz, Professor T. C. Pease, and Dr. J. W. Swain have read large parts of the manuscript and have contributed many fruitful suggestions. Dean Charles H. Haskins, the editor of the *American Historical Series*, has read the entire volume both in manuscript and in proof. My wife, Lillian May Larson, has assisted in various ways throughout the progress of the work. With this assistance I have been able to note and correct many errors both of detail and in generalization; but one can scarcely hope to produce a perfect book, and for the errors that remain I assume all responsibility.

L. M. L.

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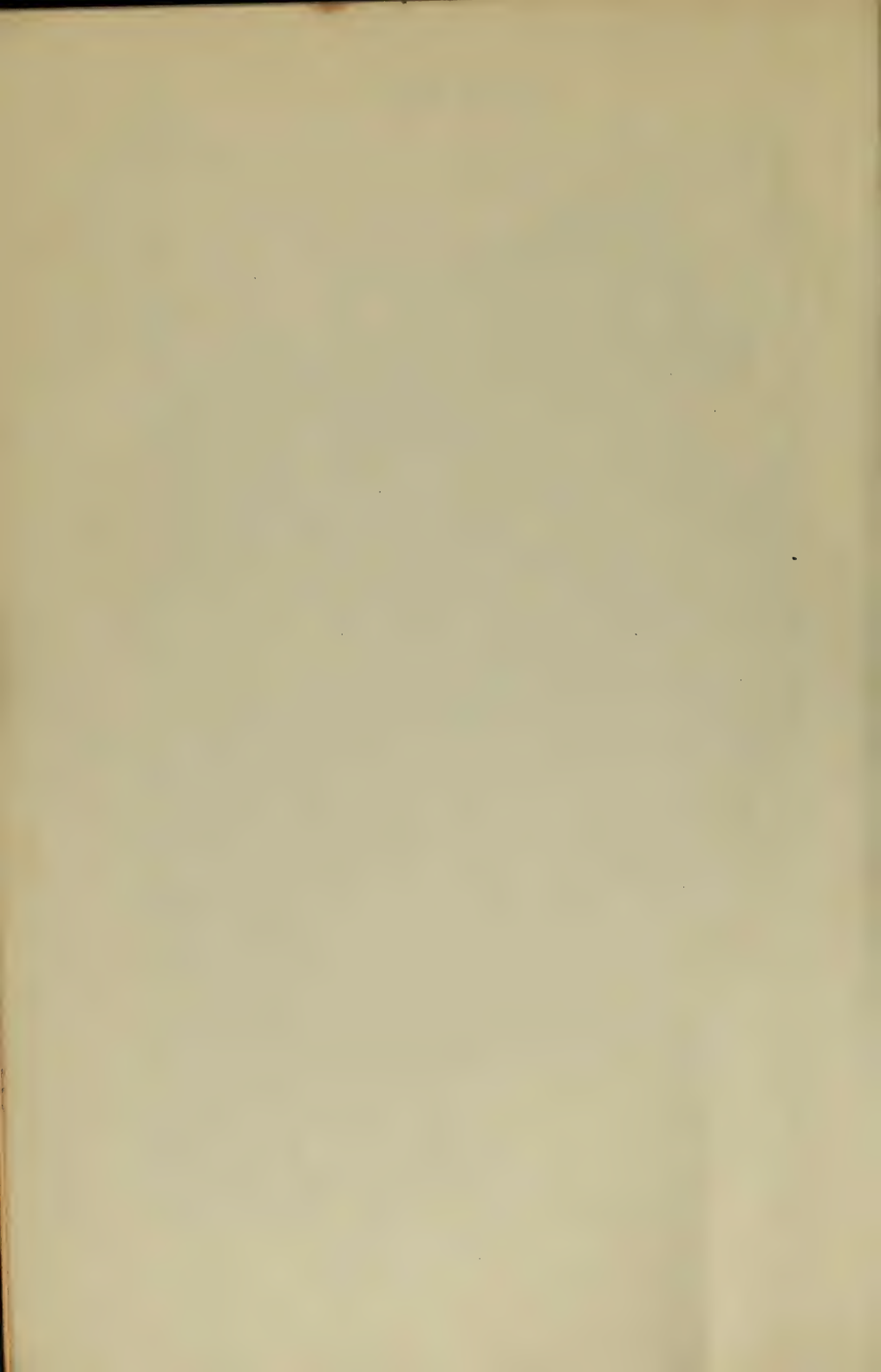
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLAND

The Stone Workers. The earliest inhabitants of whom traces have been found in the British Isles were in a stage of civilization that scientists have called the Stone Age. They made their more important tools and weapons of stone, usually chert and flint, and are therefore commonly called Stone Workers. The remains of these early peoples have been found for the most part in gravel beds, in large caverns, and in mounds that were raised over the dead. The information that these relics afford is neither very great nor very definite; but, such as it is, it does enable the trained observer to determine some of the physical characteristics of these primitive races, their chief occupations, their economic pursuits, and their mode of living.

Geography of the earlier Stone Age. The beginnings of the stone age go back to a period thousands of years ago, when the geography of Europe was far different from what it is at present. The mainland of the Continent seems to have extended somewhat farther to the northwest: the basin of the Channel was a broad valley; the bed of the North Sea was in part a wide marshy plain; the Thames and other rivers of southeastern England continued their courses across this plain till they joined the Rhine, which in that age was seeking an outlet in the Arctic Ocean. The remains that have been recovered from the river gravel and the rubbish of the caverns apparently belong to a very early period; those of the grave-mounds, or "barrows," are evidently of a much later origin.

The British Isles. The ages that followed the appearance of man in western Europe saw great changes in the geography of the Continent. The surface of the earth suffered marked disturbances: the North Sea and the Channel were formed; the

British Isles appeared and took on the form and contour which in general they have kept to the present day. It is the belief of some archeologists that during these periods of geologic changes mankind disappeared from British soil; others maintain that the islands have been continuously inhabited since the day when man first took up his abode in that part of Europe. It seems clear, however, that at some time in the remote past a new race supplanted the men of the river drift and the cave dwellings. These newer occupants of the British Isles belonged to a later and more advanced stage of the stone culture, usually called the New Stone Age or the Neolithic period.

The New Stone Workers. The New Stone Workers appear to have been a dark people of medium stature and slender build. They were of the type that anthropologists call the "long-skulled," the length of the cranium from the bridge of the nose to the posterior base of the skull being relatively great in proportion to the width. Like their predecessors of the earlier period, they depended largely on fish and game for food: but they had also learned how to domesticate animals, such as the sheep, the hog, the ox, and the goat. In this age, too, the dog appears as the faithful companion of man. It seems probable that the New Stone Workers knew how to raise some of the more common grains, such as wheat and barley. They had also learned the art of weaving cloth and were able to make certain forms of rude pottery. To a large extent they found shelter in caves, but in some localities they seem to have built fairly habitable houses.

Flint implements. It was in the manufacture of tools and weapons that the New Stone Workers showed their greatest skill. The material used was generally flint, though these early craftsmen had also learned to utilize wood, horn, and bone. They would find a block of flint of suitable size and shape and chip it until it took the form of an ax, or an arrow head, or whatever the desired object might be. This seems next to have been ground on a slab of granite with a little moist gravel thrown on the surface to make the process easier. The grinding must have been a tedious operation: but six or eight hours' labor every day for a week would produce a fairly good ax of the approved form and finish. Since good flint does not exist everywhere in Europe, it seems probable that there was a rela-

tively brisk trade in this commodity, at least toward the close of the Stone Age. It is also likely that something resembling a flint industry may have developed where the materials were plentiful, as, for instance, on the Danish islands. It is even possible that some of the flint implements manufactured on the Continent may have found their way to Britain. The British Stone Workers, however, had a native source of flint materials in the southeastern part of Great Britain. Extensive flint mines, 254 pits all told, have been found near Brandon, some eighty miles northeast of London. Another important mine field has been uncovered near Cissbury in Sussex. Apparently the blocks were shaped into tools and weapons at flint workings near the pits and the finished product distributed by primitive commercial methods to the other parts of the island.

The Bronze Workers. Ca. 1500 B.C. The Stone Workers were succeeded in the British Isles by the Bronze Workers, a dark, short-skulled people, who seem to have been somewhat taller and stronger than the men of the stone culture. The new invaders brought with them, or very soon acquired, the knowledge of how to cast utensils, tools, and weapons of bronze. Bronze is an alloy formed of copper and tin combined in a ratio of eight or nine parts copper to one part tin. The bronze culture seems to have come into Europe from the Orient and probably reached the British Isles about 1500 B.C. For the development of this form of civilization conditions in Britain were quite favorable, inasmuch as the two necessary metals were to be found in great abundance in modern Wales and Cornwall: in many places they could be mined without great effort.

Civilization of the Bronze Age. The civilization of the bronze age shows a considerable advance over that of the neolithic period. The Bronze Workers tilled the soil more extensively than their predecessors and were consequently less dependent on animal food. They made better cloth, pottery, and weapons; they manufactured beautiful ornaments of bronze, amber, and even of gold. They seem to have maintained a constant communication with the neighboring parts of Europe, their interest extending at least as far as the Baltic lands, which were then, and still continue to be, an important source of amber in its native form. They were apparently organized in tribes and

clans. Being larger, sturdier, and better equipped for warfare than the Stone Workers, the men of the bronze culture, it is believed, found no great difficulty in getting control of the British Isles. But they evidently made no systematic attempt to exterminate the older population, for in the graves of the earlier bronze age skeletons representing both races have been found side by side.

Goidels and Brythons. For a thousand years or longer the short-headed Bronze Workers controlled the British archipelago. Finally about 600 B.C. a new and hostile race began to find its way across the Channel. This was a tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed people of the long-skulled type, a branch of the great Celtic race which at one time occupied a large part of western Europe. The Celts appear to have entered the British Isles in three successive migrations. First came the Gaelic or, as they are often called, the Goidelic tribes, whose descendants are still to be found in Ireland and in the Scottish Highlands. Later came the Brythons, who forced the Goidels northward and westward and took possession of Great Britain as far north as the Clyde and the Forth. Belgic tribes appear to have entered and occupied the southeastern part of the greater island some time in the last two centuries of the pre-Christian era; but it is likely that they were near kinsmen of the Brythons, whom they seem to have resembled closely in institutions and civilization. Gaelic languages are still spoken to some extent in western Ireland, in northern Scotland, and on the Isle of Man. Living representatives of the Brythonic idiom are the Welsh language and the Breton speech of northwestern France. The Cornish language, the dialect of ancient Cornwall, was also a member of the Brythonic family, but this idiom has been extinct for more than a century.

Iron and tin. It was this Brythonic or British people that Greek travelers from the Mediterranean lands encountered on the Channel shores at the dawn of recorded British history about 2200 years ago. By that time the Celtic tribesmen had begun to learn the use of iron, but it is likely that when they first established themselves in the islands they were still dependent on stone and bronze. It is believed that the use of iron in Great Britain goes back to the beginning of the fourth century B.C. Before long the Brythons were mining and smelting iron in the

wooded regions of modern Sussex, in the forest of Dean on the lower course of the Severn river, and perhaps elsewhere in southern Britain. The first real commercial commodity of early British times was, however, not iron but tin. This metal was found very near the surface in the Cornish peninsula; in places it could be obtained quite readily from the gravel beds of small streams. The ore was usually smelted near the place where it was mined and the ingots were carried in wagons to one of the neighboring harbors. From this point the tin was shipped across the Channel to Gaul, where it was loaded on pack horses and transported southeastward to Massilia (Marseilles) and other ports on the Mediterranean coast. There is some reason to believe that Phoenician traders from southern Spain had become interested in the British tin trade at a relatively early date. Tin was mined to some extent in northwestern Spain, but the bronze smiths of southern Europe probably needed a more abundant supply. The earliest traveler whose name has been associated with British history was Himilco, a Carthaginian navigator who is said to have sailed into the Channel some time in the fifth or sixth century B.C. The chances are that Himilco's journey, if it was actually undertaken, was prompted by a desire to establish a regular trade in tin between the mines of Cornwall and the Phoenician colony at Cadiz.

Pytheas. Ca. 300 B.C. The earliest expedition into British waters of which an indisputable record has been preserved was headed by a Greek scientist, Pytheas by name, who flourished about 300 B.C. and was a contemporary of Aristotle and perhaps of Alexander the Great. Pytheas sailed from Massilia out through the Strait of Gibraltar, skirted the coast of western Europe till he had rounded the capes of Brittany, and then struck directly across the Channel to the Cornish coast. Later he explored the southern and eastern coasts of the "Pretanic Isles" and even continued his journey eastward toward the entrance of the Baltic Sea, hoping, perhaps, to learn something about the amber trade. On his return Pytheas wrote an elaborate report of his travels, fragments of which have survived and form the earliest literary source for the history of Great Britain.

Julius Caesar in Britain. In the days of the Greek explorer, Carthage was the greatest power in the western Mediterranean, Rome being still confined to central Italy. The three centuries

following the journey of Pytheas were notable for the swift and wonderful expansion of Roman power, a movement that culminated in the extraordinary career of Julius Caesar. Caesar conquered the Celtic tribes of Gaul and added their wide and fertile territories to the dominions of the Roman city. While engaged in this conquest he had come to realize the need of an expedition across the Channel to punish certain British tribes who seem to have brought military assistance to their Belgic friends in northern Gaul. The great general may also have hoped that a diversion across the narrow seas might not prove wholly lacking in material rewards. Caesar made two expeditions into southeastern Britain: the first in the autumn of 55 B.C., and the second in the summer of the following year. He apparently accomplished his purpose of teaching the Britons a lesson in warfare. These two invasions, though mere incidents to Caesar's Gallic wars, proved to be of great importance; for the famous general's account of what he saw on the island to the northwest inspired his countrymen with a new interest in those distant lands which ultimately led to invasion and conquest.

Commercial intercourse with the Roman empire. The revolutionary movements in Italy which accompanied the change from republic to empire and the cautious policies of the earlier Caesars, whose purpose was to strengthen rather than to extend the imperial frontiers, prevented for the moment any further expansion of Roman territory toward the northwest; and for nearly a century the British tribes were allowed to remain in undisturbed independence. Throughout this period, however, there was constant intercourse between the Britons and the Romans who had settled in Gaul. A brisk trade sprang up and Roman merchants probably found their way across the Channel in considerable numbers. The Romans imported tin, dogs, cattle, skins, corn, and slaves from the island, and in turn sold the luxuries of civilization to the British barbarians. The chieftains of the north, seeing the vast power of the Roman emperor, began to yearn for larger kingdoms for themselves, and a process of consolidation began among the British tribes. The greatest among these tribal monarchs was Cunobelinus, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare's play, who ruled over a large area in the southern and central parts of Great Britain during the first four decades of the Christian era. Cunobelinus was a king whose

wealth was commensurate with his regal authority. He maintained a close friendship with the rulers of the empire, a friendship that did not profit the freedom of Britain.

The Roman conquest of Britain. 43 A.D. Two or three years after the death of Cunobelinus the emperor Claudius determined to annex Great Britain to the Roman dominion. In the year 43 A.D. a large imperial force landed in the southeast and in the face of strong opposition worked its way northward into the regions beyond the Thames. The natives finally yielded and the province of Britain was established with the old Celtic stronghold Camulodunum (now Colchester in Essex) as its capital. For nearly thirty years the power of Rome on the island enjoyed a steady advance. Serious rebellions occurred from time to time and on the border intermittent warfare continued for many years; but the undisciplined Britons could not stand successfully against the trained legions of the south and Roman occupation soon became permanent. When the British province was established the frontier lay along a line connecting the estuary of the Severn with the Wash; but, this arrangement proving unsatisfactory, the boundary was later advanced to a line drawn between the sites of the modern cities of Chester and Lincoln. In the regions north of this frontier the most prominent physical feature is the Pennine range, a low but rough system of hills and high upland some twenty miles in width running southward from the Scottish Highlands into the center of England where it terminates in the Peak near Derby. In Roman times these hills served as a fairly safe retreat for the Britons who were still attacking the province. It soon became evident that the frontier would have to be carried farther into the north.

Agricola. In the year 78 Agricola, the father-in-law of the Roman historian Tacitus, was sent to Britain as governor of the new province. The following year the new governor led his legions against the tribesmen of the Pennine range and added their lands to the Roman dominion. In later campaigns Agricola carried the imperial eagles to the very edge of the Highlands. But after a few years the Roman forces found it expedient to withdraw entirely from the northern Lowlands, though a definite boundary was not established before the emperor Hadrian's visit to Britain half a century later. Hadrian drew the military frontier along a line crossing the Pennine range from Solway

Firth to the river Tyne. To guard the province against the incursions of the northern tribesmen, he ordered a wall to be built along this frontier, fragments of which can still be seen after the passing of eighteen centuries. The south side of Hadrian's wall was lined with camps and guarded by a force of about 10,000 men. The Romans did not wholly abandon the hope of conquering the remainder of the island, but their efforts in this direction had no permanent success.

Roads and cities. To make the occupation of the country more effective the Roman governors built a network of roads, some of which were new, while the others may have been old British trails which the Roman engineers straightened and otherwise improved. In the older parts of the province nearly all these roads, radiating from London as a center, seem to have served general highway purposes; but in the frontier regions to the north and the west they were of a more distinctly military character. At important points along these roads cities grew up inhabited chiefly by merchants and discharged soldiers. As the legions were recruited from many lands and the traders probably came from different parts of the empire, a variety of racial elements must in this way have been added to the population of Britain.

The new civilization. The Romans did much to develop the resources and to improve the civilization of the island. They opened up the lead mines of the Mendip Hills. They applied improved methods to the mining of tin in Cornwall and of iron in the Weald. They developed agriculture, founded extensive landed estates, and built large and comfortable country houses. They established colonies, built cities, and promoted inland trade. In the towns and to some extent in the country the Latin language came into general use. Among the peasantry the Celtic speech no doubt retained much of its native vigor; but it seems that even in the rural districts the upper classes soon became thoroughly Romanized in nearly every form of culture.

The Romanized area. The area that came most completely under the control of Roman thought was the lowland country east and southeast of the watershed. There is little evidence of Roman life north of York or west of Shrewsbury. In the more rugged areas of the frontier there were camps and roads and military centers; but the civilizing influence of the legion was

apparently very slight. Beyond the watershed Celtic life continued in the old channels and British habits persisted in their ancient forms. Of the newer forces that came to the British Isles with the Roman occupation the Christian religion was the most important. The faith of the Apostles was preached in Britain, it seems, as early as the second century, but it probably made little progress before the latter part of the third. It is clear that by the time of the great Constantine in the earlier decades of the fourth century the Christian church was firmly rooted in British soil: twice at least the British church sent bishops to the great world-councils of that century.

Rome and the German attack. For more than three hundred years the greater part of Great Britain remained under the domination of the Caesars. But by the year 400 the western half of the great world-empire had begun to crumble. The German tribes were on the frontiers threatening to break through and take possession of the desirable lands to the west and the south. In 402 Alaric the Visigoth invaded northern Italy, and the Roman authorities found it necessary to recall one of the two legions stationed on the British frontier. The soldiers never returned. Alaric was defeated but the invading forces could not be stayed. In the confusion that attended the barbarian attack the military authorities in Britain lost their contact with the imperial government and began to look for a Caesar among their own chieftains. The most successful of these was Constantine, a soldier of British blood, who bore the imperial purple for about four years. Not satisfied to rule Britain alone, the usurper collected what forces could be spared and crossed over to Gaul. Here he succeeded in winning a certain recognition; but after three years of warfare he was finally defeated by the partisans of the legitimate emperor at Rome and was put to death.

The Germanic migrations. The century that followed the disastrous adventure of the lesser Constantine saw great changes everywhere in western and southern Europe. Germans from the north and Huns from the east poured through the shattered defenses along the Rhine and the Danube and seized large sections of the ancient empire. The Visigoths established a German kingdom in Spain. The Vandals invaded the old Carthaginian territories in Africa. The Ostrogoths took possession of Italy

and the Adriatic lands. The Franks sought new homes in Gaul where they founded a state that still endures.

The barbarian attack on Britain. During this wretched period the Romanized Britons were sorely afflicted by invading enemies. The Picts, swarming down from the Highlands, broke the defenses on the northern frontier. Scottish pirates from northern Ireland harried the western shores. Plundering bands from northwestern Germany infested the richer areas of the southeast. It seems evident that Roman civilization began to decay and that the older Celtic barbarism regained much that it had lost in the earlier centuries. Nevertheless, broad traces of European culture persisted in Great Britain for a long time after the Roman occupation had come to an end. The Christian religion did not disappear; it seems even to have gained a more secure footing after the military contact with Rome had come to an end. For some time the northern Christians were able to keep in touch with their brethren beyond the Channel, among whom they sought and found assistance in their strivings with heresy and paganism. What form of secular administration was established after the collapse of the imperial régime cannot be known; but it is likely that the provincial government was maintained for some time yet in its essential features. There was no immediate relapse into anarchy or barbarism.

Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. Of all the enemies of the provincials in Britain the most formidable were certain piratical tribes commonly known as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. In a famous description of Germany, composed about the year 100, the historian Tacitus speaks of the Angles as living in the northern parts of that country and alludes to another people, the Eudoses, as occupying the same general region. Three centuries later the Angles appear to be settled just east of the lower course of the Elbe at the root of the Jutish peninsula. The peninsula itself was apparently occupied by the Jutes, a tribe that was doubtless identical with the Eudoses of Tacitus' time.

About fifty years after Tacitus had written his *Germania*, the Greek scientist Ptolemy (who wrote in Alexandria) made note of another Germanic people, the Saxons. In Ptolemy's day the Saxons occupied much the same territories as those attributed to the Angles. It seems probable that the Saxons were not a

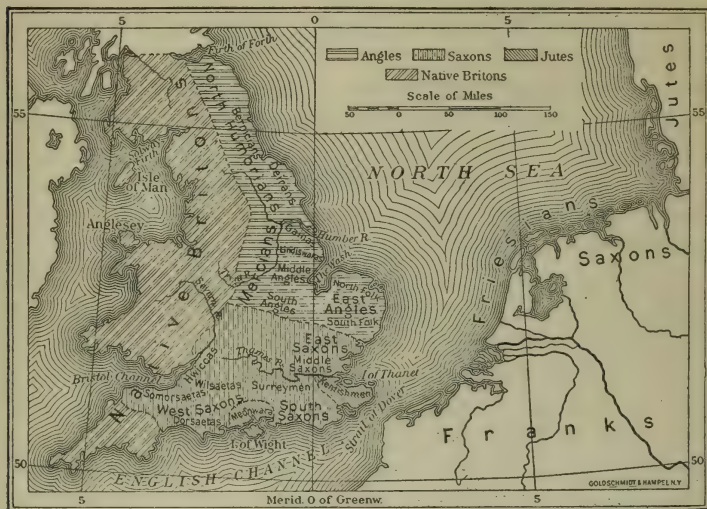
distinct people but a group of related tribes of which the Angles may have been one. It has been suggested that the term Anglo-Saxon, or Angle-Saxon, which appears to have originated on the Continent, does not necessarily imply a union of Angle and Saxon but was a term used to distinguish the Saxons in England from other Saxon tribes, possibly the Old Saxons who remained in the German home. Whether this be true or not, the fact remains that the Teutonic tribes which settled Great Britain and laid the foundations of modern England were essentially one people speaking the same language though with some variety of dialect.

The count of the Saxon shore. The Saxons were addicted to piracy and as early as the closing decade of the third century they had begun to harry the Roman territories on both sides of the Channel. To protect the British provinces against these sea-robbers the Roman government created a special office, the countship of the Saxon shore, meaning the shore visited by the Saxon pirates. The count of the Saxon shore had military authority over the coastline extending from the Wash to the Isle of Wight. He had a considerable naval force under his command and maintained several military strongholds. These facts are significant, showing, as they do, that the Saxons had known and visited Great Britain two centuries before they finally came to take forcible possession.

The Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. It is generally stated that the Anglo-Saxon invasion dates from the year 449; but this date can have no value as there are indications that the attack had begun in earnest nearly a decade earlier. Still, it is likely that after 449 the invaders were coming to Britain in constantly growing numbers. In 451 Attila, the king of the terrible Huns, began his great march westward through Germany and into Gaul where he was defeated by Romans and Germans at Châlons on the Marne. Attila's preparations must have taken some time; his purposes may have been vaguely rumored throughout Germany; and his route can not have lain very far from the Saxon borders. It may, therefore, have been a fear of Attila's host that led to the great German migration into Great Britain about 450.

Following the ancient route along the German and the Dutch coast to the Strait of Dover, the invaders first came to Kent,

once the home of a Celtic tribe in southeastern England. Thence they would sail north past the estuary of the Thames or westward along the shore of the Channel. Islands lying close to the shore, such as Thanet and Wight, were evidently first seized and used as bases for further operations. Since rivers form natural highways into the interior, it is likely that the conquest progressed most rapidly in the river valleys. There was, apparently, no organized movement or united action; but a Jutish



THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN ABOUT 600

leader by the name of Hengist, whom tradition remembers as the founder of the new kingdom of Kent, was regarded, it seems as the most influential among the leaders.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The Anglo-Saxon migration continued with interruptions for more than a century. The nature of the attack favored the creation of a series of little kingdoms along the eastern and southern coasts from the Firth of Forth to Southampton Water and beyond. The interior limits of these kingdoms were frequently some prominent physical feature like a range of hills, a strip of swamp land, a pathless oak forest, or whatever might serve to obstruct a continued advance. The Pennine range for a long time proved a barrier to the westward expansion of the kingdom of Northumbria. The broad Fen-

lands running southward from the Wash divided East Anglia from the central kingdom of Mercia. In southern England are the hill ranges of the Northdowns and the Southdowns between which lay the Weald, a broad strip of dense woodland more than a hundred miles in length which served to isolate the little kingdom of Sussex. A wide river mouth like that of the Thames or the Humber might also become a separating influence and serve as a boundary to a tribe or a settlement. Of the states formed in the interior only one, Mercia, came to be of any real importance. This was formed by Anglian tribes which at some early date moved up the valley of the Trent and took possession of the Midlands.

In the war for the English lowlands the native British tribes and clans were apparently soon defeated and gradually forced back into the regions beyond the watershed, where the Celts were also organizing a series of petty kingdoms. In the sixth century perhaps as many as twenty little monarchies existed on the island of Great Britain south of the Highlands; about a dozen of these were Anglo-Saxon. In the course of time the number was reduced by conquest and absorption till in the eighth century four kingdoms divided the territories held by the English tribes. Northumbria expanded so as to include all the Anglian settlements from the Humber to the Forth. Mercia annexed the minor kingdoms of the Midland area. Wessex absorbed the smaller states of the southeast, Kent, Sussex, and Essex, and broke through the British frontier into the Severn valley. Cut off from central England by the Fenlands, East Anglia had small opportunity to expand and never played an important part in English history. But the other three kingdoms grew in strength and rose to successive leadership: first Northumbria, then Mercia, and finally Wessex.

Racial Elements in Early England. Those of the natives who did not retreat to the west were in large part exterminated; it seems, however, that in certain areas, particularly in the southeast, a considerable number of Britons survived and were allowed to remain among the conquerors, whom they doubtless had to serve as laborers, perhaps as slaves. Ultimately this British element was absorbed into the newer population; and thus a new race developed which was Anglo-Saxon in part only. The English people is an amalgam of many racial elements and

has a continuous history running back at least as far as the Newer Stone Age. The dark long-headed race of the Neolithic period in time became identified with the short-skulled people of the bronze age. This mixed population was in its turn conquered and in large measure absorbed by the Celtic tribesmen. In physical appearance the Celt and the Anglo-Saxon had certain striking points of resemblance: both were tall, both were blond and normally blue-eyed, and both were of the long-skulled type. These characteristics are still apparent in the English population, but traces of the older strains are also plainly visible. Since the fifth century several newer elements have been added to the English race, the most important being the Danes and the Normans. But almost without exception these additions have been of Celtic or Germanic origin and they have, therefore, caused no appreciable change in the racial type.

Village life. With the coming of the Saxons new standards of civilized life were set up on the British shores. The Germans were accustomed to rural life and lived in small villages. The old Roman cities were allowed to fall into ruins, and for several generations the sites remained deserted. In the Old English villages the inhabitants carried on agriculture and stock farming on a basis resembling common ownership, or at least common control, of the land utilized. The village must have been a small affair, ten or a dozen families making, perhaps, an average village group. Each individual family of freemen seems to have had exclusive control of the family homestead, the house and a parcel of ground about it, as well as the live stock and other personal property that it might need for household purposes. The plowland, the meadow, the woods, and the pasture land were apparently held by the community as a whole but distributed among the farmers so that each had his own ground to till. The plowland seems to have been divided into strips, normally an acre in area, of which each family is believed to have had one hundred and twenty. These with certain individual rights in the village forest and grass land formed the normal holding or farm of a household, at least in the earlier period. As the population grew it was found necessary to decrease the area allotted to each family group; at the close of the Anglo-Saxon period the average English farm seems to

have covered only thirty acres of arable land. Ordinarily the acre strips assigned to each farmer were scattered about in various parts of the fields. This may have been done to prevent an enterprising husbandman from seizing the more desirable land; but it had a real disadvantage in making the process of tilling the soil quite difficult and cumbersome.

Agriculture. The agriculture that was practiced in the Old English village was not of a high order. The tools employed were primitive and clumsy; the plow was of such rude construction that a team of at least four oxen were necessary to draw it. Since there was no ready market for a surplus, the farmers made no attempt to produce more than could be consumed in the village. To maintain the fertility of the soil they usually allowed a part of the plowland, perhaps one-third, to lie fallow each year; they also practiced some form of rotation of crops, light and heavy crops being sown in alternate years. The farmer raised the common varieties of grain, but barley seems to have been the principal crop. He also kept cattle, sheep, hogs, hens, and geese. Pork was apparently the most important kind of animal food. Butter and cheese were made in the village dairies, and ale was brewed from various grains, especially barley. Another beverage called mead was made of honey diluted with water; the mixture was allowed to ferment and in its ripened state it was much in demand for the more solemn festive occasions.

Social institutions. In general the social arrangements of the Saxon villages must have been of a democratic type: farmer and freeman were synonymous terms. There was, however, also a class of slaves and bondmen, many of whom were probably of Celtic blood and reduced to slavery by conquest. But it is likely that the many petty wars between English tribes and English kingdoms were also productive of a growing class of bondmen. In addition there was an important aristocratic class among the English freemen, the members of which were allowed certain social and political privileges and possessed recognized rights of leadership. At the head of each petty state was a king whose chief business was to defend the frontier, to lead the host on the warpath, and to perform certain important rites at the great sacrificial festivals. After the arrival of the Roman missionaries at the close of the sixth century, the king of Kent

took up the matter of legislation and submitted the "customs" of his people to some sort of revision. It is, therefore, likely that the English kings enjoyed a certain measure of legislative power even in the heathen age, though a written code can scarcely have existed before the coming of the Christian priest. To assist him in what little government there was to administer the king had a council of prominent nobles whose chief function appears to have been to give advice. Among the Germans on the Continent the tribal assembly of the armed freemen was a common institution and one of real consequence. There are indications that this assembly was not unknown in the Anglo-Saxon settlements, and it may have had an active existence in the little Anglian states of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The hall. The Old English chieftains served a useful and highly important purpose as the patrons of heathen culture. The residence of a noble or even of a king must have been anything but palatial: it was merely a group of rude buildings, among which was a large "hall" where the noble host entertained his guests. When the military chieftain after a successful foray or on some other joyous occasion called his followers together to feast with him in his hall, the tale of the poet and the chant of the singer were regarded as indispensable features of the entertainment. Stories were told and sung, tales of superhuman valor and heroism, sagas that had come to the islands with the migration from Germany or had been brought across the sea by poets or traders from the Scandinavian lands. Some of these tales had an evident nucleus of historic fact. This poetic activity was the beginning of English literature, which has therefore had a continuous existence for fifteen centuries.

Literature. Of these early poems only a few have survived; for the heathen Englishman knew no written characters but the runes, a series of letters formed of straight lines, which were of little practical service except for brief inscriptions on wood or stone. The Germanic verse makers did not use rhyme in the modern sense; they sought similar effects through alliteration. The lines were short and arranged in couplets having four accented syllables, three of which would ordinarily begin with the same sound. Thus a minstrel who has traveled through many lands describes a certain princess as a

"Gold-adorned queen giving out gifts."

The alliteration was furthermore a great aid to the memory of the singer. The oldest poem in English is the lay of *Widsith*, a curious catalog of heroes, tribes, and kingdoms with a few lines of poetry at intervals. It goes back in part at least to the earlier half of the fifth century, perhaps to the close of the fourth; but it cannot have been put into writing before some time in the seventh. There are several other poems or fragments of song that go back to the migration period, though perhaps in no case to a time earlier than the sixth century.

Religion. In religion the Anglo-Saxon invaders were heathen and worshipped the conventional Teutonic gods, particularly Woden, the god of wisdom and warfare. Originally the Germanic peoples worshipped the bright sky and more especially the shining sun. In the course of time various phases of this sun worship came to be regarded as having individual existence, each with its own presiding deity. The sun was believed to be, not only the source of light, but also the source of the wild forces that rode in the path of the tempest. The fire of the sun was again seen in the flash of the lightning; and the outcome was the worship of Thunor (Thor), the god of strength. In the fury of the storm that accompanies the thunderclap the Germans recognized another god, Woden, whose power and wild vigor were also manifest in the mad fury of the battle rush. It seems probable that the English tribes also worshipped the god Frey, or Frea, namely the sun as the giver of life and growth to the field and the forest. In the closing centuries of Teutonic heathendom these three divinities, Woden, Thor, and Frey, held preëminence in the native pantheon. The names of Woden and Thor are still enshrined in Wednesday and Thursday. Tuesday was named in honor of an older divinity, the god Ti, or Tiw. Friday recalls, not the name of the god Frey, but that of Frigg, the wife of Woden, whose chief interest was the welfare of the human family.

Religious festivals. Peculiar honor was given to the gods at certain great festive gatherings in which the entire population was expected to join. On these occasions bloody and repulsive rites were performed and human sacrifices probably offered. Among the Teutonic peoples three such festivals were commonly celebrated: the first late in autumn to secure the return of the receding sun; the second early in January in joyful recognition

of the lengthening days; the third at the opening of spring when sacrifices were offered to secure the favor of the god that gave life and growth and vegetation. It is likely that the Anglo-Saxons had corresponding festivals. After the Germans had accepted the Christian faith the second and third of these sacrificial banquets became fused with the Christian festivals of Christmas and Easter. They lost their sacrificial character but continued as great social occasions, the customs of which frequently did not differ much from the earlier heathen practices.

British Christianity. The fifth century was a period of invasion and conquest; the sixth was primarily devoted to organization and settlement: villages were formed, kingdoms were established, heathen sanctuaries were set up, and Old English society began to take form. The prominent facts of the seventh century are the appearance among the English of Christian missionaries and the gradual decay of the heathen faith. When the Angles and Saxons began to settle in Great Britain they found the Christian faith firmly rooted in the hearts of the people. But the evils that came with the invasion and the conquest doubtless weakened the British church very materially. In the conquered sections it probably disappeared altogether; in the other parts of the island, however, especially in the Welsh kingdoms on the western border, organized Christian worship survived and maintained a vigorous existence.

St. Ninian. Ca. 420. In the days of Hengist and the Saxon attack the British church was beginning to show an active interest in missionary effort both in the British Isles and on the Continent. Early in the fifth century (about 420, if tradition can be trusted) Saint Ninian, a native Briton who seems to have studied in Rome, was preaching among his countrymen on the north shore of Solway Firth. Little is known of Ninian's work; his field was not very extensive; but his preaching apparently had permanent results.

St. Patrick in Ireland. 432-461. Soon the work of spreading the faith among the British tribes that were still devoted to heathen rites was taken up by a missionary bishop who was far more energetic and successful than any of his predecessors: this was the famous Saint Patrick, the greatest of all the British saints. Saint Patrick was born on the larger island, perhaps somewhere in the Severn valley. His father was a deacon, and

Patrick was doubtless a Christian from his childhood. While still a youth he was carried away from his home by Irish pirates and spent six years as a bondman in northwestern Ireland. Finally he managed to escape and after a time found his way back to Great Britain; but he soon became eager to return to Ireland as a messenger of the Christian faith. In 432 when he had already passed his fortieth year, he was consecrated bishop and commissioned to work among the Irish people. He proceeded to the task and continued his missionary labors in Ireland till his death nearly thirty years later. There were Christians on the island before Patrick's day; but the church was feeble and apparently divided on questions of faith and practice. The history of Irish Christianity, therefore, begins with the strong and vigorous but wise and practical-minded Welshman Saint Patrick.

St. Columba. A third great enterprise is associated with the name of Saint Columba, an Irish ecclesiastic who planted the church in North Britain. Soon after the death of Saint Patrick an Irish tribe called Scots began to emigrate in large numbers to the peninsula of Argyll and the adjacent islands, where they formed a kingdom which a few centuries later came to be called Scotia. In 563, Columba, who according to tradition was of princely blood, joined this colony. With twelve companions he set out to find a site for a monastic establishment and finally selected Iona, a little island of scarcely more than three square miles in area. The monastery of Iona grew to be an institution of much importance; for a long time it was the intellectual center of the church in North Britain. Columba and his disciples labored widely among the Scots and the Picts who inhabited the neighboring Highlands. They were successful from the very first and Saint Columba lived to see the greater part of the Pictish people converted to the Christian religion.

St. Augustine. 597. There can be little doubt that the missionaries of Iona would in due time have extended their labors to other parts of Great Britain where paganism still flourished; but a competing force entered the field before them. So far as is known, the Welsh Christians made no attempt to convert their enemies, the invading Saxons; the English church was founded by missionaries from distant Rome. In the days of Saint Columba Gregory the Great was called to the headship

of the Roman see. Having become interested in the pagan Angles, he determined to win them for the holy faith. In 597, the year of Columba's death at Iona, Saint Augustine, an Italian monk whom Gregory had commissioned to preach the gospel to the English people, landed with forty followers on the shores of Kent. Ethelbert, the ruler of the Kentishmen, whose queen was a Frankish princess and a Christian and who was consequently not wholly ignorant of the new religion, took kindly to the teachings of the Roman emissaries and after a few weeks was received by baptism into the Christian communion.

At Canterbury near the royal residence Saint Augustine founded a monastery which became the ecclesiastical center of all England and has remained the capital of the Anglican church to this day. From Canterbury the missionaries traveled northward into Essex, East Anglia, and the other northern kingdoms. Saint Augustine not only sought to convert the heathen English, he also made an effort to bring the British church under the control of Canterbury and into closer union with Rome; but in this he failed. The Welsh bishops refused to modify the peculiar practices of their establishment and, furthermore, they found submission to the bishop of Kent too odious to be seriously considered.

Conversion of King Edwin. A generation after their arrival at Canterbury the Roman missionaries succeeded in converting Edwin, the king of Northumbria and the most powerful ruler on the island. The north soon fell back into pagan ways, however, and had to be won for the faith a second time. This time the religious impulse came from Iona and the chief missionary was Saint Aidan, a Scottish monk whose wonderful tact, enthusiastic preaching, and saintlike behavior soon conquered the hearts and the wills of the stubborn Northumbrians.

The church in the British Isles. By the middle of the seventh century Christianity had secured a foothold in almost every part of the British Isles. The Christians were grouped into four bodies, each independent of all the others: the old British church in Wales and the neighboring regions; the church of Saint Patrick in Ireland; the church of Saint Columba in North Britain and in northern and central England; and the Roman Catholic church in Kent and Wessex. More than three-fourths of Great Britain was under the influence of the Celtic bishops.

In doctrines and ritual the British churches were in substantial agreement with the Roman standards; but a long period of isolation had produced certain peculiarities in the form of church government. The British churches did not recognize the headship of the pope; they also refused to accept Saint Peter as the chief of the apostles, holding rather to the primacy of Saint John. This point was important to both the Roman and the British communions, inasmuch as on its determination hinged the question of submission to the Roman see. The position of the bishop was also different in the two churches. The Britons had bishops in great numbers; but in the popular view the monasteries and not the cathedrals were the true governing centers of the church. In North Britain, for instance, all the bishops recognized the primacy of the abbot of Iona, whose position was, therefore, in a measure analogous to that of the Roman pontiff. This meant that the ecclesiastical organization among the British people was loose and indefinite. The churches also disagreed as to the form of the tonsure and the time of celebrating Easter. The last difficulty was important: it was necessary that the Lenten season should begin and end for all at the same time; otherwise one group might be celebrating the joys of Easter while the other was deep in the sorrows of passion week. This became a practical question in the household of the Northumbrian king, whose queen had been reared according to Roman standards; "for on the day when the king, having ended his fasting, was keeping the Paschal feast, the queen and her household would still be fasting and celebrating Palm Sunday."

The debate at Whitby. 664. This situation disturbed King Oswy and in 664 he summoned a council to meet at the abbey of Whitby to discuss the merits of the two churches. After hearing the arguments of both parties, he finally decided in favor of the Roman system. Within a few years all the English kingdoms were made parts of the vast organization of Latin Christianity. The northern missionaries withdrew to Iona and ecclesiastics from the south entered into their places and offices. The British churches among the Scots and Picts maintained their independence for half a century longer; but Iona finally yielded to the growing authority of Rome. The clergy of the Welsh bishoprics held out till 809; in that year the bishops in Wales

definitely accepted the Roman standards as to the tonsure and the reckoning of Easter. After that year Rome was recognized almost everywhere in the British Isles as the governing center of the Christian church.

Theodore of Tarsus. The organization of the church in the English kingdoms was largely the work of a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, who came to England as archbishop of Canterbury five years after the council at Whitby. Up to this time the country had continued to be a field for missionary effort, a missionary bishop directing the work in each kingdom. But some of the kingdoms, like Northumbria and Mercia, were clearly too extensive to be administered by a single bishop; there was danger, too, that under separate heads the churches in each kingdom might become independent of the provincial authority at Canterbury. Archbishop Theodore determined, therefore, to break up the larger dioceses into smaller ones and thus to prevent future rivalry with his own see. His plan met with determined opposition from some of the rulers, but in the end the archbishop was permitted to have his way.

The parish system, too, was apparently put on a more definite footing. During the period of conversion the priesthood in England was almost wholly of the itinerant type: the priest traveled from village to village performing parochial duties wherever there was need or occasion. No doubt a number of parishes had been established before Theodore's time, but the new primate seems to have drawn the boundaries more definitely. He also founded a number of new parishes and ordained a large number of priests. One hundred years after the arrival of the timid Saint Augustine the new faith was deeply rooted in English soil, and except in the more inaccessible corners of the land the heathen religion had been outlawed.

Old English monasteries. An important institution within the new establishment was the convent or monastery, a community of monks or nuns who had withdrawn from the attractions of a sinful world and were devoting their lives to the pursuit of holiness. A monk is a professional Christian: his business in life is to practice the teachings of Christ and the church. Every monastic community was an organized brotherhood headed by a chief commonly called an abbot. Its life was governed by a set of regulations of which there were several

types; but the one generally followed in the West was the Benedictine Rule, so called from its author, Saint Benedict of Nursia, an Italian abbot who flourished in the first half of the sixth century. No monk or nun might marry or possess any property except the bare necessities, and all were pledged to absolute obedience to the abbot or the abbess. These were the obligations of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Their lives were to be spent in prayer, worship, and labor. Saint Benedict emphasized the importance of physical labor, as experience had shown that idleness is not conducive to holiness.

The externals of a monastic establishment were a group of buildings usually placed around a court; in these the monks lived, worked, and stored the produce of the monastic lands. A monastery would have a church, a refectory, a dormitory, a kitchen, a barn, and such other buildings as the community might need. The whole was often surrounded by a wall. Outside this enclosure was the village of the farmers who worked the greater part of the monastic lands. The religious life appealed strongly to these new English Christians and soon a number of monastic institutions were founded. The earliest of all was Saint Peter's at Canterbury, but a number of other important foundations also date from the earlier decades of the conversion: Peterborough close to the Fenlands, Malmesbury on the Saxon border, Melrose just beyond the Cheviot hills, Jarrow at the mouth of the Tyne, Lindisfarne on the northern coast, and many more. So impressed were the kings and other men of wealth and influence with the spiritual benefits and the practical value of the monastic system that they made large donations, chiefly of land, for the support of monks or nuns. For though the individual monk was pledged to poverty, the community as a corporation was permitted to hold unlimited wealth.

The culture of the monasteries. In the advancement of the new civilization that came with Christianity the monks had a large and important part. They copied books and in this way preserved what the times possessed of knowledge and of classical literature. These books were frequently illuminated, that is, provided with drawings and colored pictures, some of which show rare skill, though, on the whole, the pictorial art of the middle ages was not of a high type. As the monasteries were in constant need of skilled labor, it was often found necessary

to train some of the monks to do the work of blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, and artisans of other trades. The finer industrial arts, such as the goldsmith's work, were also kept alive in the monastic workshops.

Their contributions to material civilization. At a time when inns were few and public hospitals unknown, the monastic establishments proved a real blessing to the traveler, the unfortunate, and the one who was stricken with illness. For the monks practiced a generous hospitality, and what knowledge the world had of nursing and medicine they usually possessed. On their large estates they built new and improved buildings patterned after those that they saw in their journeys through southern Europe. These were often of stone and were sometimes "even provided with glass." New ideas of agriculture were acquired in the same way, and these soon became the common property of the tenants who farmed the monastic lands. Frequently the monks went into unoccupied regions to find sites for new monastic establishments. In this way they added materially to the cultivated area of the country. In an age devoted almost exclusively to rural pursuits the abiding interest that the men of the religious life showed in the problems of tillage and cultivation could not fail to be regarded as a national asset.

Monastic decline. But all these worldly activities inevitably led to a lowering of monastic ideals. After two or three generations of monastic growth and prosperity, bitter complaints began to arise that the cloistered life had become tainted with corruption. Of this there is clear evidence in the writings of the Venerable Bede who was himself a monk. Bede further complains that in his day there were many spurious monastic foundations which existed merely to secure ease and wealth for the inmates. About the year 700 English monasticism began to decline and the religious life did not regain its early vigor before the great Benedictine revival in the days of Saint Dunstan more than two centuries later.

A new literary impulse. The arrival of so many learned men from the southlands, missionaries, prelates, and abbots, the introduction of a stately church ceremonial based on a new system of religious thought, and the building of churches and monasteries gave a remarkable impetus to creative thought, especially to poetic literature. Schools were established in the new clois-

ters and in connection with the cathedral churches, where Latin was taught and the classics read. In this way a large fund of novel ideas became current among the educated classes. Archbishop Theodore was a native Greek; and his fellow-worker, the monk Hadrian, was also familiar with Greek literature and Greek thought. One result of their labors was that the study of Greek was kept up in England for some time after it had been almost forgotten elsewhere in the West.

The leading center of literary effort was no longer the princely hall but the quiet cloister. The transition from heathen to Christian culture was, however, not a violent one. The great poem *Beowulf*, an epic of more than 3000 lines, probably belongs to the first half of the seventh century, the period of missionary progress in the English kingdoms. *Beowulf* is a heathen story of valor and warfare based on a series of Danish and Swedish tales which must have been brought to England shortly before the close of the heathen age. About 650 or a few years earlier some Christian poet, whose mind had not been wholly purged of heathen ideals and interests, combined all these tales into a single poem with Christian touches added here and there. The *Beowulf* epic is, therefore, in larger part a heathen poem and gives an excellent picture of a heathen civilization which was about to expire.

The "Cadmonic" poems. In the second half of the seventh century, a few years after the coming of Theodore of Tarsus, there appeared in England the first native Christian poet, one Cadmon, an aged Northumbrian convert attached to the abbey of Whitby. Bede relates a legend that an angel coming to Cadmon told him to sing of the beginnings of all created things. It has, therefore, been thought that the *Genesis*, an Old English poem based on the narratives of the First Book of Moses, may have been composed by Cadmon. Other poems have been ascribed to this same author but with no real certainty. In this early Christian poetry there is much that betrays a heathen origin: the form is the same as in the older non-Christian verse; alliteration is used throughout; the old poetic materials are freely employed, especially the figures of speech that reflect the warlike activities and the festive joys of the Germanic race. In a large measure the view of life belongs to the heathen age; but the themes are Biblical or drawn from the legendary

treasures of the church, and the religious thought is Christian of the earlier medieval type.

Bede. The greatest of all the Old English writers was the Venerable Bede, a gentle, pious, and humble monk who spent his days in the Northumbrian monastery of Jarrow. Bede was born soon after the arrival of Archbishop Theodore. At the age of seven he was given into the keeping of the monks at Wearmouth, whence he was at some later date removed to Jarrow. This Northumbrian boy, though only one generation removed from heathendom, grew up to be the most perfect Latinist of his time and the greatest scholar of his century. His writings cover a variety of subjects, history, theology, science, hymnology, and many more. His chief work is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, a record of events in England from the time of the Saxon conquest to his own day. The work deals particularly with the conversion of the English tribes to the Christian faith, but the author does not neglect the more distinctly secular movements. Though for the most part the Venerable Bede wrote in Latin prose, he also made some use of the native idiom: his last work was a translation into Old English of the Gospel of Saint John which he completed on his death bed.

Alcuin. There were other intellectual leaders who flourished in Northumbria in the eighth century, the most famous after Bede being the learned Alcuin, who was in his day one of the foremost teachers in Christendom. Alcuin was born in York in 735, the traditional year of Bede's death. He was educated in the cathedral school of his native town where he received instruction from one of Bede's pupils. The last twenty-two years of his life were spent chiefly among the Franks, a part of the time in the palace school of Charlemagne whom he served as a sort of minister of education. Alcuin's great work was to familiarize the Frankish court with Latin culture in the form in which it had been taught at Jarrow by the Venerable Bede.

Cynewulf. The earlier series of Old English writers closes with Cynewulf, a poet whose themes, like those of the Cadmonic time, were of a distinctly Christian type. Cynewulf was the first English poet to add his signature to his writings; for this purpose he made use of runic characters which he distributed among his verses. With Cynewulf's writings the glory of Northumbrian culture came to a close. After the death of Bede

it had begun to decline, and with the coming of the Norse vikings sixty years later intellectual activity in northern England almost ceased.

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CHAPTER II

THE OLD ENGLISH MONARCHY

The heathen reaction. Penda. The introduction of the Christian faith powerfully affected the political fate of the Old English kingdoms. The more zealous partisans of the old gods did not take kindly to the presence of the cross and began to look for a leader in their resistance to the new worship. They found such a one in Penda, a vigorous heathen king who ascended the throne of Mercia shortly after the conversion of Edwin. In 633 Penda defeated the Northumbrian host and King Edwin fell in the battle. Later in his reign he forced the East Angles into submission and drove the king of Wessex into exile. Though unable to check the progress of the Christian missionaries, he did succeed in extending the Mercian lands in all directions but notably westward; and the little kingdom in the valley of the Trent became the most powerful state on the island. With somewhat varying fortunes the kings of Mercia maintained their ascendancy among the kings of the English till the close of the eighth century.

Offa. 757-796. The dominant figure of the eighth century was Offa, the English friend of Charlemagne, who ruled the Mercians for nearly forty years. Early in his reign East Anglia was definitely made a Mercian dependency, and ultimately all the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms below the Humber were forced into a condition of vassallage. In Offa's day a definite boundary was drawn between the territories of the English and the lands of the Welsh, and an earthwork called Offa's Dyke was constructed to mark the new limits.

Offa's reign is a notable one in the history of English coinage. In his day the English moneyers began to coin a silver penny, which from that time on to the close of the middle ages was virtually the only coin current in England. The penny was coined in imitation of the Frankish denarius; in the eighth century 240 silver pence were ordinarily counted as making a

pound of silver, the pound weighing slightly less than the modern troy pound.

Mercian leadership perished with the great king. His successors were weak men and unable to keep their fellow princes in the proper relation of vassal kings. Shortly before Offa's death



new enemies were beginning to visit the British shores: the Danes and the Northmen who were ultimately to destroy all the English kingdoms between the Thames and the Forth. Meanwhile, a new dynasty was rising to power and influence in southern England and the hopes of the English people were

beginning to center about the kingdom of Wessex with the leadership of which the history of the modern English kingdom begins.

Danes and Northmen. In the eighth and ninth centuries the tide of migration once more began to flow toward the British Isles. The viking movement may be regarded as a belated wave of the great Germanic migrations which began three hundred years earlier. The purpose was the same as in the days of Alaric and Hengist: the acquisition of new homes in a more favored clime. The exact date when the longships of the vikings first appeared in British waters has not been recorded; but they seem to have come in large fleets during the closing decades of the eighth century.

Due east of the Shetlands and the Orkneys lie the southwestern shores of Norway, in which the new movement seems to have had its beginning. These islands with the adjoining shores of northern Scotland were the territories first seized and occupied. Thence the stream of settlement flowed southwestward to the Hebrides, down the west coast of Scotland, and across the intervening waters to eastern Ireland and the Isle of Man. In 802 the pirates visited and burned Iona. On the Irish coast they founded a series of settlements extending from Belfast to Limerick. Of these the earliest was founded in 826 in the old kingdom of Meath. A decade later the vikings entered the Liffey on the shores of which they founded the city of Dublin (about 840). For several hundred years Dublin remained the center of Norwegian power and influence in Ireland. Later in the ninth century Norwegian colonies were founded in Great Britain north of the Humber, while the Danes were establishing themselves farther south in East Anglia. It will thus be seen that large parts of the eastern and the western coast of Great Britain were in the process of being settled by the pirates from the North.

Civilization of the Northmen. Like the Anglo-Saxons the Scandinavian invaders were of Teutonic blood and spoke a Germanic dialect which resembled English sufficiently to enable the two peoples to learn each other's language without great difficulty. The ultimate result of the Norse invasion was, therefore, to strengthen the Germanic element in the English race. In religion the vikings were still heathen, worshipping the old

gods whom the English had renounced two centuries earlier. In civilization they stood on a lower plane than the Anglo-Saxons: they were still using the runic alphabet and consequently had no writings and no books. In some respects, however, they were the intellectual peers of the people with whom they came in contact: in ship building, for instance, they came to be the most efficient in Europe, and for several centuries the vikings ruled the European seas. Piracy was common among the Northmen and was regarded as an honorable profession; but loot and plunder were not the chief objects of their visits to the British Isles. It was chiefly land hunger and economic pressure that impelled the Northmen to emigrate, though love of adventure and the prospect of sharing in plundered wealth must also be counted as strong additional incentives.

English and British kingdoms. When the eighth century came to a close the island of Great Britain comprised nine kingdoms: five British and four English. In the far north and occupying the wild Highlands were the Picts whose kings ruled as far south as the Firth of Forth. West of Pictland and comprising the great peninsula of Argyll with adjacent islands was the kingdom of the Scottish immigrants from northern Ireland. South of Scotia was Strathclyde, its most important part being the broad valley of the Clyde. The other British dominions were Wales and Cornwall, of which the latter was soon to be conquered by the lords of Wessex. The English kingdoms were the old states of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex. When the new century began there was no prospect that these kingdoms would care to submit to any form of union. But a power was at hand which was to force consolidation. The stream of pirates, warriors, and settlers which was pouring in from the heathen lands beyond the North Sea brought dangers which these petty monarchies were unable to resist.

The beginnings of Scotland. 844. The first to feel the new perils were the Scots whose territories lay directly in the path of the Norse migration. The Picts, too, seem to have realized that their strength was inadequate to meet and repel the viking host. Little is known of north British history in this period; but in 844 the Scottish and the Pictish kingdom found it expedient to join into one monarchy with Kenneth MacAlpin, the ruler of the Scots, as king of the united peoples. It has

been thought that Kenneth won his new crown by conquest; but it is more likely that his success was due to the growing fear of the Norse invaders. A few years later Kenneth found it advisable to move his residence to Forteviot near Dunkeld in the eastern part of Pictland. Dunkeld was for a time the religious center of the kingdom, but half a century after Kenneth's death this distinction was lost and the primacy passed to the neighboring see of Saint Andrews.

Vikings at Lindisfarne. 793. The earliest recorded visit of the vikings to the English coast for the sake of plunder was in June, 793, when they pillaged the important Northumbrian monastery at Lindisfarne (now Holy Island). This was toward the close of Offa's reign and while the poet Cynewulf may still have been writing in some Anglian cloister. Alcuin learned of the event in Frankland and wrote in sorrow to the Northumbrian king: "Lo, now the church of Saint Cuthbert is stained with the blood of the priests of God. It is despoiled of all its ornaments; the most venerable place in Britain has been given to the pagan nations for a prey." From that date for a hundred years English history is an almost unbroken account of warfare against the Scandinavian invaders. It was the custom of the vikings to land and seize the horses in the region visited; thus mounted they rode everywhere at will. Some of the English kings made vigorous efforts to defend their lands, but too often they strove in vain.

The conquest of the Anglian kingdoms. In 866 the vikings found new leaders in the two sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, a Danish chieftain of great legendary fame. The fierce brothers landed their host in East Anglia and spent the winter there. King Edmund bought peace for his people, and the following spring the Danes left East Anglia. Sweeping northward across the Humber they crushed the Northumbrian levies. The next year they turned south into the Midlands. The West Saxons hastened to the aid of the Mercian king, but to no purpose; the men of Mercia submitted and allowed the vikings "to winter there without contention." Six years later the Mercian kingdom ceased to exist.

In 870 the heathen army again stormed into East Anglia where the glorious Edmund was still king. He was seized and suffered martyrdom; before long Saint Edmund was honored



as one of the major saints of the English church, but his kingdom passed to the Danes. After five years of hostile operations the Scandinavian chieftains had secured control of all the region from the Thames northward almost as far as the Forth. Wessex was now the only surviving English state in Great Britain.

Egbert, king of Wessex. 802-839. In those days the throne of Wessex belonged to the family of Egbert, a prince who represented a younger line of the ancient dynasty. It is believed that Egbert in his younger days spent several years in exile at the court of Charlemagne where he may have learned Frankish methods of government and possibly developed ambitions to rule conquered lands. Egbert was chosen king in 802 and proved a ruler of unusual ability. He conquered the Welsh kingdom of Cornwall, and added the small kingdoms of south-eastern England, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Essex, definitely to the dominions of his dynasty. He also wore the Mercian crown for one short year, but in the end contented himself with some sort of recognition as overlord of the English kingdoms. None of his immediate successors showed any marked abilities either as rulers or leaders in warfare. During the decade 860-870, when the Anglian kingdoms were yielding before the onslaught of the Danish hordes, three of Egbert's grandsons ruled successively in Wessex. Their reigns were brief and unimportant save for continued but unsuccessful wars against the vikings.

Alfred the Great. 871-900. After they had seized East Anglia the Danes moved their forces across the Thames and carried the war into the neighborhood of Winchester, the very heart of the West Saxon kingdom. In the early months of 871 a series of battles were fought, the Danes being frequently, though not always, victorious. In the midst of these disasters Alfred, commonly known as the Great, a fourth grandson of King Egbert, ascended the tottering throne. Alfred was a young man, perhaps not more than twenty-three years old; but the events of the previous reign had given him much experience in the field as well as in the council chamber, and he proved equal to the task.

War with the Danes. For several years the young prince had been the real force in the Saxon host. As king he continued the war; but, seeing the futility of keeping up an un-

equal struggle, he made peace with the enemy as soon as an honorable opportunity appeared. The invaders withdrew to the north of the Thames and Alfred's kingdom enjoyed four years of peace and quiet. But in 875 the enemy reappeared and raided Wessex for several years. In January, 878, a strong force under the leadership of Guthrum, a viking chief who was operating in southern England, attacked Alfred's army at Chippenham. The English were taken by surprise and defeated. Alfred fled westward to Athelney in Somersetshire, a low hill surrounded by broad marshes, where he built a fortified camp. Here he remained for several weeks until he was again ready to strike a blow for the freedom of England. In May the yeomanry of Somerset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire gathered about him and a brief campaign followed in which the enemy suffered a decisive defeat. Guthrum agreed to accept the Christian faith, and after having received baptism withdrew his army into southern Mercia whence he finally retired into East Anglia of which he now took permanent possession. The treaty was made at Chippenham, and the two kings apparently divided southern England between them with the Thames as the chief boundary. The kingdom of Wessex thus retained all the territories held in Egbert's day except Essex which passed to the Danes.

The victories of peace. Alfred's first care after peace had been secured was to provide for the defense of his kingdom. Cities were fortified; the militia was organized; and a navy was built. The art of shipbuilding the king learned from his Danish enemies; but Alfred is said to have made notable improvements on the plans of the Norse ship-wrights: he built ships that were higher, steadier, and swifter. He made a thorough study of the ancient laws of his kingdom and, after careful sifting, reenacted those that he approved, introducing at the same time important changes in the direction of greater mercy and lighter penalties for less serious offenses. The administration of justice was also reformed and the local officials were instructed to measure out equal justice to all without fear or favor.

Literature and education. Of even more enduring value was the great king's work for culture and education. It was Alfred who gave the first impulse to the revival of learning in

England toward the close of the ninth century. The need was great: the viking raids had carried destruction to almost every part of England; monasteries had been plundered, churches destroyed, and cathedrals left in ruins; barbarism was conquering the land. For nearly a century English intellect had produced almost nothing of lasting importance. In his preface to the English version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Alfred states that when he became king he could not call to mind a single priest south of the Thames "who really understood the church service or was able to translate a Latin passage into English." There were only a few educated men in Mercia, and he knew they were not very numerous in Northumbria. The king himself was not able to read before he was twelve years old; but he seems to have developed an early interest in literature, and he continued a student till the end of his days. Learned men were called to his court from Mercia, from Wales, and even from over the sea. A school was opened at the royal residence and in a certain sense the king himself assumed the rôle of a teacher. For Alfred lived for a great ideal: that all young Englishmen should learn to read books written in English. Latin might be taught after the native idiom had been mastered, but only to those who were "to be educated further and raised to a higher estate."

But to make reading worth while one must have books, and books were not plentiful anywhere in the ninth century. It was Alfred's great interest in education that gave rise to English prose. In his reign, perhaps during the last decade of the century, there appeared several notable English translations of certain selected Latin writings which were at that time considered of great interest and practical value. The work was done at court, under royal supervision it seems, though it is doubtful whether the king himself took a very active part as translator. The works chosen were Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*; Gregory's *Dialogues* and his *Pastoral Care*, a religious handbook of great fame in the middle ages intended for the assistance of the less educated members of the priesthood; Orosius' *History*, an account detailing calamities as great as those that England had lately endured; Boethius' *Consolations of Philosophy*, another work which was thought to be suited to a sorrowful age; and the *Soliloquies* of Saint Augustine, the

master theologian of the ancient world. In addition Alfred encouraged the writing of current history; on his suggestion some of the leading monasteries undertook to compile the annals of Britain and the great Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* came into being.

The achievements of Alfred. King Alfred died in 900. He was not a genius either as a statesman, a general, or a writer; he was simply a wide-awake practical Englishman with great administrative abilities and deep insight into the needs of his kingdom. It is possible that England may have had rulers of greater strength and larger abilities; nevertheless, the achievements of Alfred are greater than those of any other English king. In his long reign of nearly thirty years the English state saw its real beginning. Alfred the Great was the first king of England.

The expansion of Wessex. The making of England was the expansion of Wessex. There was never a union of the English kingdoms under Alfred or any other ruler; for Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, and Northumbria had ceased to exist and were never revived, while Kent and Sussex were gradually coming to be regarded as shires rather than as subkingdoms. Nor was Alfred or any of his immediate successors chosen king by all the English nation. What happened was that the kings of Wessex, the dynasty of Alfred, gradually conquered the lands north of the Thames from the Danes and the Norwegians and added these territories to their own Saxon kingdom. Mile by mile the frontier was pushed northward until after two generations of continued advance the authority of the kings at Winchester extended as far as the Firth of Forth. Naturally the name of Wessex was soon dropped in favor of the more inclusive term of England.

The Danelaw, as the Scandinavian settlements in England were called, was never a political unit. There was a Danish king in East Anglia whose dominions also included Essex and the important city of London. A Norwegian chieftain ruled as king in the southern half of Northumbria with his capital in the ancient city of York. In the Midlands the English were held in subjection by the garrisons of the "Five Boroughs," five Danish strongholds organized into some sort of a city league. This division of the enemy's strength gave the kings of Wessex an opportunity of which they made good use.

It is also important to note that reinforcements were no longer coming in large numbers from the Scandinavian lands. Throughout the greater part of the tenth century there was much turmoil and warfare in the Northern countries; consequently there was a lull in the activities of the vikings, and the Scandinavians in Britain were forced to depend on inadequate and constantly dwindling resources. It is also probable that the immigrants were beginning to lose their alien interests and were gradually becoming English in language and sympathies. But



whatever the actual situation, resistance to the advance of Wessex continued in the Scandinavian settlements for more than half a century after Alfred's death.

The advance into southern and western Mercia. 886. The first real advance in the expansion of Wessex came fifteen years after Alfred's elevation to the kingship. In 886 the king was again at war with his old enemy Guthrum. The Saxons appear to have had the advantage in this campaign, for the agreement which closed the war gave Wessex a slight territorial increase beyond the Thames. The Ouse river as far west as Watling

Street was now made the boundary between the two kingdoms. Alfred thus came definitely into possession of London and a small area of south Mercian territory to the northwest of that city.

"The Lady of the Mercians." Watling street was an old Roman road running northwestward across the island from London to Wroxeter near Shrewsbury. As to the Mercian territories west of this road the treaty of 886 is silent, doubtless because neither king had a claim to that region: western Mercia had never been an integral part of Wessex and was evidently not occupied by the Danes. But the English people of this section, wedged in, as they were, between the Danes and the Welsh, naturally turned to Alfred whom all Englishmen outside the Danelaw were now disposed to accept as king. The chief noble or "ealdorman" of western Mercia became Alfred's subject and received in marriage the daughter of the great king, the able and spirited Ethelfled, known in history as "the lady of the Mercians." In this way a large triangular area extending north to Chester was added to Alfred's dominions.

Edward the Elder. 900-924. The advance was resumed in 910 when Edward the Elder, Alfred's son, was king at Winchester. King Edward attacked the Danes from the south while his intrepid sister Ethelfled struck from the west. For ten years there was almost constant warfare in the Midlands; when it closed all England as far north as the Mersey and the Humber was counted as belonging to the West Saxon monarchy.

Ethelstan: victory at Brunanburh. 937. Ethelstan, Edward's son and successor, annexed the kingdom of York, but the Northmen in Northumbria did not long remain in subjection. The strength of the English kingdom was now beginning to cause anxiety to Ethelstan's neighbors. The king of the Scots had seen his land sorely afflicted by the incursions of the vikings; but the English threatened to become an even greater source of danger. Accordingly Constantine, the ruler of Scotland, entered into an alliance with the Strathclyde Welsh and the viking chiefs in Northumbria and Ireland against the English king. Ethelstan apparently did not wait for the attack; he marched his army to the border and at Brunanburh decisively defeated the forces of the coalition. The site of this famous battle has not been definitely determined, though the probabilities favor Brunswark on the north shore of Solway Firth.

But the war with the Danes did not cease with Ethelstan's great victory. The Norwegians in the kingdom of York managed to regain their independence, and it was not before 954 that they finally submitted and the entire Danelaw was conquered.

Edgar the Peaceful. 959-975. Edgar the Peaceful was the sixth king in the succession after Alfred. He became ruler of the country north of the Thames in 957 and two years later fell heir to the ancient throne of Wessex. In the reign of Edgar the Old English kingdom reached its highest point of prosperity and power. Except for raids on the border the country was at peace. Edgar was in his day without question the most prominent ruler in Great Britain. He was recognized as overlord by the British kings in Wales and Scotland and by the Norwegian earls in the Hebrides. His reign, however, was brief; he died in 975 at the age of thirty-one.

The Old English boroughs. By the time of Edgar there had grown up a number of cities on English soil in the south as well as in the Danelaw. None of these can have been large, but they were something more than mere villages. They had their own governments, they were often surrounded by a wall, and they were usually the center of a considerable trade. The settlements of the Danes and Norwegians stimulated the growth of cities, for the Scandinavian chiefs were frequently merchants as well as pirates. Every year the ships of the North sailed to the west and the southwest laden with the merchandise of northern Europe: furs, cured fish, walrus teeth, honey, Norwegian hawks, and a variety of other products. Among the Old English cities London was the most important. London was of ancient origin, possibly dating from Celtic times. It had an excellent location not far from the mouth of the Thames where the banks were high and the river was easily crossed both by ford and by bridge. There were other cities that almost ranked with London. Winchester was the home of the royal court. York was the center of the eastern trade: a tenth century ecclesiastic writes that it was "filled with the riches of merchants who came from everywhere, especially from the Danish nation." Sandwich was the most important seaport on the Channel shore. There were also a large number of boroughs in the Midlands which had grown up during the struggle between the Danes and

the English. The Five Boroughs, Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, and Lincoln, were Danish strongholds and centers of government. When Edward and his sister Ethelfled made their attack on the Danelaw, they founded a number of similar fortified boroughs to hold the territory that they had wrested from the enemy. These were at first, no doubt, of a military character; but when peace finally came they developed further along commercial lines and became centers of trade and industry.

The town and the hundred. The great mass of the population, however, still lived in villages and followed rural pursuits. The village with the land belonging to it made up the Old English town, or township, the smallest unit of social and economic life. Not all the villagers were farmers: as a rule the town had a priest, a miller, a smith, and perhaps certain other citizens whose occupation was not primarily to till the soil; but these, too, usually had their share of the village lands. Many of the villages had in the course of time come under the domination of some influential noble family which might have its residence in a somewhat pretentious "hall" a little distance from the village. In such cases the head of this family exercised a certain measure of control over the villagers, but in turn was held responsible for them by the higher authorities. It seems likely that the town had some sort of a town meeting in which the farmers came together to regulate the economic affairs of the community; but there is no evidence that this body had any judicial authority.

The towns were grouped into larger areas usually called hundreds. The area of the hundred was often not much larger than that of the average American township in the Middle West. Every month the more prominent men of the towns composing the hundred came together near some large rock or under a spreading oak to hold the hundred court. In this assembly the disputes of the villages were taken up and settled. The hundred court was especially busied with petty criminal offenses, usually cattle stealing, which was a common crime in Old English days.

The shire. If for any reason a villager failed to get his suit determined in the hundred court, he could carry his grievance to the court of the shire. The division of the English

kingdom into shires was of early origin and may have resulted from the annexation of the smaller neighboring kingdoms to the territories of Wessex. A few of the shires, such as Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex, recall the petty monarchies that were known by those names. Many of the western and northern shires are evidently of artificial origin: they were created during the period of the Saxon advance into the Danelaw. Originally they seem to have been military districts, areas looking for military aid and protection to some central garrisoned borough. The shire system had virtually reached its completion by Edgar's time and has suffered only slight changes since his day either in names or in boundaries. After the Norman conquest the shire was frequently called a county, a term which later became current in the United States.

The Old English shire was governed by an official called an ealdorman who might sometimes be in charge of more than one shire. In the eleventh century the Danish title of earl replaced that of the Saxon ealdorman; but in functions the office remained the same. Another important official was the shire-reeve, now called the sheriff. The sheriff became prominent in the tenth century and seems at first to have had the king's interests in his care. Later he apparently acted as the earl's deputy, and finally, when the earl developed into something more than a mere shire official, the sheriff inherited nearly all his earlier functions.

Court procedure. The court of the shire, like that of the hundred, was composed of the more prominent men of all the villages. It met twice a year, chiefly for judicial purposes. The sheriff, the bishop, and sometimes also the earl were present to guide the proceedings. It may be believed that in ordinary cases disputes were settled on the testimony of men who had actual knowledge of the facts involved; but when evidence was wanting, though suspicion was strong, the court resorted to other methods.

Like the Germanic tribes on the Continent, the Angles and Saxons in such cases permitted the use of compurgation: the accused would swear to his innocence and if a certain number of "oath-helpers" would join him and swear that they believed his oath to be "clean," he might be acquitted of the charge. Originally, it seems, the oath-helpers had to be sought and found

among the kinsmen of the accused; but as time passed this restriction was lost sight of. In an age when it was firmly believed that God would bring swift punishment upon every one who swore falsely, this method might prove quite effective, at least in cases when the accused was actually guilty.

In the more important cases the court quite frequently resorted to the ordeal, a solemn appeal to God to declare the guilt or the innocence of the one who was charged with crime. This appeal was made by the priest in charge and was accompanied by elaborate religious ceremonies. The ordeal of the hot iron may be regarded as typical. After the preliminaries had been completed, the accused would be given a red hot iron to carry a short distance. That his hand would be burned was expected; but if the wound seemed fresh and clean after three days, the indication was that there was no guilt. An infected hand would, on the other hand, clearly indicate that the accused was guilty. The ordeal, too, might sometimes prove effective in securing confession, since a man with a guilty conscience would not care to submit to the fiery test.

The punishment for even the more serious crimes usually took the form of fines: in the case of man-slaying the fine was called wergeld, or "man money." The wergeld was fixed according to the rank of the one who was slain and was frequently a very large sum. The original practice seems to have been to hold the relatives of the criminal responsible for the wergeld. The fine was paid to and shared by the kinsmen of the victim. The circumstances of the Anglo-Saxon conquest tended, however, to break up the kindred and it was, therefore, difficult in Old English times to enforce the responsibility of the family in its larger meaning.

The king. The rulers of the little Anglo-Saxon states were tribal leaders rather than sovereign lords. Within certain recognized limits the Germanic king exercised final and almost absolute authority; but custom limited the royal functions to a narrow field. With the expansion of Wessex there followed necessarily an intensive development of royal authority at Winchester; still, in practice this authority was not so widely felt as one might believe. Means of communication were poor in the tenth century; roads were few and never in good repair; it was, therefore, difficult at times to collect and send forth a

force sufficient to secure obedience in localities where the royal orders were ignored. The field of administrative undertakings was not large: the central government was concerned principally with the security of the border, an occasional revision of the laws, the appointment of the higher officials in the church, and the perennial quarrels of the nobles.

The Witenagemot. Usually the king took no step of first importance until he had consulted the great officials of the land, the bishops, the earls, the more prominent abbots, and a few others chosen from the lesser nobility: these formed the *witenagemot*, or the "meeting of the wise men." This body had a variety of vague functions, but only when a weak king was on the throne did it ever display much strength as a governing body. In general it was the duty of the "wise men" to advise the king on all matters that he might submit to them. It was also the function of the witenagemot to elect a king whenever the throne became vacant by death or abdication.

England in the tenth century. The century following the treaty of Chippenham was the great age of the Old English monarchy. During this period the kingdom of Wessex had an almost continuous growth in territorial area and power. Successful conquest gave the English people a sense of strength and security. The English kings entered into closer relations with the rulers on the Continent: four of Alfred's granddaughters found royal husbands across the sea. The literary impulse that Alfred and his fellow-workers gave to the English intellect continued, and the tenth century saw the production of several spirited martial poems of great merit inspired by the struggle with the Danes. The church, however, did not share in the new vigor; especially were the monastic institutions in a bad way. This gave occasion for a thorough reform of the English church planned and carried forward by a group of churchmen who first of all wished to restore the older ideals of the monastic life.

Decline of the monastic system. The medieval Englishman looked with real favor on the religious life though he did not enjoy its severities. It will be recalled that even as early as the time of Bede a loud complaint was raised against the easy life that characterized the monastic foundations of Northumbria. The viking invasions were very destructive to the discipline as

well as to the prosperity of these houses; and the settlement of large colonies of heathen among the discouraged Christians of the Danelaw cannot have failed to spread indifference and to foster corruption in the church. But the English situation was by no means unique: the same paralyzing influence was felt in varying degrees throughout all western Europe.

The Cluniac movement. 910. In 910 a reform movement of vast consequences began in eastern France by the founding at Cluny of a great monastery where the Benedictine rule was to be observed in a somewhat stricter form. Similar institutions were soon founded elsewhere, but these, unlike the older monasteries, were not wholly independent; they were organized into a great federation of monasteries, the Congregation of Cluny, of which the abbot of the parent monastery was the chief. The new congregation grew steadily and after two centuries the abbot of Cluny found himself at the head of a great league counting more than three hundred religious houses located in every Catholic land. Inasmuch as each of these monasteries was supervised and in part supported by the congregation, it was easier to combat corrupting influences in these newer foundations than under the old system of independent houses. A generation after the founding of Cluny the Cluniac ideals had struck deep roots in England, where one of their chief promoters was the monk Dunstan, the young abbot of Glastonbury.

St. Dunstan. Dunstan was a virile, energetic man, though somewhat imperious and wanting in tact. When scarcely more than twenty years of age he was appointed abbot and for more than forty years he was the foremost ecclesiastic and the most capable statesman in England. Saint Dunstan saw three conditions in the monastic world which in his belief called for immediate remedy: (1) in large sections of England, particularly north of the Thames, there were no monasteries, only the charred ruins left by the viking raiders; (2) in the south a number of monasteries had fallen into the possession of canons, an order of churchmen intermediate between monks and priests who lived in communities after the fashion of monks but had not taken the vow of poverty and in some cases had taken no monastic vows whatever; (3) in the foundations that still pretended to maintain monastic ideals the discipline was lax and

the conduct of the monks did not always conform to the rules of Saint Benedict.

About 950 Dunstan rebuilt and reorganized his own monastery at Glastonbury according to Cluniac models. For the next thirty years there was an active interest in the revival of decayed or dismantled monasteries in southern England; the first of the more important houses to be restored was the famous establishment at Abingdon on the upper Thames. Soon the movement spread to the lower Danelaw and the old monastic houses of the Fenlands — Peterborough, Ely, and Thorney — rose once more.

Civil war in the Danelaw. The reforming clergy were not content with rebuilding abbeys and reviving discipline: their purpose was to make the monastic element the controlling force in the English church. Saint Dunstan, whom King Edgar promoted to Canterbury in 960, was in complete sympathy with this phase of the reform movement, but is not counted among its active promoters. In many of the great cathedrals and other important churches the services were conducted by a group of secular priests, also called canons, who had taken no monastic vows. The reformers proceeded to reorganize these churches by expelling the priests and giving their places to monks. Several of the more prominent cathedrals were in this way transformed into Benedictine churches. The dispossession of the secular clergy and the somewhat arrogant behavior of the monastic party called forth strong opposition and the reign of Edgar the Peaceful soon became a season of violent strife. It may be that under the old unreformed conditions the higher nobility had found it possible to control a large share of the monastic and other church lands in their neighborhood; at any rate, some of the magnates threw their influence into the balance on the side of the priests. It is a significant fact that the trouble was limited to the southern Danelaw, where the partisans of the monks and the faction of the priests took up arms and brought the region to the verge of civil war. The earl of Mercia "expelled the monks from the monasteries," writes a twelfth century chronicler, "and restored the clerics with their wives;" on the other hand, the East Anglian lords "raised an army and defended the monasteries of East Anglia to the utmost of their power." Such was the state of affairs when Edgar died (975).

Viking invasions renewed. Five years later, while England was still in the throes of internal dissensions, the Scandinavian pirates renewed their attacks on the English shores. The counties of the southwest were the first to suffer, for the new raids apparently originated in the Norwegian colonies about the Irish Sea. But soon the entire coast from the mouth of the Thames to Bristol Channel was made to feel the fury of the vikings.



For a period of more than thirty years the people of Wessex were to know only brief intervals of peace. In the country north of the Thames only the East Anglian shires were troubled to any great extent; for the vikings usually spared the settlements of their countrymen in the Danelaw.

Ethelred the Ill-counseled. 978-1016. The king of England during this mournful period was Ethelred the Ill-counseled, a younger son of the mighty Edgar, who had come to the throne as a mere boy of ten summers. As the young prince developed

into manhood it was discovered that he was grossly incompetent; but this defect was not uncommon among the English leaders of the time. The great difficulty was that England had not yet become thoroughly unified. North of the Thames there were two partly fused elements: the Anglian who could not forget that his ancestry was Mercian or Northumbrian, and the Dane who had fought for independence only a generation earlier. When the king and his wise men determined on something, writes an indignant chronicler, it did not stand a month. England was without leaders and without soldiers; "no shire would help another."

With discontent and disloyalty beyond the Thames and distress and desolation in the south, the king and his wise men soon found themselves in desperate straits. Finally the English leaders hit upon the interesting expedient of buying off the enemy. Silver to the sum of more than 100,000 pounds was collected and paid from time to time in the form of Danegeld or Dane-money. After each payment the enemy departed; but soon the same bands returned, and with them came others attracted by the news of British wealth. So frequently was the Danegeld levied that it soon came to be regarded as a permanent land tax which might be levied even in times of peace. Finally, after more than thirty years of fruitless efforts to expel the invaders by force of arms and after several payments of Danegeld, the English adopted the even more doubtful expedient of hiring four or five thousand of the vikings as mercenary soldiers to defend the land against their piratical brethren.

Sweyn Forkbeard. 1013. Among the Scandinavian chieftains who were interested in the English venture was Sweyn Forkbeard, the ruler of Denmark. Sweyn was a king of the olden type, an able warrior and a cunning diplomat, but seems to have regarded himself in the light of a war lord rather than a national ruler. Several times this resourceful viking led a host into Britain. When he came for the last time, it was with the avowed purpose of seizing Ethelred's kingdom. Sweyn sailed his fleet into the Humber and up the Trent to Gainsborough where he built his camp. The Danish settlements of the Midlands submitted and gave hostages; the invader was able even to recruit his forces on English soil. Early in the autumn his army was on a swift march southward into Wessex. So long

as he was still within the Danelaw Sweyn would allow no plundering; but "as soon as he had crossed Watling Street he worked as great evil as a hostile force was able." A brief campaign gave him control of the entire kingdom. Ethelred fled to Normandy.

Cnut the Great. 1016-1035. A few months later Sweyn suddenly died and the English rose in revolt. Ethelred returned and with the aid of his viking mercenaries drove the Danes, who were now led by Sweyn's younger son Cnut, out of the land. Cnut returned to Denmark, where his older brother was now king, and collected a force of adventurers with which he invaded England in 1015. In this host were Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes; Ethelred's mercenaries now thought it wise to desert and joined their countrymen. A hard-fought campaign followed in which King Ethelred died. His son, Edmund Ironside, kept up the resistance with wonderful energy, and for a time the war promised to be a drawn battle. But in the autumn of 1016 the English suffered a crushing defeat at Ashington in East Anglia and Cnut was master of the land. He divided the kingdom with Edmund, taking for himself most of the country north of the Thames. A few weeks later Edmund died and the young conqueror came into possession of the whole kingdom.

The battle of Carham. In the second year of his reign King Cnut found it necessary to dismiss his Danish army. Accordingly a new Danegeld was levied, the host was paid off, and the vikings returned to the North, all but a force of some 3000 men, whom Cnut retained as a personal guard. This was the famous guard of "housecarles" which the English kings maintained till the Norman conquest nearly fifty years later. But almost immediately after the departure of the Danish host, an enemy appeared on the Scottish border. The region between the Forth and the Tweed, which the Scots called Lothian, had for centuries been held by the English; its chief city, Edinburgh, was originally an English stronghold. The Scottish kings had long coveted Lothian, and in 1018 Malcolm II invaded the country and even crossed the Tweed. At Carham he met and totally defeated an Anglo-Danish force, and when he returned to the Highlands Malcolm II was lord of Lothian. Cnut seems to have acquiesced in the surrender. His housecarles were not sufficiently numerous to repel the invader, and at this

particular time the young usurper probably did not dare to call his new subjects into the field.

The battle of Carham is one of the most important events in the history of the British peoples. It added an English element to the Scottish population and gave the Scottish kingdom an English capital. In the course of time the court and the larger part of the country adopted the English language (for what is called Scotch is merely a dialect of English), and the future union of England and Scotland was rendered possible. In the same year the king of Strathclyde died and the crown passed to his heir, "the gracious Duncan" of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. Duncan was a grandson of Malcolm II, and on the death of his grandfather he succeeded to the throne of Scotland. In this way all the four parts of North Britain, Scotland, Pictland, Lothian, and Strathclyde were successfully welded into a single monarchy.

Danish rule in England. King Cnut governed the English for nearly twenty years. To yield obedience to an upstart pirate, one who had neither crown nor lands elsewhere, was galling to Saxon pride, and during the first few years of the new reign there was much plotting among the Saxon nobles. But Cnut was able to defeat the conspirators on every occasion. He divided the old Danelaw into a number of earldoms over which he placed the captains of his viking army. The West Saxon part of his kingdom he reserved for his own personal rule. Gradually the native English became reconciled to alien domination, for Cnut gave the distracted country a long period of peace and good government, such as England had not known so long as men could remember. He further strengthened his rule by making a firm alliance with the English church. He caused the Old English laws to be revised and reënacted and apparently sought in every way to rebuild the prosperity and renew the greatness of the English kingdom.

The Anglo-Scandinavian Empire. Added luster came to his kingship when Cnut succeeded his brother as king of Denmark two or three years after he had mounted the English throne. About ten years later (1028) he added Norway to his dominions. The Danish king had a vague claim to the southern shores of Norway but no right to the kingdom as a whole. Olaf, the king of the Norwegians, had made many enemies by his stern mis-

sionary zeal and his ruthless persecution of the heathen worshippers. Cnut seized the opportunity to press his claim and Norway was conquered without a battle.

The old city of Winchester thus became the capital of a mighty empire composed of three kingdoms and several vassal states: for Cnut had possessions on the southern shore of the Baltic; as king of Norway he had suzerain rights in the islands to the north and west of Scotland and over the Norwegian colonies on the Scottish mainland; the Norwegian settlements on the eastern coast of Ireland may also, perhaps, have belonged among his dominions. In this Anglo-Scandinavian empire the Danish rather than the English influence was dominant. The earls and viceroys who governed in the king's behalf were usually chosen from the Danish nobility. What hopes the king may have had that the empire would remain a permanent creation were not realized. He left three sons but none of them possessed his father's abilities; seven years after Cnut's death his children were all dead and his three kingdoms had each a separate king.

Norman influence in England. A new alien influence, the Norman-French, almost immediately succeeded the Danish ascendancy. England had come into relationship with Normandy in 1002 when Ethelred married Emma, the daughter of the reigning Norman duke. Later the English king found it advisable to send his two sons by this marriage to the court of their uncle at Rouen. After Ethelred's death Cnut married the mother of these two princes, doubtless with a view to securing the continued friendship of the Norman duke and to prevent him from showing an undue interest in the dynastic rights of his two nephews. When the English throne became vacant on the death of Cnut and Emma's son Harthacnut, Edward, the younger of the two fugitive princes, was accepted as king of England. The new ruler had spent nearly thirty years in exile among his Norman kinsmen, and it was only natural that he should be Norman in spirit and sympathies. With Edward came many of his Norman friends and relatives, to some of whom he gave high offices in England. Especially did he favor the foreigners when he came to fill the higher offices in the national church. The archbishopric of Canterbury, the highest ecclesiastical dignity in England, was bestowed on a Norman abbot.

Rivalry of the families of Godwin and Leofric. The secular offices, on the other hand, remained quite largely in the hands of the English. In the south the ruling influence was that of Godwin, King Edward's father-in-law, one of Cnut's administrators who had risen from comparative obscurity to become earl of Wessex and husband of a Danish princess. In the Midlands a Mercian chief, Leofric, was the ranking earl. The history of Edward's reign centers largely about the rivalry that existed between these two families. Ten years after his accession this reached a crisis and blazed up into civil war. Leofric was victorious, and Godwin and his many fierce sons were sent into exile. It seems that in their fight with Earl Godwin the partisans of Leofric had the support of the king's Norman favorites, whose displeasure the great earl had apparently incurred.

Normandy. Of the states that the Northmen founded in western Europe Normandy was the most famous and the most important. In the tenth century while the Scandinavian chieftains were building settlements in the British Isles, the vikings were frequently seen in the Seine valley and Rouen was entered several times. About a dozen years after the death of Alfred a small army of these Northmen took possession of a stretch of territory on the lower Seine; in 911 the helpless French king accepted the fact of settlement and gave the viking chief Rolf, or Rollo, the ducal title on condition that he should do proper homage and protect the Channel shore against the depredations of other vikings. Out of this grant to a Norse marauder grew the great duchy of Normandy. The Northmen settled down in their new home, intermarried with the native population, and accepted the religious faith of their neighbors and subjects. After two or three generations the Scandinavian invaders had become French in language and civilization, though they continued for some time to keep in close touch with their kinsmen in the North.

Duke William of Normandy. In 1035, a few months before the death of Cnut the Great, Robert the Magnificent, the duke of Normandy, passed away and a child became ruler of the turbulent duchy. The new duke was William, later known as the Conqueror; at the time of his accession he was seven or eight years old. Seven years later his cousin Edward became

king of England. In 1051 when the Norman influence was at its height at the English court, the young duke visited his English kinsman at Winchester. It is said that Edward on that occasion promised to make William his successor to the English throne. It seems that Duke William had an ambition to repeat the great exploit of Cnut; and while no promise on the king's part with respect to the English succession could have any legal force, it might prove useful when the time came to raise forces for an attempt at conquest. Shortly after the termination of this visit a reaction set in against Norman domination in English affairs. Earl Godwin was allowed to return from exile and was restored to all his rights. On his death the following year his oldest son Harold succeeded to all his dignities; and during the closing decade of Edward's reign Earl Harold was the guiding force in the king's government.

Edward the Confessor. 1042-1066. King Edward was a man of good purposes, but he was weak and unkingly both in appearance and in conduct. At one time he seems to have looked forward to a monastic career, and he never lost his admiration for the religious mode of life. He believed in peace and a frugal administration; consequently he found it unnecessary to levy burdensome taxes. Among his people he enjoyed a reputation for saintliness; this together with the fact that he discontinued levying the Danegeld appears to have formed the basis for his remarkable popularity. His fame grew brighter as the years passed; a century after his death he was canonized and given the style of Confessor by a formal act of the Holy See. The last concern of his life was to assist at the dedication of a new church in Westminster Abbey, which was built by his bounty and in which he had long shown a lively interest. He died early in January, 1066.

The election of Harold. 1066. Four candidates immediately came forward as claimants to the vacant throne: Harold, the earl of Wessex; William, the duke of Normandy; Harold, the king of Norway; and Edgar, a grandson of Edmund Ironside. Of these Edgar, being a representative of the native dynasty, had the best right; but he was insignificant and incompetent and his claim was never seriously considered. William of Normandy also pretended to represent the Saxon line as Edward the Confessor's cousin and chosen heir; furthermore, he insisted

that his rival, Harold of Wessex, had at one time taken an oath to support his candidacy. Harold of Norway was the half-brother of Saint Olaf whom Cnut had deprived of his kingdom in 1028; he made a pretense at having inherited the rights of Cnut, though Sweyn, the reigning king of Denmark who was Cnut's nephew, had a better claim. Earl Harold had no constitutional right to the throne; but he was the ablest and mightiest lord in England, and had proved his abilities both in the council chamber and on the battle field, having led a successful campaign against the Welsh. A meeting of the lords was hurriedly called and Harold was chosen king. It is likely that this election was somewhat irregular, as the entire kingdom could not have been represented in the assembly. At any rate, the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, two brothers of the rival family of Leofric, did not accept the new king with any degree of loyalty. This was the weakness of Harold's position; the English aristocracy refused to give him its undivided support.

Dangers from Norway and Normandy. Harold ruled England for less than a year and spent nearly all this time in vain efforts to bolster up his tottering throne. Till early summer he was safe, for no hostile force would venture to cross the sea in winter. But serious trouble was in prospect, inasmuch as both Harold of Norway and William of Normandy were preparing to invade the English kingdom. The Saxon king collected a strong force on the Channel shore in expectation of a Norman landing, but for some time William was unable to sail because of unfavorable winds. But the winds that hindered the Normans brought the Norwegians quickly across the sea. Harold of Norway sailed his fleet to the Orkneys and thence southward to the coast of Yorkshire. When King Harold learned that the Norsemen were in England he hurried northward and crushed the Norwegian forces at Stamford Bridge. Nevertheless, the Norse invasion was fatal to Anglo-Saxon freedom and national life. While the English levies were absent in Yorkshire Duke William was able to land his sea-wearied Normans without opposition. The battle at Stamford Bridge had been fiercely fought and Harold's army had suffered heavily. Next came a forced march of more than three hundred miles to the coast of Sussex, where the weakened forces of the Saxon king were to

meet one of the finest armies in Europe led by the ablest captain of the age.

Battle of Hastings. 1066. On October 14 the Norman and the Saxon host met on the field of Hastings and fought a battle with the most far-reaching results. The nucleus of William's army was a splendid body of knights, heavily armed warriors mounted on powerful horses, whose favorite weapon was the sword. On the Saxon side the levies were grouped around the housecarles, the king's own guard which was apparently still made up largely of Scandinavian warriors. The housecarles used the battle-ax as their principal weapon and fought on foot. The knight overcame the housecarle. The English not only suffered a decisive defeat: their king, Harold, his two brothers, and the flower of the Saxon host lay dead on the battle field.

End of the Old English monarchy. A few weeks after the battle William began his march toward London. Illness delayed him for a month, but in December his army appeared outside the walls of the City. A delegation of prominent Englishmen now arrived at the Norman camp and offered the English crown to the conqueror. William accepted and was crowned on Christmas day in the new church at Westminster. But actual control of the kingdom he secured only after several years of strenuous warfare. In 1067 the Conqueror found it advisable to return to Normandy where he remained for some months. The men whom he left in control on the English side of the Channel showed little consideration for the king's new subjects; soon mutterings of discontent were heard in every part of the land. Several revolts flared up in quick succession: on the Welsh border, in the southwest at Exeter, in the Midlands, and at other points, but they were all local and sporadic. So long as the English did not unite in their resistance, William found it comparatively easy to crush all rebellious movements.

Progress of the Norman conquest. The conquest was carried forward in ruthless fashion. In 1069 the men of Yorkshire rose for a second time and made short work of William's garrisons. Later in the same year a Danish fleet appeared in the Humber and the situation looked perilous for the Normans. In other parts of England, too, there were new uprisings. But William was a match for all his enemies. He defeated the Danish army and proceeded to harry the lands of the rebels.

For a distance of more than fifty miles between York and Durham not a single village was spared. The Vale of York was reduced to ashes.

The last important uprising was led by Hereward, a Mercian of noble ancestry, who organized a band of rebels and outlaws in the region of the Fenlands and whose exploits became a favorite theme in the ballad literature of medieval times. Hereward had a fortified camp on the isle of Ely, which, surrounded as it was by marshes, was not easily approached. Here the rebels held out for several months, but William finally forced a surrender. The leader escaped; but with the flight of Hereward from Ely in 1071 all noteworthy resistance on the part of the English ceased and the work of conquest was complete.

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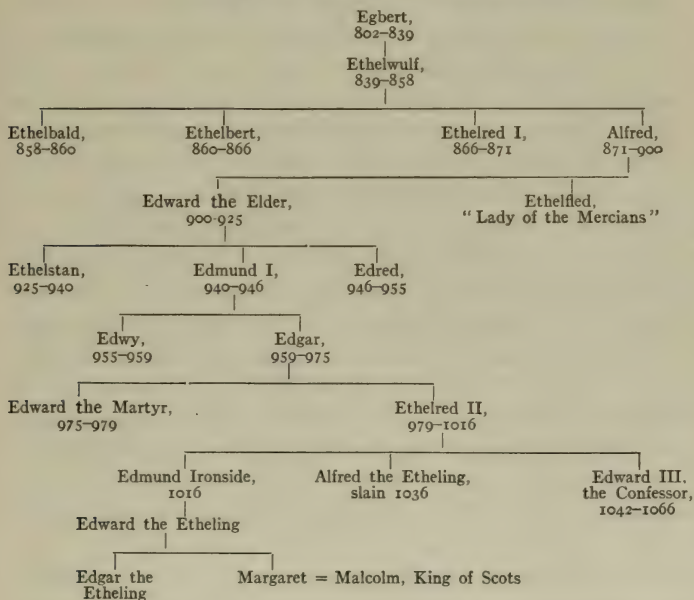
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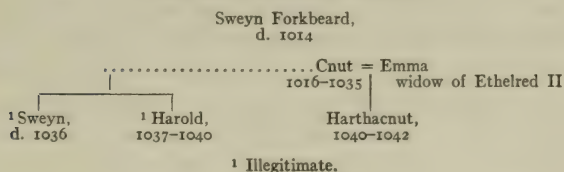
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THE KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF EGBERT



THE ANGLO-DANISH KINGS



CHAPTER III

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE UNDER NORMAN RULE

The policy of William I. William of Normandy did not regard himself in the light of a conqueror only; he professed to believe that he had a certain right to the English crown as the heir of Edward the Confessor. It was his avowed purpose to govern the kingdom as an English king, to enforce English laws, and to maintain English institutions. The results of the conquest do not, however, show any clear traces of this policy. England virtually became and for some years remained a dependency of the Norman duchy which was itself technically and legally a province of the kingdom of France. In a certain sense, therefore, England became a part of the French monarchy; but the connections between the two kingdoms were indirect and wholly within the control of the Norman duke. The influences which began to dominate life north of the Channel soon after the tragedy at Hastings were almost entirely of a type specifically Norman and were directed by strong, masterful, energetic, and sometimes high-handed Norman warriors and churchmen.

Destruction of the English aristocracy. With the coming of William and his strenuous following a series of marked changes began to appear in the English government and social arrangements, some of which came to be permanent features of the English constitution and of English life. Among the earlier results of the conquest the most significant was the destruction of the native Anglo-Saxon aristocracy. The English nobility suffered severely on the field of Hastings, where Godwin's family perished almost to the last member. In the uprisings led by the sons of Leofric and other disaffected Englishmen in the Midlands and the north country two years later, there was also great mortality among the English lords and thegns. Several other minor revolts had a similar outcome. As a rule the Conqueror was disposed to be generous if his opponents were of noble

blood; usually he spared their lives, though he was sometimes careful to render them harmless for the future by sending them across the Channel to Normandy. Those whom he allowed to remain in England he often deprived of lands, titles, or any other form of wealth that might prove a source of power and influence. In these various ways the native population was robbed of its natural leaders and organized resistance to the new régime became impossible.

Norman castles. The places of distinction and authority that had formerly been held by the English nobility King William gave to his Norman barons and other followers. These aliens were often permitted to live in castles. A Norman castle was a combination of home, fortress, and camp. In its earlier form it was merely a fortified enclosure or a single square building called a keep, built with massive walls and several stories high. The first castle of the latter type to be built in England was the famous Tower, which William caused to be erected on the bank of the Thames in the eastern extremity of the city of London. The walls of the Tower were very thick, from twelve to fifteen feet. A series of walls surrounding the keep was built twenty years later in the reign of William Rufus. The Tower served a double purpose: it gave the king a safe dwelling place in the City and it secured a more thorough obedience on the part of the turbulent Londoners.

In the twelfth century the art of castle-building developed into more elaborate forms. The later castle was an enclosure surrounded by a deep moat and a strong wall provided with towers at regular intervals to facilitate defense. Along the wall on the inside were placed the necessary buildings: the lord's hall, the chapel, the kitchen, the barns, the stables, the barracks for the retainers, and various other structures. In this little fortress the lord kept a number of warriors, often mercenaries and in the Norman period usually foreigners, serving at the same time as a garrison for the stronghold and as an army of occupation for the neighborhood. With the country dotted with such fortresses (there were 657 castles in England a century after the conquest) a native uprising had only the slightest chance to succeed.

Confiscation of land. The experience of earlier kings had been that a vassal so well provided with military strength might

become an indifferent and even dangerous subject; but the circumstances of the conquest forestalled such an outcome in England. It was with difficulty that William had persuaded his barons to join in the English venture; their feudal obligations did not extend to such an undertaking. To accomplish his purpose the duke had to enter into a series of agreements with his men, according to which they were all to be rewarded with English lands and honors, each in proportion to the assistance rendered. By dispossessing the English nobility the duke secured a great deal of land, but he went further and confiscated the lands of almost every Englishman who had joined in resisting the Norman attack. The distribution of land to the Norman knights and lords began in southern England soon after the battle of Hastings. After each subsequent rebellion more land was confiscated until finally the great mass of the native population was deprived of all right to the soil.

Norman-English fiefs. This process of successive confiscations and gradual distribution had the result that the landed possessions assigned to the Norman warriors were usually not large compact areas but groups of feudal estates, generally called manors, often widely scattered and lying in counties far apart. Those of King William's Norman vassals who had contributed liberally to the venture of 1066 were given extensive fiefs; but only in rare cases would the larger part of these lands be found in the same shire. In this way the danger from rebellion on the part of the barons was materially reduced, inasmuch as the individual nobles were not in position to mass their military strength. Only once did the Conqueror have to face a serious revolt among his vassals in England. Nine years after the battle of Hastings two important Norman lords, the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, planned an uprising; but William's government was able to defeat the conspiracy with little difficulty. The rebels had hoped for assistance from the disaffected English; but the natives loved the Norman lords even less than the Norman king; and when the earl of Hereford tried to form a junction with his confederate in the east, he found the passage of the Severn barred by a force composed largely of English militia. From that time on the restless barons held their peace until the Conqueror had passed to his final reward. But no sooner had William II assumed the kingship than he

had to face serious revolts in several parts of his realm. On this occasion, too, the royal government called on the native militia to aid in restoring peace. In the counties near London the English mustered in force and the rebels were soon defeated.

Villeinage. The dispossession of the English landowners in favor of an alien aristocracy was a fact that led to great changes in the structure of English society. It is not to be supposed, however, that the natives were driven away from the land; the Normans needed them to till the soil and allowed them to remain in possession of their farms so long as they rendered the services and paid the dues that the new system demanded. The greater part of the rural population was in this way forced into villeinage. A serf, or villein, was a farmer who cultivated a farm assigned to him on condition that he should render certain payments in the form of produce, labor, and sometimes money. A villein who had once come into possession of a farm found it extremely difficult to get rid of his land; for a villein was regarded as belonging to the soil like a house or a tree. His duty was to till faithfully, and this duty he transmitted as a heritage to his children. For a long time there was practically no refuge for a dispossessed serf, no place where he might go and find a welcome; consequently he found it expedient to labor on his farm in quiet obedience.

There seems to be a tendency to overestimate the servile condition of the villein. In villages that had been under the control of English or Danish lords prior to 1066 the obvious changes that followed the conquest may not have seemed of real consequence: a new lord simply took the place of the former master. But in villages that had earlier been free the new arrangement must have been irritating. Still, it is not likely that the farmers suffered very much from arbitrary treatment on the part of the new landlords. The rights of the villagers soon came to be clearly defined. Life on the manor was regulated by time-honored customs, and these the new lord found that he could not readily set aside. It is also clear that if a landlord subjected his tenants to very much ill treatment his income from the land would be likely to shrink. There is probably more discontent, degradation, poverty, and actual distress in the less prosperous sections of the modern industrial

city than there was in the medieval village where the population was rooted in the soil.

Social classes in England. According to the Domesday survey (made on the orders of King William in 1086), there were about 200,000 village farmers of various grades in England. This would mean a servile population of more than one million. On the other hand the foreign landholding element can scarcely have counted more than 50,000. In addition to the aristocracy and the unfree there were a comparatively small number of slaves and a certain number of free farmers which in some localities may have been quite considerable. It has been estimated that twelve percent of the population enumerated in Domesday belonged to the free farmer class. It frequently happened that the freemen rendered services very much like those due from the villeins; but these appear to have been a matter of agreement between the lord and the tenant, not customary duties like those owed by the villeins. The clergy made a class apart, and there was also a growing urban population which, being interested in trade rather than in agriculture, did not fit very closely into the manorial scheme.

Normally the villein farmed a yardland, or about thirty acres of arable land. Usually the lord of the manor reserved a part of the village land for his own use: this area was called the *demesne*, and the farm labor on the lord's *demesne* was performed by the villeins. It is estimated that the villein spent about one-half of his working time performing some sort of service for the landlord.

The king's *demesne*. It is important to remember that King William did not give out all the confiscated lands. Like other lords he had estates of his own scattered all over the kingdom. These were managed by stewards who were responsible to the king as landlord; and the farmers on the royal manors rendered service and paid rent directly to the sovereign. This group of manors was known as the king's *demesne* and was far more extensive than the possessions of any other landlord in the country. The king was believed to be less exacting in his demands than other landlords, and the villeins who farmed the royal *demesne* were regarded as more favorably situated than any others of the servile class.

Origin and nature of feudalism. Upon the basis of villeinage

the Normans built an aristocratic system, a form of what on the Continent was called feudalism. The feudal system (if one may use the term system for an arrangement so confused and unsystematic) originated and developed in the Frankish empire during the troublous times of the eighth and ninth centuries. It was at the same time a form of government and a social system. In theory the king was the owner of all the land. The greater part of this he had distributed among the more prominent lords, who had in turn given parts of their share to men of lesser rank. All who in this way had been endowed with land owed certain dues and services to the one from whom they held it, which they must render faithfully or all their rights to the land would be forfeited. In this respect the lord resembled the serf; but the lord had privileges that the serf did not possess. The dues that he owed were honorable, while those paid by the villein were base and servile. The lord's profession was warfare and government, and his sons might look forward to honorable careers in the state or in the church. The villein, on the other hand, was practically bound to manual labor; if the lord permitted, his son might enter the service of the church; but ordinarily a villein could hope for no career beyond the limits of the manor.

Peculiarities of Norman feudalism. The feudalism of the Norman state differed in several important respects from the typical Continental form, and these differences were carried over into the new social arrangements in England. In Normandy no lord might occupy a castle without a license from the duke, with whom the ultimate right to every fortified house remained. This rule was evidently not applied in England during the earlier years of the Norman occupation; but experience taught the king that a castle was sometimes a menace to his authority and William soon found occasion to take some of the more important strongholds into his own control. But it was not till the reign of Henry II, a century later, that a rigid system of licensing the building of castles was enforced by the royal government.

King William further insisted on a close limitation on the rights of private warfare in his English kingdom as he did in his Norman duchy. Coinage, which was a privilege exercised quite freely by lords of all grades on the Continent, was a

ducal monopoly in Normandy and the king insisted on the same right in England. In Normandy, too, Duke William exercised jurisdiction in certain judicial matters: he reserved the trial of certain crimes to himself or to his judges and collected the fines or other revenues that accrued from the prosecution. A similar custom was introduced into England, and during the period of Norman rule there was a growing class of such cases, or "pleas of the crown," as they were called. This royal jurisdiction covered all suits growing out of contempt of the king's orders, treason, counterfeiting, shipwreck, robbery, outlawry, and many other pleas of a similar kind. This was not new in England; a similar jurisdiction is found in the laws of Cnut; but the Norman kings extended the practice and developed it along Norman lines.

Earls and earldoms. The introduction of feudal land tenure brought about profound changes in the administrative system of the English state. It will be recalled that the Old English kings governed largely with the assistance of provincial earls; during the Confessor's reign every shire was normally under the direction of an earl. The Conqueror did not abolish the earl's office, but he granted the dignity in exceptional cases only. The English earldoms in William's day were comparatively small and covered only a fraction of the kingdom. Furthermore, these new earls had little authority except on the Welsh and the Scottish border, where the earl's office was comparable to that of a viceroy. On the Welsh border the earls of Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford enjoyed extensive authority; but of these three earldoms Chester alone had more than a temporary existence. A similar arrangement in the north finally developed into the palatinate of Durham, in which the bishop of Durham was both secular and ecclesiastical lord.

The sheriff; the "vicomte." In dealing with the counties and other local communities the Norman king made use of special commissioners whom he sent on occasion into the localities concerned to investigate and settle disputes which seemed too great or too difficult for the regular local officials. Normally, however, the royal authority in the counties was exercised through the sheriff. In Normandy Duke William had a local official, the *vicomte*, to whom he entrusted the important function of maintaining peace and order. The *vicomte* was also the ducal

representative in matters of finance; he commanded the military forces of his locality and had the duke's castles in his care. The duties of the English sheriff were enlarged along similar lines till his office came to resemble quite closely that of the Norman *vicomte*. With the virtual suppression of the earl's dignity, it became necessary to transfer the peculiar duties of that official, and some of these were assigned to the sheriff.

Manorial government. Local government in the narrower sense passed in great measure into the hands of the Norman nobility. The feudal tenant was at the same time a warrior, a landlord, and a local functionary. He was given the land that he might be able to equip himself with horses, weapons, armor, and other necessities of warfare, and, if his holding was large, to provide equipment for a definite number of armed followers. But he not only drew revenues from these lands; he also governed the people who tilled his land, at least to a very large extent. The functions of government in those days were chiefly to furnish police protection, to settle disputes and quarrels, and to punish criminals. Ordinarily each lord was allowed to have his own law court on each of his estates, where the villeins met under the presidency of the lord's steward, or other representative, to hear the suits of the community. It was presumed that the Old English laws and customs, such as were normally applied in the hundred courts, would be applied in these manorial courts; but the Normans had little knowledge of what was law in England. The result was that a great deal of Norman custom was introduced into the judicial arrangements of the country. In the course of time local customs developed and these, too, received the force of law.

Hundred courts and shire courts. The establishment of these private manorial courts seriously weakened the old public judicial system. The hundred court, which in Old English times had heard a vast number of petty disputes and complaints, had now almost no business to transact and gradually withered away. The shire court also suffered in prestige, but did not wholly disappear, as there was much litigation that the manorial courts could not be expected to take up and terminate. The survival of the shire court and the sheriff's office was of prime importance. A century after the conquest the English king became anxious

to reduce the power of the feudal nobility, and in the struggle that followed he found the shire government exceedingly useful.

Since neither the old Anglo-Saxon system of local courts nor the new system of manorial franchises provided a regular force of police officials, King William devised a new organization called the frankpledge which was to serve the purpose of a rural police. He decreed that all the male inhabitants of the village who had reached the age of twelve years should be enrolled as nearly as might be into groups of ten, each group to be held responsible for its own members to the extent of securing the arrest of any who should offend against the law. There had been a grouping into tens for police purposes in the days of Cnut; but the idea that each should be responsible for all and all for each was original with William I. The institution was under the supervision of the sheriff, and twice a year this official, or his deputy, made the rounds of the hundreds to make sure that all who were of proper age were enrolled in some group of the frankpledge.

The Curia Regis: council of the barons. The changes in the central administration were chiefly concerned with two institutions: the council of the barons and the exchequer. King William found it necessary to spend much of his time in Normandy; but when he was in England he was in the habit of entertaining his chief men at the three great church festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. In calling these assemblies the king was continuing an Old English custom, for the witenagemot had frequently been summoned to the royal presence at Christmas and Easter. The assembly itself continued the tradition of the Anglo-Saxon council. Like his English predecessors King William summoned the more influential men of his kingdom: bishops, abbots, earls, and wealthy land owners. To the Englishmen of the time the new council of barons must have looked very like the earlier witenagemot; but there was this important difference, that, while in Old English times the members of the national council were summoned chiefly because they held certain high offices, after the Norman conquest these same officials were invited, not because of their official functions, but because they ranked high among the king's tenants-in-chief.

The sessions at these great festivals (and at other times when the king entertained the baronage) were not entirely of a social

character. Important political questions were probably brought up for discussion, though the king was not obliged to accept the conclusions of the council unless he felt disposed to do so. In William's day the great council of the barons appears to have been called, not primarily for discussion, but to hear the king's will. But in the course of time it developed into an important part of the English government, for out of this feudal assembly grew the most venerable of all legislative bodies, the English House of Lords.

The Curia Regis: a permanent council. The king soon found it convenient to keep a small group of counsellors and officials continuously at his court to assist in the management of his affairs as king and landlord. This body was commonly called the Curia Regis, or king's court, a term which was also frequently used for the great council. In fact the Norman king seems to have regarded these two bodies as essentially the same institution, for it was within the king's power to call many or few to his assistance. The membership of the Curia Regis was composed largely of lawyers and churchmen, the latter being chosen in part for their knowledge of Latin and for their ability to draw up documents. In its earlier days the lesser council transacted a great variety of business; but when some practical phase of the administration grew to greater importance it might be assigned to some part of the council membership and this group might in time develop into a separate body. Out of the Curia Regis nearly all the central administration of the kingdom has developed, — the central law courts, the privy council, and the cabinet.

The justiciar. The most important official in the Curia Regis was the chief justiciar. In the king's absence the affairs of the English government were usually administered by a commission of justiciars. Among these one was regarded as chief, and after a time he came to be regarded almost as a viceroy. When in England the king frequently assisted at the sessions of the Curia Regis; in his absence the leadership fell to the chief justiciar. The justiciar's office maintained its importance for two hundred years; but in the thirteenth century it came to be thought unnecessary and was no longer filled.

The Domesday inquest. 1086. In his financial arrangements, the Conqueror continued the fiscal traditions of Saxon

times: the treasury was allowed to remain at Winchester; the ancient dues were continued; and the sheriff was entrusted with the collection of nearly all the royal revenues. But the Norman kings were thrifty administrators and sought to enlarge the royal income as much as possible. It was for this purpose that William the Conqueror shortly before his death had a great assessment made, the results of which are recorded in Domesday Book. Commissioners were sent into all the hundreds of the kingdom, and on the basis of information furnished by landlords, local officials, and villein farmers, these commissioners valued and appraised all the land in the greater part of the kingdom, each manor by itself. King William was interested in securing a variety of facts: the number of villeins, the number of plows, the extent of arable land, the extent of meadows, and the like. But most of all he was interested in the amount of revenue that each manor had yielded in Edward's day and how much at the time of assessment. By the Domesday inquest it was therefore possible to determine what the economic situation was in the different shires, how much land tax each village was in the habit of paying, and how much might be expected in future levies.

The exchequer. Under Henry I, the third Norman king, there first clearly appears a department of finance, the exchequer, traces of which still exist in the fiscal arrangements of the British kingdom. Most of the revenue due the king from each county was collected by the sheriff of that county. Twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas (September 29), the sheriff had to appear at Westminster to render account for what was due the king and to settle with the treasurer. The settlement was made in the exchequer chamber where the chief members of the Curia Regis and their clerks had gathered to assist in the transaction. The chief secretarial official of the exchequer in Norman times was the lord chancellor, who kept the seal of the Curia Regis. For some time the exchequer was regarded merely as the Curia Regis sitting for a special purpose; but by the middle of the thirteenth century it had come to be considered a separate institution, having its own seal and its own chancellor, the chancellor of the exchequer. This official, though always important, was of no real prominence until comparatively recent times; but in the nineteenth century he was definitely admitted

to cabinet rank, and at present he holds a place second only to that of the prime minister. His duty is to watch over the expenditures of the government, to estimate the funds needed for the coming fiscal year, and to suggest ways and means of procuring the necessary revenues.

Revenues of the Norman-English kings. The principal sources of the Norman king's income were the revenues from his estates, the services rendered by his tenants, the so-called feudal aids and incidents, certain ancient dues owed by the shires, fines for certain offences reserved to the king, and a tax on land. As the king's demesne was very extensive and comprised manorial estates in every county, his income as landlord was quite considerable. In Old English times the king had a right to expect entertainment for himself and his retinue for two or three days when he happened to travel through a given county; later the shire paid a lump sum instead of providing entertainment and the sheriff collected this whether the king came into the county or not. The land tax was a continuation of the old Danegeld. Feudal incidents were certain payments that were owing to an overlord whenever changes came into the feudal relation. Ordinarily these resulted from the death of a vassal. If the vassal died without heirs his lands returned into the hands of the overlord; this was called escheat. If he died leaving an heir, this heir could not come into possession of the inheritance until he had paid a sum of money called relief. If the heir was a minor, the overlord might undertake to manage the inheritance until the vassal should come of age; the right to do this was called wardship and was a source of considerable revenue, for the lord did not always manage the estate in the interest of his ward and in any case he had the income. Sometimes the overlord would attempt to control the marriage of female heirs and even of the widow of a deceased vassal, at least to the extent of charging for the permission to remain in the unmarried state. If a vassal proved disobedient, the overlord had a right to exact forfeiture, that is, to deprive the tenant of his land. Of all the feudal incidents relief and wardship were no doubt the most profitable; the king's tenants-in-chief numbered many hundreds, perhaps even more than a thousand, and deaths within the baronage were therefore not of infrequent occurrence. The revenues of the Norman-

English king were large for the time, but unfortunately they were neither constant nor elastic; in times of peace they were ample, but they did not suffice for the royal needs in times of trouble and warfare.

The boroughs in Norman times. It was not long before new sources of revenue were discovered in the towns. The towns or boroughs, as they continued to be called, had suffered much during the turbulent years that followed the Norman victory at Hastings. Many of them were entirely destroyed. But the need of commercial centers and regular markets was so insistent that the ruined towns were soon rebuilt and other new ones founded. The Normans were excellent builders and the new boroughs were a great improvement over the older English towns. The close contact with Normandy inevitably led to an increase in trade, foreign as well as domestic. Craftsmen from across the narrow seas came to seek homes and employment in the leading English towns, and domestic industry soon began to display a more vigorous temper. Along with the Norman trader came the Jew bringing available capital for the larger commercial ventures. New markets were found beyond the Channel, and before long close and enduring business connections had been formed between the more prosperous English boroughs and the commercial centers on the Continent, particularly the Flemish cities and the Hanse-towns of northern Germany.

Many of the new boroughs were quite small and differed very little from fair-sized villages. To a large extent the occupation of the boroughmen continued to be rural, for attached to every town were certain areas of plowland, pasture, meadow, and commons, from which the inhabitants derived an important part of their living. But the borough normally had a surrounding wall, a definite market place, and a group of shops where trade was carried on continuously; and in these respects the borough was clearly differentiated from the village. The population, too, was somewhat different: the villages remained English with some infusion of Danish or British blood; but into the refounded cities came the alien elements referred to above, the Norman, the Fleming, and the Jew. Consequently the boroughs to a large extent lost their distinctly English character.

A new form of borough government. In nearly every case the boroughs appear to have grown up on the land of some lord

or on the king's own demesne. After the conquest all boroughs were regarded as belonging to the king or to some feudal baron. But cities could not very well be governed by feudal law, as this presupposed rural conditions of the simpler sort. It therefore became customary for the boroughmen to ask for a measure of self-government, including some control of local taxation. This privilege was rated a very desirable one and had to be paid for, the price usually going into the royal treasury. In one way or another the boroughs were gradually drawn into relations with the royal exchequer. In the eleventh century the boroughs were still making use of the Old English borough machinery; but in the following century it became customary to place the right to manage the affairs of the community in the hands of the leading merchants and traders, who were sometimes organized into commercial fraternities called gilds.

Norman officials in the church. The changes that came with the Norman invasion were nowhere felt more profoundly than in the English church. Just as King William found it advisable to establish a new aristocracy, he found it important to replace the English hierarchy with Norman prelates. As vacancies occurred in the various sees or in the larger abbeys, they were regularly filled with men from the Continent. When William died only one English bishop remained in the land. Thus the authority and influence of alien leadership radiated not only from castles, boroughs, and manorial courts but also from churches, cathedrals, and monasteries. The new prelates did not know the language of their English flocks; they were not famous for piety or for interest in spiritual things; but they were able, energetic men, great organizers and famous builders. With the coming of the Norman bishops began the building of the great English cathedrals: Saint Paul's in London, Canterbury, Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, and many more.

Lanfranc. In charge of the English church as archbishop of Canterbury, William I placed an Italian monk, the learned Lanfranc, who had earlier served as prior of the important Norman monastery at Bec and as abbot of the newer foundation at Caen. Lanfranc was a man after the king's own heart, a lawyer and statesman rather than an ecclesiastic, a churchman whose legal training had inclined him to place the emphasis on the secular side of government. Nevertheless, the result of the new

regime was to reduce the authority of the king in the church and to bring the English establishment into closer dependence upon Rome. This was in part due to certain promises made to Pope Alexander II (who had once been a pupil in Lanfranc's school at Bec) by Duke William in 1066, when he sought and received the pope's blessing on his expedition against his Christian neighbor; but in greater part it was due to a strong reforming movement which had begun to sweep across Europe in the closing decades of the eleventh century.

Autonomy of the Old English church. During the Saxon period the English church, though loyally recognizing the leadership of the Roman bishop, had enjoyed large freedom in its internal administration. Three reasons may be assigned for this: (1) England was far distant from the capital of Christendom; (2) in the tenth and eleventh centuries the papacy was much too busy with its interests in Italy to give constant attention to the more remote churches; (3) moreover, until the middle of the eleventh century no efficient machinery had been devised for supervising the churches beyond the Alps. But in the days of William the Conqueror a system of papal envoys was being developed and a larger conception of the term Catholic came to hold sway at Rome, largely through the influence of William's famous contemporary, the monk Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII.

The policies of Gregory VII. Serious-minded men had long grieved to see the worldliness and corruption which seemed to permeate the church and believed that the cause of the evil lay in a too close dependence of the church on the state. The Cluniac movement of the tenth century looked toward a correction of these evils; its aim was to free the church from worldliness, first by pledging the clergy to a celibate life, and second, by securing for the church complete freedom to select its own officials and to install them in their offices without any assistance or interference from the secular arm.

Conditions in the Old English church under Edward the Confessor had not been ideal. Furthermore, the archbishop, Stigand, had incurred the charge of disloyalty toward the Holy See by receiving the pallium from a pope whose title to the sacred office was extremely doubtful and who was later deposed through the efforts of Hildebrand. Hildebrand saw in

William's ambitions an opportunity to gain an important ally; and it was he who finally induced the reluctant Alexander to bless a venture that looked very much like piracy. In return for the papal recognition William was expected to reorganize and reform the national church. So long as Alexander II was pope the relationship between the English king and the Roman prelate seems to have been quite cordial; but in 1073 Hildebrand mounted the papal throne, and the Roman court began a strenuous campaign to realize more thoroughly the Cluniac ideals.

Gregory VII made three definite demands on the English king: (1) that the clergy should be forbidden to have wives; (2) that the practice of lay investiture should be discontinued; and (3) that William should do homage to the pope for his kingdom. William and Lanfranc allowed the demand for a celibate clergy (1076) so far as to forbid future marriages by men in holy orders; but marriages already existing they refused to disturb. On the second point, that the church should be permitted to select and inaugurate its own officials, the Conqueror refused to yield. As the rulers of the church also assisted in the government of the state, William felt that he could not surrender the control of appointments. In addition there was the important fact that the bishops and the abbots controlled large areas of land held from the king by feudal tenure; but the feudal relation would have little meaning if the king were to have no voice in the selection of such important vassals. On this point the pope did not insist. It is likely that the conflict just then raging between Gregory VII and the German emperor, Henry IV, which culminated in the famous meeting at Canossa, had much to do with the consideration that Gregory showed to William I. The demand that the English king should do homage to the Holy See was met by a respectful but firm refusal; and on this point, too, the pope thought it wise not to insist.

William's ecclesiastical policy. In his dealings with the hierarchy King William followed a definite line of action from which he allowed no departure. He refused to permit his bishops to recognize any pope or to receive any letters from the Roman court without his permission. No church council could proceed to enact a new rule for the government of the church without first securing the king's consent. Nor was the church

allowed to excommunicate any of the more important men of the kingdom without the king's express permission. It is quite clear that the Conqueror did not intend to diminish his authority over the church in any important respect. Nevertheless, he permitted two changes in the constitution of the church which later did much to circumscribe the powers of kingship. Lanfranc came to England in 1070. The following year he revived an old English institution, the national synod or assembly of the higher clergy, which had fallen into disuse under the Saxon kings. These synodical gatherings enabled the church to act as a unit and to make its will more effective. About five years later (it is believed on the suggestion of Lanfranc), William decreed that the church should establish its own separate courts, where questions involving the officials or the property of the church were to be heard by ecclesiastical judges and determined according to canon law.

Growth of clerical power in the twelfth century. In Old English times such courts had been unknown: the priests and the bishops had assisted in the courts of the hundred and the shire, and cases of special interest to the church had been tried and settled along with secular disputes in these same courts. All this was now changed. In William's day the new courts were scarcely a serious matter; but in the following century they took on a decided growth. With the progressive development of higher education great accessions came to the clerical ranks, for all men who had gone through the higher schools were classed among the churchmen. This was also the age of the crusades; and the religious fervor which accompanied the crusading movement was responsible for a notable increase in the amount of property held by the church. At the same time there was an active growth in the field of canon law and a rapid development of judicial machinery within the church. Because of these facts King William's decree conceding separate courts to the church came to be of far-reaching importance.

The reign of William I. 1066-1087. William the Conqueror governed the English for a period of twenty strenuous years. The first five years were taken up chiefly with the suppression of rebellious movements in various parts of the conquered land, with the confiscation of forfeited estates, and with the distribution of rewards. Three years later the earls of Hereford and

Norfolk began plotting the overthrow of the new régime, but when the rising actually came Lanfranc and his associates were able to crush it with little difficulty (1075). The following year William and Lanfranc convened a national synod at Winchester where the decree enjoining future celibacy of the clergy was issued; the establishment of separate church courts seems to have been agreed upon at the same time.

During the remaining ten years of King William's reign there was comparative quiet throughout the entire country. The Norman barons were reorganizing their estates and erecting castles. The king's architects were pushing the work on the Tower of London. The Norman bishops and abbots were laying the foundations of splendid cathedrals and more elaborate monastic buildings. The boroughs were rising from the older ruins. Gradually the material aspect of merry England was being transformed. Naturally the native English were beginning to chafe under the burdens of the new economic régime. In addition to the demands of barons and churchmen there was the king's need of taxes which ultimately had to be paid by the tillers of the soil. In 1083 a "mickle geld" was levied and three years later began the famous inquiry into the resources of the nation which has been referred to above as the Domesday survey.

Government in William's day. Nevertheless, the reign of the first Norman king was not without notable benefits to the entire country. The merits of William's rule lay chiefly in his striving after efficient government and in the even-handed justice that he meted out to all his subjects. In his day the life and property of loyal Englishmen were as safe as the crude police machinery of the age could make them. "A man who had any confidence in himself," wrote the Saxon chronicler, "might go over his realm with his bosom full of gold unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another man, had he done ever so great evil to the other." The king, he continues, "was a very wise man and very powerful; more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to all the good men who loved God, and over all measure severe to the man who gainsaid his will." His great passion was the chase: "as greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father." He also loved wealth and is accused of driving hard bargains. By his stern



and merciless methods the Conqueror did much to consolidate the English nationality: he crushed out all provincial aspirations so that men soon forgot that they were Saxons or Mercians or Danes or Northumbrians, and England was welded together into a real kingdom. This was a benefit to the English race, but a benefit that was dearly bought.

William II. 1087-1100. When William died his Continental dominions, Normandy and Maine, which he had held as fiefs from the French king, passed according to feudal law to his first-born, the weak and undutiful Robert. The kingdom of England was still in theory an elective monarchy; and the great council of bishops, abbots, and barons had a constitutional right to choose any one of the king's three sons; but the lords followed the leadership of Lanfranc and accepted the Conqueror's own choice, his second son William Rufus. Robert, however, had many partisans in England: he was genial and easy-going while the "Red King" was strong, energetic, and overbearing to the point of tyranny. A few months after his coronation the barons rose in revolt in various parts of the kingdom. The situation looked desperate for the young king, but Lanfranc was still at his side; the king and the archbishop summoned the English militia from the counties in the neighborhood of London and the uprising was speedily crushed.

The policies of the new reign. Like his great father, William Rufus was a man of ability and resolute purpose; but he was lacking in the Norman sense of order and in respect for the church. The avarice of the Norman dynasty he had inherited in full measure and his government of England is characterized chiefly by the employment of questionable expedients for increasing the royal revenue. These were concerned largely with feudal inheritances and vacancies in the church. The amount of the payment called relief was fixed in a general way by feudal custom; but the Red King disregarded all law and collected reliefs that were clearly exorbitant. In exercising the right of wardship he also overstepped the customary limitations and managed the lands of minor heirs in the interest of the royal exchequer only. He further contrived to keep important church offices vacant for periods that seemed unnecessarily long; meanwhile, his agents collected revenues from the lands attached to these and even sought to exact relief from

the tenants holding these lands. In these and various other ways William II increased his income very materially; but he also provoked much hostility among the higher classes in his kingdom.

Cumberland. At the same time William Rufus carried forward several measures that came to have permanent importance for the future of the kingdom. The policies of the red king and his brother Henry who succeeded him were chiefly concerned with three lines of action: they wished to unite Normandy and England; they sought to conquer Wales and to make the northern border more secure; and they hoped to weaken the power of the papacy over the church in their dominions. In the northwest the district about Carlisle comprising the larger part of the modern counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland was still foreign territory belonging to the Scottish king. The king of England believed he had an ancient claim to these territories and in 1092 William II invaded Cumberland, seized Carlisle, and carried the boundaries of England northward to the Solway. The Red King did not stop with the conquest of the region: he repaired the fortifications of Carlisle and planted a colony of Englishmen in the surrounding country to till the land and hold it for the English king. The Scots recovered Cumberland half a century later but were able to hold it for a few years only.

The Welsh Marchers. During the same years the Anglo-Norman baronage was making some progress in an effort to conquer Wales. William I had established several important lordships on the Welsh frontier and had allowed the border barons, or Welsh Marchers as they were called, to extend their power and their domains into Wales as far and as fast as they were able. A considerable strip of eastern Wales was conquered in this way through the activities of the lords of the March. One of these chieftains operating from Gloucester overran and seized the southern coast of Wales which his successors continued to hold by means of a chain of castles extending from the river Wye to Pembroke on Milford Haven. About the year 1090 these operations were going forward quite rapidly. The Marchers held these lands without much regard for the rights of either Welsh princes or English kings. Finally William Rufus took a hand in the conquest; but his success was chiefly in establish-

ing English control over the regions already seized and in bringing the Welsh border more definitely under the authority of the king at Westminster.

The relation to Normandy. With his brother Robert, the duke of Normandy, King William was not long at peace, since each coveted the other's dominions. Inasmuch as many barons held lands on both sides of the Channel, it was only natural for the Norman-English nobility to feel that the kingdom and the duchy ought to be under the same ruler, preferably under Duke Robert, who was thought to be less strenuous than the inconsiderate William in asserting his feudal rights. The rebellion of 1088 was in Robert's interest, and the lazy duke seems to have been a party to the conspiracy. Having pacified his kingdom, William Rufus early in 1091 invaded Normandy and succeeded in getting control of some parts of the duchy. A few years later an event occurred which once more united England and Normandy, though for a brief period only. Seized with the crusading fervor Duke Robert decided to join in the great adventure which was then being organized in western Europe to free the Holy Places in the Orient from Moslem control. To secure funds sufficient for suitable equipment he mortgaged his duchy to his brother William for the sum of 10,000 marks silver. For the remaining four years of his life William Rufus governed both England and Normandy.

Henry I. 1100-1135. One summer day in 1100, while he was enjoying the chase in the New Forest, William Rufus was shot, accidentally, perhaps, by a member of the hunting party and was mortally wounded. When his brother Henry, who was present, learned that the king had fallen, he galloped away to the neighboring city of Winchester, seized the royal treasure, summoned a few of the barons, and had himself elected king of England. Henry was the youngest of the Conqueror's four sons. He was a capable and carefully educated man, avaricious like his brother William, but more self-controlled and possessed of greater insight into statesmanship.

Henry's accession to the kingship was anything but regular; and when, a few weeks later, his brother Robert returned from the Holy Land with much prestige as a valiant crusader, he laid claim to the kingdom and found some support among the nobility in England. In 1101 Robert actually in-

vaded England, but on the promise of aid against his enemies in France and a pension of 3000 marks (which Henry never paid) he agreed to return to his duchy. Strained relations continued, however, and resulted in open warfare four years later. With an army made up to some extent of English foot soldiers King Henry crossed to Normandy and defeated his brother on the field of Tinchebrai (1106). Duke Robert surrendered and spent the remaining twenty-seven years of his life as his brother's prisoner. Henry seized the Norman duchy and for nearly a century longer it remained, except for a brief period in the following reign, a French fief in the possession of the English king. In the eyes of the English the victory at Tinchebrai avenged the defeat at Hastings. William I had joined England to Normandy; Henry I joined Normandy to England. But though the English kingdom was rapidly becoming the dominant state in the Norman monarchy, the influence of the duchy still continued strong on both sides of the Channel.

Anselm. The reunion of England and Normandy was achieved in 1106. The same year King Henry solved another problem that he had inherited from his predecessor: the old difficulty of episcopal election and investiture. After the death of Lanfranc William Rufus had kept the see of Canterbury vacant for several years to the great injury of the national church, inasmuch as this vacancy left the bishops without a recognized leader in their efforts to resist the aggressive policies of the king. When a successor was finally chosen, the choice fell upon another Italian, the learned and scholarly Anselm, monk and abbot of Bec, a man of saintly character whose soul was aflame with enthusiasm for the church, and in whose opinion the needs of the king and his government counted for very little. At the time Anselm was about sixty years of age; at Bec he had distinguished himself as an efficient administrator as well as a popular teacher. Though firm and unyielding in his convictions, he did not believe in active resistance; when difficulties arose between himself and the king, he was usually satisfied with making a vigorous but dignified protest.

The investiture strife. In 1095 the western church held a great council at Clermont where Pope Urban was present to urge the union of all Christian peoples in an effort to recover the Holy Sepulcher from the infidel Turks. The decision to

undertake a crusade was reached amid great enthusiasm; but somewhat earlier the council had passed a decree of even greater significance: lay investitures were forbidden. The term investiture was understood to mean not only the actual installation of a bishop-elect but also his appointment or election to the high office. It was clearly the intention of the reforming element in the church that the rulers should have no part in the filling of ecclesiastical offices.

Anselm's quarrel with William Rufus. From the day when Anselm was consecrated archbishop there was disagreement between the king and the primate as to the extent of royal authority in the church. At bottom the question was one that concerned mainly the feudal obligations of the higher church officials. William Rufus regarded the church as a group of rich fiefs which paid, or ought to pay, goodly sums into the royal exchequer. Anselm, who believed strongly in the newer ideas of ecclesiastical independence and the fulness of papal power, recognized no feudal obligations on the part of the church; if Canterbury forwarded money to the king's treasurer it was in the form of a gift and not of feudal dues. Two years after the council of Clermont, Anselm, weary of the interminable strife, left the country and spent three years in voluntary exile. In 1100 Henry I, who had now succeeded to the throne, recalled him; but the king and the archbishop differed as before. Henry called upon Anselm to do homage for the Canterbury lands, to pay the customary dues into the exchequer, to pledge the services that his predecessors had pledged, and to accept as valid the episcopal appointments that the king had made in the primate's absence; but the archbishop refused. King Henry insisted on the enforcement of his hereditary rights, and Anselm, after two years of fruitless opposition, once more left England to seek refuge on the Continent.

The cathedral chapter. The church had recently developed a new organ for the election of bishops, namely the cathedral chapter. This was a body composed of the priests, or canons as they were called, who chanted the service in the various cathedrals. Of such canons there might be only half a dozen, or there might be as many as two score, the number depending on the size, needs, and wealth of the cathedral. These priests were organized into a corporation headed by a dean. The

chapter also served as an advisory council to the bishop and assisted in the management of the property belonging to the see. It seems to have been regarded in a vague way as representing the priesthood of the diocese, especially in the matter of elections. When the cathedral was located in a monastery, as was the case at Canterbury, the monks composed the chapter and claimed the right to elect the archbishop, who was at the same time their abbot.

The compromise of Bec. The earlier custom had been for the king to designate the new bishop, and, after the choice had been confirmed at Rome, to invest the candidate with the staff and the ring and to hand over to him the "temporalities" of the see. By temporalities was meant the property, principally in land, from the revenues of which the bishops derived their financial support. It was now the desire of the church to emphasize further the spiritual character of the ecclesiastical offices by denying the king any share in the investiture ceremonies.

The investiture strife in England finally came to a satisfactory close in a compromise arranged at Bec in 1106 and formally accepted by Henry I the following year. Of the three points in dispute, homage, investiture, and election, the king and the church each surrendered one: the king gave up the right to invest, while the church agreed to pay the customary homage for its feudal holdings. On the far more important subject of election it was agreed that the cathedral chapter should elect the bishop and the monks of the monastery should choose the abbot, but only after permission to hold an election should have been given by the king; and, what was still more significant, it was stipulated that the king might be present at such an election, either in person or by a representative. On the whole the compromise was a victory for the king: his nominees were from this time on usually accepted, and his feudal authority over the monastic and cathedral lands was conceded. Three years later Anselm died and for five years Henry I refused permission to hold an election with a view to filling the vacancy. Finally in 1114 he summoned the barons, the bishops, and the Canterbury chapter to his palace at Windsor, where under the king's eye the chapter proceeded to elect the king's candidate. It is clear that Henry I retained the

substance of authority in the larger concerns of the church even after the compromise of 1106.

The charter of Henry I. On the whole the reign of Henry I was quiet and uneventful. Like his brother he was eager to amass wealth, but he had more discretion and greater foresight. He saw clearly that greater revenues might be extracted by legal and customary means from a contented and prosperous people than by violent measures from a nation in distress. A few days after his accession he issued a charter in which he promised the barons that the illegal practices of his brother William should be discontinued: reasonable payments only should be collected as relief; church offices were not to be kept vacant to the advantage of the royal income; minor heirs should be given equitable treatment. Henry promised further to give up sundry other evil practices, but as usual the performance was not equal to the promise.

Revival of interest in Old English law. King Henry did not overlook the fact that the shire courts were a source of revenue, and he found it expedient to watch the judicial institutions very closely. But he was a king who loved order and justice for their own sakes as well as for the income derived from the courts in the form of fines and forfeitures. In his day a new interest appeared in the provisions of Anglo-Saxon law. On the king's suggestion the lawyers of the *curia regis* began a study of Old English legislation, and summaries and translations were made of the old laws of Cnut, which were the most recent as well as the most complete.

Character of Norman rule. For nearly seventy years William the Conqueror and his two sons governed England. During this period the English people had almost nothing to say in the matter of their own government: Norman kings, prelates, and barons were in absolute control. Though in most respects the Normans gave efficient government both in church and in state, their system was, nevertheless, an alien régime and was sometimes almost unbearably harsh. The invaders reshaped English society by completing the process of feudalization; but, as a necessary condition in a feudal state came serfdom, this time under foreign landlords. The conquest gave the country new leaders whose descendants in time would regard themselves as Englishmen. It unified the English people by rooting out

provincial ambitions. It hastened the introduction of the higher civilization of the Continent. To control the two castes in the kingdom, the Norman aristocracy and the native villein class, the Norman kings created a system of government which in the hands of William and his sons proved workable and effective. But on the death of Henry I the new scheme collapsed: the classes in possession of power threw off all restraint and England experienced twenty years of anarchy. The task of creating an administrative system able to hold in check the Norman baronage and give ample protection to the native population fell to a new king, Henry II, the first of the Angevin line.

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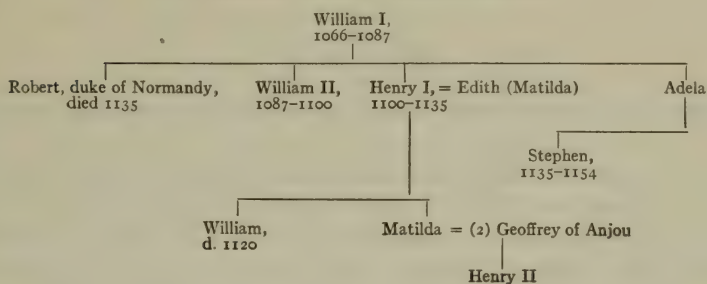
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THE NORMAN LINE OF KINGS, 1066-1154



CHAPTER IV

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

The reign of Stephen. 1135-1154. Henry I was born in England and was loyally accepted by his English subjects. He further endeared himself to the native element by marrying Edith (whom he renamed Matilda), a Scottish princess of the house of Alfred, the niece of Edgar the Etheling who had been one of his father's competitors for the English crown in 1066. But after thirty years of successful kingship Henry found himself growing old without a male heir to succeed him. His nearest relatives were his sister's son, Stephen of Blois, and his daughter Matilda who had married as her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, the count of Anjou. The king finally succeeded in getting reluctant oaths from the English barons that they would elect Matilda queen after his own death. Among those who took this oath was Matilda's cousin Stephen of Blois. But oaths were frail things even in such a religious age as the twelfth century. When the news came that Henry was no more, Stephen hastened to England to claim the crown. The barons were easily convinced that, since they had in a way been forced to swear allegiance to Matilda, their oaths were not binding. The "aldermen and the wise folk of London" also accepted the pretender, and Stephen was crowned king.

For nearly twenty years of strife and sorrow Stephen remained the nominal king of England. As a ruler he had the best of intentions, but he was utterly wanting in ability to carry them out. His reign was a period of unrelieved misery. The almost continuous warfare which the persistent Matilda kept up against the usurper gave the barons an opportunity to ignore and nullify all authority but their own. Each baron thus became a local tyrant and the sufferings of the villeins were keen and continuous. The nobles forced the natives to build their castles, and "when the castles were made they filled them with

devils and evil men." Those who were suspected of having wealth were put to the torture. Robbery became common; the rich were ruined; famine stalked over the land.

Henry Plantagenet. The reign of Stephen illustrates the evils of feudalism when left unchecked by higher authorities in the state. The barons also did their best to keep the civil war aflame by aiding now the one, now the other, of the two claimants. When Matilda finally retired from the contest, her young son Henry took up the fight. Early in 1153 he invaded south-western England with a small Norman force. Stephen's spirit was now broken, and after a feeble show of resistance he accepted the mediation of the primate and came to terms with his virile opponent. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should be allowed to retain the crown till his death and that Henry of Anjou should be regarded as his heir and successor. A year later the young prince ascended the English throne as Henry II.

King Stephen and the church. During this period of misery there was one institution that had gained steadily in strength and influence; the church had suffered little from the anarchy. The wave of emotion that had called forth the crusades continued to swell with irresistible force, though its military phase was no longer so prominent. In the days of Stephen a most marvelous man had risen to intellectual leadership in western Christendom: Saint Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, a French monk of unexampled piety whose vision embraced the entire church. On the legal and judicial side there was also notable development: a great ecclesiastical lawyer, the Italian monk Gratian, was preparing a great work on the canon law, in which the legislation of the church was systematized, codified, and harmonized, so that the duties of the ecclesiastical courts might be rendered less perplexing. Gratian's work was of particular interest to those churchmen who insisted on the rights of the clergy to have their difficulties settled in the church courts.

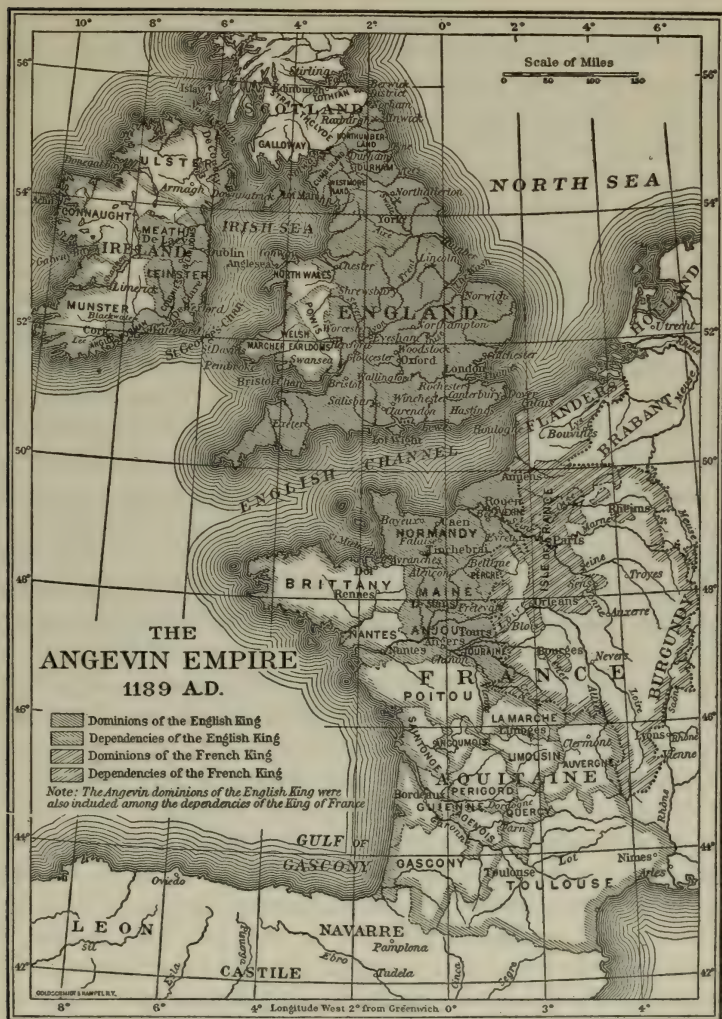
Twice during his reign King Stephen came into serious collision with the forces of the church: first in 1139 when he arrested several bishops on the suspicion of treachery; and about six years later when he ran counter to the ideas of the reforming party, a vigorous element which found its inspiration in the activities of Saint Bernard. In the former case he vio-

lated the privileges of the church and was deposed by the clergy in favor of Matilda, whose arrogance, however, soon made her impossible. The second quarrel resulted from a clerical protest against an unworthy nomination to the see of York. After some years Stephen was forced to yield and his nominee lost his appointment.

Henry II. 1154-1189. With the accession of Henry Plantagenet a new type of king came to the English throne. Like his grandfather Henry I, the new ruler was primarily an administrator; but he was far more energetic than his prudent ancestor. Henry II was neither a legislator like Alfred nor a conqueror like Cnut or William; and yet in a sense he was both, for he added large areas to his dominions, and, though he made no formal laws, he issued a number of formal instructions, or assizes, to his judges and other officials, all of which had the force of law and came to be of far-reaching constitutional importance.

King Henry's chief business, as he understood it, was to govern, and he put all his energy into the task. The social side of kingship, the festivities, the gorgeous robes, the stiff ceremonial of the palace possessed little interest for the young prince. He was plain in person and manners, undignified in action and appearance. He is described as a short, rather stout man "of ruddy complexion, with a long, round head, piercing blue-gray eyes, fierce and glowing red in anger, with a fiery face and a harsh voice." What impressed his contemporaries most was his restless activity; it is said that he was not able to keep quiet even when in church but whispered and wrote while mass was being said. He rarely tarried long in any particular place and it is somewhat difficult to follow his movements as he dashed up and down his wide dominions from kingdom to duchy and from state to state.

The Norman-Angevin inheritance. The inheritance that had come to the young prince was large enough to tax the energies of an even more strenuous monarch than Henry Plantagenet. While Matilda was fighting for the English crown, her husband, Count Geoffrey, was busy reducing the strongholds of the Norman baronage, and for several years he administered the Norman duchy on behalf of his young son. In 1150 Henry was formally invested with ducal authority in Normandy, and on the death of



his father the following year he inherited the counties of Anjou and Maine. A few months later he married Eleanor, the divorced wife of the French king, who possessed in her own right the extensive duchy of Aquitaine. The western half of France and more were thus gathered into the hands of the young duke. For all these lands Henry did homage to the king of France as overlord. When he mounted the English throne his dominions extended from the Cheviot Hills to the Pyrenees, a distance of nearly nine hundred miles.

Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Eighteen years later he extended his authority to Ireland. Over Wales and Scotland he claimed the rights of a feudal suzerain. His power in Wales was based on the fact that large parts of that country were controlled by the barons of the March. In Ireland he was lord, a title which seems to imply a vassal relationship to the papacy; but the fact remains that Ireland, so far as it was conquered, was regarded as a dependency of the English crown. In France Henry II bore no title higher than that of duke; but in England he was lord and king, enjoying full, independent, sovereign rights. It will thus be seen that he did not exercise the same degree of authority in all his dominions; nevertheless, the sum of his powers was extraordinary for the time. In western Europe he had but one serious rival: the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, was a ruler of dignity and ability; but Henry of England was the stronger king, for he controlled the resources of his dominions more completely than the emperor had ever been able to control those of the German lands.

England and Normandy. The two most important parts of the Norman empire were Normandy and England. The empire had been founded by Normans and was largely under the control of a Norman aristocracy. So far as Henry's diverse dominions recognized a common speech, Norman-French was the language of the empire. Norman institutions appear to have been introduced into every part of the Plantagenet realm. England, however, was rising to an even higher place than the Norman state. England was richer, larger, and more populous. It was to England that the rulers of Normandy looked for men and money in their frequent struggles with their suzerain lords in Paris.

Methods and policies of the new king. In statesmanship

Henry Plantagenet was an opportunist. His plans did not look far forward, they covered the problems that lay nearest. His methods, though often violent and unlovely, were usually effective. It may be that he had no conscious aims during the earlier years of his reign; but circumstances soon forced him into a course of action which brought him into conflict with the two powerful social forces of the time, the clergy and the baronage. In neither conflict was he wholly successful: in his contest with the churchmen he failed to gain all the ends sought, but he began a struggle that lasted through centuries. In his reign the English monarchy took the offensive.

For some years Henry II devoted his energies to restoring order and effective government to the distracted kingdom. The unlicensed castles which the turbulent nobles had built during the anarchy of Stephen's reign (1118 is the number given) were dismantled. Moreover, the king reclaimed large parts of the royal demesne which Stephen and Matilda had given as rewards to their followers and partisans. This action was taken partly to increase the income of the crown and partly to reduce the landed area held by the baronage; for Henry II soon came to realize that only by reducing the resources of the feudal lords could the authority of the crown be established.

Thomas Becket. In this work of organizing and repairing the young king was ably assisted by Thomas Becket, a Norman clerk of the middle class whom he made his chancellor. The office of chancellor was the highest in the land on the secular side; next to the primate the chancellor was the most prominent subject in the realm. Originally the king's private secretary and chief of the secretarial bureau where all the state documents were prepared and preserved, he had risen to the position of chief adviser and minister to the king. The chancellor shared all the state secrets of the king; the king's plans were all known to him, as he prepared and issued the orders for their execution. The Lord High Chancellor is still a prominent member of the English government, though his ancient duties have in large measure passed to other officials.

After Becket had served the king faithfully for seven years, Henry resolved to promote him to the high office of archbishop of Canterbury. It was a most unusual choice, for Becket had never been famous for piety or religious interest. The church-

men hoped little from the pleasure-loving courtier and there was strong opposition to the appointment; but the king's will prevailed. Henry had hoped for an archbishop of the type of Lanfranc, one who would govern the church in the interest of monarchy. But Becket determined to rule the church in its own interest and chose to pattern his life after that of Saint Anselm, though he failed to imitate his great predecessor in the virtues of patience, long-suffering, and serene devotion.

Holy Orders. A few months after his consecration the new archbishop clashed seriously with the king on the subject of court jurisdiction. It will be remembered that William the Conqueror had permitted the church to have its own courts where all litigation concerning churchmen or church property was to be determined. But in the intervening century the term "clerk" had come to have a wide significance. In the medieval church there were seven orders of men who had been set apart with elaborate ceremonies for the labor and the service of the sanctuaries. These men were said to have taken holy orders. These orders were in two groups, major and minor. The major orders comprised the offices of bishop, priest, and deacon, all of whom were (and still are) competent to carry out the ordinary church services. Those in minor orders included such as were ordained for certain duties about the church or during the hours of divine worship. The acolyte assisted at the mass; the reader and the exorcist had once rendered certain services connected with the conversion of non-Christians; the door-keeper was charged with the duty of keeping the unbaptized or those who were doing penance away from the more distinctly Christian parts of the church service. When the entire population of a locality became Christian some of the minor orders lost their earlier significance. There were also in the middle ages a number of men who had merely taken the tonsure, the initial act in ordination. While the tonsure did not admit the candidate to any of the seven orders, it made him a churchman and conferred on him the privilege of "benefit of clergy," which was the technical term for the right to hearing and trial in the courts of the church.

Punishment of "criminous clerks." There were two reasons why the activities of the church courts were distasteful to Henry II: for one thing they deprived the crown of considerable

revenue in the form of fines; for another, they were not efficient in dealing with serious crimes. For it had come to the king's ear that clerks had been accused of vulgar and even vicious crimes and, what was worse, that inadequate punishment had been meted out to such offenders in the ecclesiastical courts. The church was not allowed to deprive any one of life or limb; nor did the churchmen care to spend the income of the various ecclesiastical foundations in building jails or prisons. Various forms of severe penance, a pilgrimage to some distant shrine, or enforced residence at some monastery were often made to serve as penalties in the case of "criminous clerks." Offenders were consequently anxious to claim benefit of clergy. But the kingly spirit of Henry II, which was by instinct orderly, revolted against a system so inefficient as this appeared to be.

The Constitutions of Clarendon. 1164. Early in 1164 the king called the magnates together at Clarendon and proposed a plan for the reform of judicial procedure in cases where churchmen were charged with crime. King Henry seems to have held that the accused should first be brought into a secular court. If he could prove that he was a clerk, he should then be sent to the church authorities for trial. If convicted in the church court he was to be degraded from his ecclesiastical office and sent back to the king's court to receive sentence.

These provisions were included in a document known as the Constitutions of Clarendon which, as the king held, embodied the old established customs governing the relationship of the clergy to the secular authorities. This was true in part only; some of the customs cannot be found in earlier practice. Becket fought violently against the adoption of the constitutions. Degradation and loss of office and revenues were, he held, sufficient punishment for any crime committed by a churchman. He finally accepted and signed the document with the intention, as he said, of atoning for the sin later on. By the close of the year Becket had left England and escaped to France, where he sought out another exile, the pope himself, who had been driven from Rome by the German emperor. It was embarrassing for the pope to be on hostile terms with the two most powerful rulers in western Christendom; but he regarded Becket's cause as the cause of the larger church, and so far as he was able he supported the fugitive archbishop.

The murder of Thomas Becket. . 1170. The quarrel that began in this way continued for six years. In the end an agreement was reached and Becket returned to spend the last few weeks of his life at his cathedral. But he did not return in humble mood, and his temper was not improved when he reached Canterbury and found that neighboring magnates had plundered the possessions of his see. Even worse than this was an insult that his office had suffered a few months earlier: shortly before his reconciliation with Becket Henry II had had his oldest son crowned king by the archbishop of York. The archbishop and two other bishops who had assisted at the hapless coronation had already been placed under the curse of the church before Becket's return; and on Christmas Day, 1170, the primate proceeded to excommunicate a number of others who in some way had incurred the wrath of the church.

When Henry heard of Becket's doings at Canterbury he was furious. Four of his knights, believing that the king had expressed a desire for Becket's death, immediately crossed the Channel, traveled on to Canterbury, and slew the stout-hearted bishop in his own cathedral. Henry was appalled at the deed; he had planned the arrest but not the death of the archbishop. But the murderers were apparently never punished.

For some months Henry's position was extremely critical: it was not known what form of punishment the outraged church would demand. He was able to avert the decree of excommunication, but not till more than a year later was Henry II granted absolution for his part in Becket's death. The martyred prelate was immediately rewarded with a place among the major saints; and the shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury became one of the most popular in the kingdom.

Failure of Henry's anti-clerical plans. The result of the murder of Becket was that the English king was abruptly halted in his effort to extend his judicial system to the clerical orders. Though the Constitutions of Clarendon were never formally withdrawn, it was tacitly understood that Henry II would not attempt to enforce those that looked toward the trial of clerks accused of felonies not involving treason. The king did, however, succeed in limiting the power of the church courts to try civil suits: to a large extent cases involving property rights were kept in the secular courts. But for more than three cen-

turies longer the educated classes continued to enjoy benefit of clergy. After a time, as the knowledge of letters came to be a more common accomplishment, the abuse of this privilege came to be intolerable and it was finally limited by a Parliamentary act (1487).

Ireland in the twelfth century. While the negotiations looking toward a settlement with the papacy were being carried forward by Henry's diplomats, the king himself was preparing to invade and conquer Ireland. In the twelfth century the English people had little accurate knowledge of Irish conditions. Among the more cultivated classes the island was known for its mild and pleasant climate, its fertile soil, its many saints, its beautiful books, and the untamed freedom of its people. It was thought of as a region of much mystery and many tales were current of marvels which were believed to exist in distant parts of the island. It was told that the Irish tribes were anything but peaceful in their social relations, and it seems true that there was much anarchy on the island. The Irish church, too, was in a bad way, inasmuch as it allowed practices which were elsewhere held to be immoral, such as the marriage of cousins and other relatives of near kinship.

It seems likely that William I had designs on the Green Isle, for the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* states that if he had lived another year he would have had Ireland; but no actual attempt to interfere in Irish affairs was made for nearly a century longer. Henry II had conceived a plan for the annexation of Ireland soon after his accession to the English throne; and the reigning pope, Hadrian IV (who was an Englishman), was induced, as the lord of all the islands of the sea, to add the Emerald Isle to the dominions of the great Angevin. At the time, however, Henry II was too busy with other matters to undertake an invasion, and it is also probable that he was disappointed in finding that the pope insisted on retaining the overlordship of the island.

The Normans in Ireland. 1168. Ten years later an opportunity appeared which Henry did not entirely allow to pass. An Irish chief from the Dublin country, Dermot McMurrough, had carried off the wife of one of his neighboring chieftains and had also taken certain other treasures belonging to this same neighbor. The wronged husband appealed to the high-king of Ireland and Dermot had to go into exile. He finally appeared at the



court of Henry II asking aid against his enemies; but this was at the time of the Becket controversy, and the king felt that it would be unwise to leave his French possessions just then. For he knew that his old enemy and overlord, who was Becket's host, was eagerly awaiting an opportunity to relieve him of these same possessions.

But Henry was quite willing to allow the Irish exile to solicit help and support among the Norman-English barons, and Dermot was finally able to interest a few men of baronial rank in southern Wales. Several of these crossed over from Pembroke to Ireland where they seized considerable territories along the eastern coast. The chief among them was Richard of Clare, commonly known as Strongbow, who was preparing to join the earlier adventurers in the same month that saw the reconciliation between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury. At first Strongbow had some success; but soon troubles thickened about him, and he was compelled to return to Great Britain to seek assistance from Henry II.

Henry II in Ireland. 1171-1172. The king had already planned an expedition to Ireland. Two motives were apparent: first, the fear that the impecunious Strongbow and his wild associates might win a kingdom for themselves in Ireland; second, the hope that by forcing the Irish church into a more complete obedience to the Roman see the king might win the pope's gratitude and secure more favorable terms when the time should come for a formal reconciliation with the church. Henry sailed from Milford Haven in October, 1171, and remained in Ireland till the following Easter. He did not attempt a complete conquest: the chieftains of Ulster refused to do homage, and the native high-king, Roderick O'Connor, remained in his stronghold behind the Shannon. The homage of the Irish princes was of little advantage to Henry II; the important fact was that a large part of the eastern shore-land was secured by Henry's henchmen. A colony was located in Dublin and garrisons were placed in that city and farther south in Waterford and Wexford. A justiciar was appointed to represent the king in his absence. This title became extinct in the following century, but the vice-royalty was continued under other titles till the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922. At present the king is represented in Ireland by a governor-general.

In November, 1172, Henry II convened the bishops of the Irish church into a great national council at famed Cashel, where the authority of the invader was formally recognized, the bishops hoping apparently that the new régime would put an end to the prevailing anarchy. In return for this recognition King Henry helped the prelates to reform the national church and to secure the obedience of the lower clergy. He was also pleased to approve decrees looking toward a more careful collection of the tithes and establishing the claim of the church to immunity from secular taxes. Three years later a treaty was made with the high-king in which the O'Connor acknowledged the suzerainty of Henry II and was in return recognized by the English king as lord of all Ireland except such parts of the coast as were already in the hands of the Norman-Welsh adventurers. With this agreement the independence of Ireland came to an end. In 1191 the high-king retired from the world and entered a monastery. With his death a few years later the line of native Irish high-kings became extinct.

The rebellion of the king's sons. Henry II returned to England in 1172. A month later he had a conference with the papal envoys in the Norman city of Avranches where he made peace with Holy Church. It would seem that his position was again strong and secure; but greater trials were in the future. His son Henry was not wholly satisfied with his royal position: he was a king duly crowned and consecrated, but he had no kingdom and no adequate revenues. Incited by his father-in-law, the king of France, and by his restless mother, Queen Eleanor, young Henry raised the standard of revolt. In this rebellion two of the king's other sons, Richard and Geoffrey, joined. The war continued for a year and was fought chiefly south of the Channel. The old king was completely victorious. Among the allies of the younger Henry was William the Lion, the king of Scotland. By a singular good fortune King Henry came into possession of William's person and the Scottish king found it necessary to purchase his freedom with an oath of homage to Henry II. For fifteen years Henry was overlord of Scotland. Except for a few princes in the mountains of Wales, all the lords of the British Isles recognized, formally at least, the supremacy of the king of England.

The reforms of Henry II. The designs of the French king, the

Irish problem, the quarrel with the church, and the uprising of the king's sons were serious matters; but they did not consume all the energies of the strenuous monarch. The same period (1164-1174) saw a series of important developments in the government of the kingdom. When Henry came to England he found a half-developed form of central administration centering about the Curia Regis. As in the days of Henry I the work of the Curia Regis was chiefly of two sorts: occasionally it sat as a committee to consider finance, and when acting as such it was called the exchequer; but most of the time its officials sat as a court of justice. In the counties the old shire courts were still in operation hearing law suits in the old way. Between these two bodies the king found no connecting link except the sheriff who twice a year came up to the capital to render account for the royal revenues due from his shire.

Itinerant justices; circuit courts. Henry II supplemented these institutions with a group of itinerant justices who went from the Curia Regis into the various counties to try cases in which the king might have an interest. It seems that such delegates had occasionally been sent out under earlier kings and that the practice consequently did not originate with Henry II; but Henry improved the system, extended its jurisdiction, and gave it a definite place in the government. He divided the kingdom into circuits, giving each a definite number of judges. In 1176 there were six circuits with three judges assigned to each; three years later the number of circuits was reduced to four, but the number of justices for each district was increased to five. About the same time King Henry appointed a bench of five judges who were to remain almost continuously at the royal court transacting there the same sort of business and employing the same sort of procedure as the itinerant justices transacted and employed in the shire courts. Out of this new institution ultimately developed one of the great central common law courts, the court of common pleas, whose function was to hear and decide cases which were of interest, not to the king, but to the king's subjects.

Assizes. Originally the itinerant justices were probably sent out to investigate matters relating to the royal revenues; but as they were men learned in the principles and provisions of the law, they were soon called upon to assist in settling a va-

riety of litigation. But to pass upon disputes which were often purely local these judges were scarcely competent; they lacked the necessary information. King Henry was a man with a practical turn of mind: he instructed the justices to make inquiries among the leading men of the localities with a view to getting such information as the community might possess. These and other instructions were embodied in a series of "assizes" of which the more notable are the Assize of Clarendon and the later Assize of Northampton, both of which deal primarily with procedure and punishment in criminal cases.

The inquest and the jury. Out of this method of inquiry by the itinerant justices developed among other things the English system of trial by jury, which may be regarded as the greatest achievement of Henry's reign. Neither the method nor the idea on which it was based was original with Henry II. Inquiries that involved the taking of community evidence had been made in the earlier period of the Frankish monarchy. It was the method used in collecting information for the Domesday survey and it seems to have been employed on other occasions by the Norman kings. But it was Henry II who first made extensive use of this method in the law courts and made the jury a necessary part of the judicial system.

Two forms of the jury are used in the courts of the present day: the grand jury and the petit jury. The grand jury investigates charges against suspected persons to determine whether or not they shall be held for trial; it is this jury that indicts or accuses. The grand jury first appears in the records in the Constitutions of Clarendon, where it is provided that if a man is of such prominence that no one is willing or dares to accuse him he shall be indicted by twelve lawful men chosen from the neighborhood.

The Grand Assize. The actual trial of a criminal case is generally held before a body of twelve men called the petit jury. This form of the jury does not go back to the reign of Henry II; it was not fully developed until two or three generations later. In certain forms of civil cases, however, the king ordered his itinerant justices to accept the award of a jury chosen among the best men of the hundred, usually twelve in number. By what is known as the Grand Assize Henry ordered that in the King's court all disputes involving the

title to land should be determined by the award of a jury if the defendant should so request. For the king saw clearly that the common method of determining ownership, the duel or wager of battle, was grossly unfair to the weaker party. The honored custom of the judicial combat soon fell into complete disuse, though it remained a legal method of determining disputes until it was formally abolished early in the nineteenth century.

The ordeal. No less ridiculous was the ordeal which for some time continued to be employed to determine guilt or innocence in criminal trials. The Assize of Clarendon seems to imply that the form of the ordeal commonly used in the twelfth century was that of the cold water. In this ordeal the accused was taken to a body of water which had been solemnly blessed for this purpose by the officiating priest, and into this he was thrown with hands and feet securely bound. It was believed that the water would reject the guilty but would take the innocent to its bosom; consequently those who sank were regarded as innocent, while those who floated were adjudged guilty. Henry was skeptical about the appeal to the Almighty and ordained that notorious criminals should be banished from the realm even though they were cleared by the ordeal.

Jury trials in criminal cases. The ordeal was virtually abolished at the Fourth Lateran Council held in Rome in 1215. This council forbade the priests to participate in the appeal to God, on the plea that no clerk should have a share in any action that might lead to the shedding of blood. After this decree began to be enforced a new method of trying criminal cases became necessary. The question of determining guilt was sometimes left to the grand jury of the hundred to which the case belonged; sometimes this grand jury was strengthened by the addition of other jurors from neighboring hundreds; but more often representatives to the number of twelve were chosen from the various grand juries (three from each hundred) and the case was submitted to this new body. Thus the jury was gradually changed from a body possessing information to a group of men who could not be supposed to have any information about the case in hand.

Weakness of the feudal military system. Parallel to these judicial reforms there were certain important improvements

in the king's financial system. After a hundred years of experience with feudalism the rulers of England saw clearly that the baronial caste could not be relied upon to supply the necessary forces for offensive warfare. It was a problem how long a vassal could be expected to serve in the royal host, though forty days at his own expense appears to have been the rule. It was also a question whether he could be forced to serve in warfare on foreign soil. Henry had ambitions to extend his territories in southern France; but the English barons disliked to serve in such distant fields. The king, therefore, allowed them to pay money as a part of the service due; this was known as scutage or shield money. Although in assessing this tax the king had no desire to weaken the old arrangement, the levy was significant as marking the beginning of feudal decline; for with the money King Henry hired mercenaries in Wales, Flanders, Brabant, and elsewhere, and the feudal knight gradually ceased to be a real necessity in warfare.

Toward the close of the reign Henry II went a step farther: he issued a new assize, called the Assize of Arms, ordaining that certain classes among the commoners were to provide themselves with the most necessary armor and weapons and be ready for service at the king's call. In a way this was a revival of the Old English militia. In Anglo-Saxon times there were "three necessary services" which the king could demand from all his subjects: these were services rendered in building and repairing roads and bridges, in constructing and repairing fortifications, and in repelling the enemy in the field. Henry II made the military service more definite and provided machinery for its enforcement. It was not a large or a very efficient force that was provided in this way, but the new militia might prove useful as an army of defense.

Henry II's financial system. In the central government Henry II introduced several important reforms but no startling innovations. The reorganization of the Curia Regis on the judicial side and the extension of its authority into the shires by means of the itinerant justices have already been noted. The machinery on the financial side was not materially changed; it remained essentially what it had been under the older Henry, but its efficiency was highly improved. The work of the exchequer officials comprised not only the semi-annual sessions

when the sheriffs brought the king's revenue to the royal treasury; it also included a careful scrutiny of accounts and the preparation of a remarkable series of records called the "Pipe Rolls," which yield much detailed information as to the fiscal resources of the English king. The custom of preparing such records dates from the reign of Henry I; but the series of rolls does not become continuous before the accession of Henry II. King Henry had the same sort of financial organization in Normandy and perhaps also in his other Continental states. Excepting the Norman ruler of Sicily no other European monarch had a fiscal system that could approach the exchequer of Henry II.

Justice as a source of revenue. The king's officials watched carefully over every source of royal income and the amount collected steadily increased. Like his grandfather the "lion of justice," Henry II was able to make the administration of justice a fruitful source of revenue. The new judicial arrangements, the itinerant justices and the jury, were the king's own, intended primarily to expedite the king's business. If a subject wished to have his case tried by the newer methods he would first have to secure the king's permission. This permission took the form of an order, called a writ, by which the case was removed from the older jurisdiction into one of the newer royal courts. For this writ the king would exact a fee. At the same time it is true that the revenues from the expansion of the king's judicial system were not increased so much as one might expect: in the case of serious crimes fines gave place to other and more serious penalties, such as the loss of a limb or even of life, while for lighter offenses the amount of the fines was reduced. Since the days of the Danegeld the English people had become accustomed to occasional taxation of land; in the days of Henry II a faint beginning was made with a tax on movables, or personal property, the proceeds of which were to be used wholly to promote the crusading movement, in which Henry strove to show a respectable interest.

Death of Henry II. 1189. The last few years of the great king's life were a time of much sorrow and bitterness. Queen Eleanor had borne him five sons, four of whom grew to manhood; the queen deliberately trained them to oppose their father. After the failure of their rebellion in 1173 the brothers

were almost constantly at war with each other or with the barons of the regions which they had been appointed to govern. The older two died some time before the king; but the younger sons, Richard and John, remained to make trouble. The new king of France, the able, crafty, and unscrupulous Philip Augustus, found it expedient for his many and devious purposes to stir up the ambitions of the two young princes. In 1188 he entered into an alliance with them and the three made common war on the broken-down monarch. Henry felt that his day was done and acceded to the demands of his undutiful sons. He even promised to forgive all who had joined in the rebellion, on the condition, however, that he be furnished with a complete list of those to whom he was to extend clemency. The request was considered reasonable and the list was produced; but when the suffering king saw the name of his beloved son John at the head of the list, his heart broke. Two days later he died and his son Richard succeeded to all the Norman dominions.

Richard I. 1189-1199. Richard the Lion-heart was a unique figure, unlike any English king who had ruled before him. Least of all did he resemble his father, for in appearance Richard I was impressive and king-like. He is described as "lofty in stature, of a shapely build, with hair half-way between red and yellow. His limbs were straight and flexible, his arms somewhat long and for this very reason better than those of most folk to draw or wield the sword." But with all his virtues the new king was scarcely more than a royal adventurer whose joys were sought and found in battle and tournament; as a king he was expensive and of little worth. Only twice during his reign of nearly ten years did he appear in England and then for a few weeks or months only. The importance of Richard's reign for English history lies chiefly in the fact that by his financial exactions and his neglect of the kingdom he sowed widely the seeds of discontent and rebellion which brought forth a rich harvest of revenge in the reign of his successor.

The third crusade. For a king who might wish to distinguish himself in personal warfare a magnificent opportunity appeared at the very outset of the new reign. For the third time the sovereign of the church called all Christendom to arms, this

time against the mighty Saladin, Mohammedan sultan of Egypt and Syria. Among the princes who responded were Richard I and Philip Augustus. Preparations were made on a vast scale and the financial resources of the English kingdom were strained to the utmost. Honors and offices of all kinds were openly exposed for sale and generally went to the highest bidder. But more important for the future of the British Isles was the restoration of Scottish independence: for a sum of 15,000 marks William the Lion was released from the obedience rendered to Henry II. Thus the disintegration of the vast Norman empire began at the very accession of Richard I.

In 1191 the allied monarchs joined the crusading host in the Holy Land. During the two years that Richard spent in this great adventure he maintained his high reputation as a knight; but his over-bearing temper, his obstinate refusal to be guided by others, and his insistence on leadership did much to weaken the cause that his sword defended so brilliantly on the battle field. Soon the crusading army was completely disrupted. Under the circumstances it was impossible to regain Jerusalem, and all that Richard secured was a truce and security for the pilgrims who might wish to visit the holy places.

Richard in Germany. Of far greater interest to the English people was a terrible humiliation that befell their king on his return from the Orient. Fearing that Philip Augustus might seek to entrap him, he did not return by the usual route but sailed up the Adriatic Sea from the head of which he planned a journey overland in disguise. But while resting over night at Vienna he was recognized, seized, and handed over to the emperor who held him for the huge ransom of 100,000 marks, a sum equivalent to several million dollars in present day values. It was with great difficulty that the ransom was raised; almost the entire revenue of the English government for two years was required to purchase the liberty of the reckless king.

Richard and Philip Augustus. When Richard arrived in England he found that his brother John had allied himself with Philip Augustus in an attack on his authority and his dominions. The rebellion soon collapsed, but during the remaining five years of the king's life there was constant warfare between

the French monarch and his powerful Norman vassal. Philip Augustus was a real statesman and a resourceful ruler. His ambition was to reorganize France and to strengthen the royal power. To accomplish this purpose he sought to reduce the prestige of his greater vassals, especially the Angevin house, which could muster against him not only French but English forces. Instead of having Richard as duke or count of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Aquitaine, and other fiefs, Philip Augustus proposed to drive him out of France and get the Angevin dominions into his own hands as count or duke of each particular fief. But in the war with Richard he had only slight success, for the English king was the abler general.

Hubert Walter. During the greater part of Richard's reign the government of England was directed by Hubert Walter, a statesman who had been trained in the Curia Regis of Henry II. Hubert Walter had accompanied Richard to the Orient and had made himself useful in various ways, especially in the negotiations with Saladin. In 1193 he returned to England to collect funds for the king's ransom. The same year he was rewarded with the offices of archbishop of Canterbury and chief justiciar. Hubert Walter was not a great administrator, but he was faithful to his lord, and he understood the workings of the governmental machinery that Henry II had perfected. Several interesting experiments in local government were made while Hubert Walter was justiciar. In 1194 the coroner's office appears for the first time in a public document, though the office may be somewhat older. In this reign it became customary to elect the jurors in the county court. In dealing with the shire courts Hubert Walter made large use of the lesser nobility, the knights, who from this time on became the controlling element in the local government; but it is worth noting that in making up the juries he permitted villeins to serve along with the freemen. In Hubert Walter's time, too, the practice of taxing personal property in the interest of the central government probably had its beginning. The justiciar was not a popular ruler; the king's war with his suzerain called for much money and in the eyes of the nation Hubert Walter was merely a collector of taxes.

King John. 1199-1216. Early in 1199 while directing an attack on the castle of a disobedient vassal, Richard was wounded

and died shortly afterwards. In his last hours he designated John as his successor. Some of the French barons took up arms in behalf of Arthur, the young son of John's older brother Geoffrey; but England and Normandy accepted John and the movement collapsed.

Of all the English kings John was the meanest and the most despised. He was not without abilities of a certain kind, but on the moral side his character was sadly lacking. Strong, cunning, brutal, and treacherous, he could deal effectively with enemies, but could not retain friends. Still, the very wickedness of the new king proved an advantage in the end. It created conditions that forced the separation of England from Normandy and brought forth the solemn pronouncement of the Great Charter that the king is below the law.

The loss of Normandy. The loss of Normandy can be traced directly to a breach of feudal custom. In the first year of his reign John put away his wife Isabella of Gloucester and the next year married another Isabella, the daughter of a French count in the Loire country. The new queen, though only twelve or thirteen years of age, had already been betrothed to a neighboring nobleman, when temptation came to her in the form of the English crown. The disappointed bridegroom was Hugh of Lusignan, one of John's vassals in Poitou. It is a principle of feudal law that a suzerain must give his vassals honorable treatment; and Hugh naturally felt that King John had dishonored him. In his anger he made war on his rival and finally appealed to John's overlord, Philip of France. The wily king gladly seized the opportunity to make trouble for his royal vassal and ordered John to appear before a feudal court in Paris to make answer to the charge of dishonorable conduct toward a vassal. The English king failing to obey the summons, Philip Augustus decreed that he had lost his case by default. The French king next formally recognized Arthur's claim to all the Angevin possessions in central and northern France except Normandy.

A few months later, while Arthur was busy making war upon his grandmother Eleanor in western France, King John surprised him and forced him to surrender. Sometime during the following year the young prince was murdered. John's cause in France was now ruined. The divorce had alienated a

large part of the English baronage. The treatment of Hugh had furnished Philip Augustus with a welcome pretext to attack his troublesome vassal. The murder of Arthur destroyed the English king's authority among his French subjects. The Normans, weary of the unending warfare, looked with indifference on the victorious progress of the French king. Rouen fell in 1204. By the close of the next year all of John's possessions north of the Loire were in Philip's hands. The dominions of the Angevin dynasty in France were reduced to a few towns in Poitou and the territories of distant Gascony. The great Norman empire had come to an end. Of Henry II's inheritance in northern France only the Channel Islands continued in the possession of the English king.

To the Angevin dynasty the loss of all these provinces was a grievous blow; for with the possession went large annual revenues from ducal estates and feudal rights. To the English nation, on the other hand, the separation was a distinct advantage. A century earlier the English baronage had felt that England and Normandy ought by all means to continue under a common ruler; but that feeling had largely disappeared. In the course of the twelfth century many baronial families had divided their possessions, so that in John's day there were but few barons who held fiefs both in England and on the Continent. The connection with Normandy was of no particular advantage to England except to a slight extent in a commercial way; furthermore, it took a great deal of the king's time and it taxed the energies of the English nation. The French territories had belonged to the English king but not to the English crown; nevertheless, the English people had been called upon continuously to defend these foreign dominions. With fewer outlying possessions the policies of the English king would necessarily become more national, more English.

Death of Hubert Walter. 1205. Though John did little to thwart the plans of his French overlord, he did not give up the hope of regaining all that he had lost. The Gascons, who were enjoying a profitable trade in wine at the English ports, remained loyal. Using Aquitaine as a base from which to operate, John was planning to reconquer the lost territories north of the Loire. He was planning to lead an English army into France when he became involved in a quarrel which engaged

his attention for the next eight years. In 1205 Hubert Walter, the statesman-archbishop who ruled the see of Canterbury, died and the primacy was vacant. Hubert Walter had not been an aggressive prelate but he was no blind tool. John had never liked him and determined that the next archbishop should be a more pliant personality.

The cathedral chapter and church elections. In the earlier centuries of the church the episcopal office was filled by election in which the people and the clergy of the diocese had a share. But whatever the theory of election may have been, in practice the bishops were chosen by the kings and princes most interested. Even the development of the cathedral chapters as electing bodies did not secure freedom from governmental interference, since by the compromise of 1106 the king was virtually allowed to name the new bishop. In the case of Canterbury the right of the king to dictate the choice of his own nominee was established by a long line of precedents. The chapter at Canterbury was monastic and the formal election of the new archbishop was therefore the function of the Canterbury monks; still, they could scarcely claim the right of absolute choice, for there were other clerical bodies that had a moral right to be consulted. The priests of the diocese of Canterbury were interested because the archbishop was their bishop. The bishops of the province of Canterbury were interested because the new bishop would be their archbishop. The prelates of the entire kingdom were interested because he was the primate of the English church. The king's interest lay in the fact that the primate's office was second only to his own; naturally he wished to control the choice.

The Canterbury election. The older monks, realizing the force of these facts, wished to consult these various interests; but the younger brothers were full of the newer ideas as to clerical independence and denied the right of either king or bishop to share in the election. Accordingly they proceeded to hold a conclave at which they chose Reginald, one of their own officials, who was clearly unfit for the exalted office. The archbishop-elect was immediately dispatched to Rome to receive the pallium, the symbol of his office which the pope alone could confer and without which he could not execute the functions of his office. When John learned of Reginald's journey, he was furious. He

had expected the election of his own candidate, John de Gray, the bishop of Norwich, who was as thoroughly unsuited to the dignity as the insignificant Reginald, but who, strangely enough, had the approval of his brother bishops. Pressure was brought to bear on the Canterbury chapter and soon a request came from the monks for permission to hold an election. This was granted, and obedient to the royal will the chapter admitted the bishops to the session and elected John de Gray.

Stephen Langton. 1206. Thus there appeared at the papal court two candidates for the primacy of England, both bearing credentials from the chapter at Canterbury. Innocent III who ruled the church in John's day was a man of the keenest insight; and he soon reached the conclusion that both candidates were unfit and both elections irregular. Representatives of all the interests concerned, monks, bishops, and royal plenipotentiaries, were summoned to Rome to hold a new election. Believing that the delegates from the chapter would be true to their promise and elect de Gray, the king readily assented to the pope's plan. But Innocent released the monks from their promises and urged them to elect the best available English churchman. The advice was heeded, and at the formal election all but one of the sixteen monks present voted for Stephen Langton, an English cardinal who had been a student friend of the pope at the University of Paris. Innocent confirmed the election, and in June, 1207, consecrated Langton to the high office.

These proceedings were at best unusual, but the times looked favorably on papal absolutism and the Canterbury monks accepted the decision without protest. Moreover, the choice was doubtless the best that could be made. Stephen Langton was English born and of English blood; he was a man of ability, learning, and strength of purpose. While at the University of Paris he was regarded as an able theologian; it is also believed that Langton was the one who divided the Bible into chapters. But never before in the history of the English church had the primacy been filled in the teeth of royal opposition.

The interdict. 1208-1213. The king's wrath was boundless. He refused to accept the new archbishop, forbade the bishops to obey him, and proceeded to punish the monks of Canterbury

whose stubborn behavior had precipitated the conflict. Innocent III in his turn laid an interdict upon the English kingdom, an act that paralyzed the national church by forbidding all but the most necessary rites and services. The church bells were silenced. The church holidays passed without celebration. Mass was said in the churchyard. "The bodies of the dead, too, were carried out of towns and cities and buried in roads and ditches without prayers or the attendance of priests." In an age that invested the externals of worship and the sacramental acts with such great sanctity, the discontinuance of normal divine services meant privation and sorrow and fear. For five years England was virtually cut off from Christendom.

King John excommunicated. 1209. King John met the interdict by seizing a large part of the ecclesiastical properties. Many of the clergy suffered personal ill-treatment at the king's hand. Nearly all the bishops fled the land. After a year and a half of the interdict the pope resolved on excommunication: King John was solemnly placed outside the pale of the church and his subjects were forbidden to associate with him or to assist him in any way. For more than four years England was ruled by a king who was under the ecclesiastical curse.

The papal sentence awakened all the terrible energies of the shifty king. He crushed out opposition wherever it was evident and prevented serious defections by securing hostages from the principal baronial families. Many an Englishman also supported him from a feeling that the Roman court had not shown due regard for the honor of England. It seemed that the papal weapons were making a slight impression only. As a last resort Innocent turned to Philip Augustus and sought to enlist his services in the effort to carry out a sentence of deposition with which he had threatened the obstinate king.

John's submission to the papacy. 1213. It is not likely that the new danger would have proved very serious; but the king's suspicious soul distrusted every one, and he suddenly decided to humble himself and make peace with the church. In the presence of the papal legate he surrendered his kingdom to the Holy See and received it back as a fief on condition that a yearly tribute of 1000 marks (700 for England and 300 for Ireland) should be paid into the papal treasury. This tribute remained a legal charge against the English exchequer for a

century and a half and was actually paid during the greater part of that period. It was finally renounced by Parliament in 1366.

The English leaders appear to have offered no protest against this amazing bargain. In an age when almost every man of importance was somebody's vassal, arrangements of this sort did not outrage national feeling as they would to-day. Moreover, five other European monarchs made some sort of submission to the Roman see during the pontificate of Innocent III. Still, the act was not a source of pleasure: Matthew Paris, the eminent historian of the following reign, denounced the submission. Apparently the English barons hoped that peace with the church would also mean peace with France; but in this they were soon to be disappointed, for both John and Philip were eager for war. An alliance was formed against the grasping French monarch by his equally avaricious neighbors: King John, the Emperor Otto IV (who was John's nephew), and the count of Flanders.

Opposition of the great estates. But when John came to ask military and financial assistance for the great venture, he met determined opposition. He had now alienated the two great orders of the kingdom, the clergy and the nobility, in part by his treatment of the church during the five sorrowful years of the interdict, and in part by his tyrannical efforts to raise funds for his unpopular and unsuccessful foreign wars. These years of trouble had also proved disastrous to the profession of the merchant, and the cities had therefore become disaffected with the rest of the nation. Thus all the three estates of the realm, the classes that possessed the power, the wealth, and the influence, were arrayed against the king. During the two years following the submission to the papacy there was much agitation among the English magnates. The baronage had found a leader in Geoffrey Fitz Peter, who had succeeded Hubert Walter in the high office of chief justiciar. It was Geoffrey's purpose to administer the government as far as possible according to the king's wishes; but in the rising conflict between the king and the aristocracy, he was inclined to side with his own class. In August, 1213, at a gathering of the barons at St. Albans, he called attention to the laws of Henry I and promised on the king's behalf that these should be strictly

enforced. A few weeks later the justiciar died, to the king's great relief. But the barons soon found another and an abler leader in Archbishop Langton, who urged them to stand firmly for the laws and promises of Henry I.

The disaster at Bouvines. 1214. The next year King John sailed for Aquitaine with a force of mercenaries, the barons having generally refused to serve outside of England. John was to make an attack from his Gascon strongholds in southwestern France, while his German and Flemish allies were to advance southwestward from the Netherlands in the direction of Paris. But on the field of Bouvines in southern Flanders Philip Augustus crushed the imperial army and the hostile alliance crumbled. With his allies defeated King John did not dare to pursue his plans further at the time, but returned to England thoroughly discredited and wholly unprepared to meet an uprising which partook of the nature of a national revolt.

The revolt of the barons. 1214-1215. The specific question at issue between King John and the barons in 1214 was whether the king could demand military service from his vassals in a campaign on foreign soil, the barons holding that they owed neither service in person nor shield money except for the defense of England. On his return from France the king unwisely raised this question by demanding shield money from those who had refused to share in the recent expedition; the barons denied the obligation. Under the guise of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Edmund just before Christmas, the disaffected nobles held an important conference on which occasion they took an oath that they would give the king no peace until he should grant them the liberties promised in the Charter of Henry I.

The months between Christmas and Easter were spent in fruitless efforts to negotiate a peace, in which efforts Archbishop Langton took a leading part as mediator between the king and the hostile barons. Soon after Lent the discontented lords, having gathered a force of about 2000 knights, "besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers," marched upon London. Deserted by all but a few favorites, King John withdrew from the City, and London opened its gates to the rebels, "for the rich citizens were favorable to the barons, and the poor ones were afraid to murmur against them." A month later the

Great Charter was sealed at Runnymede on the southern bank of the Thames not far from Windsor.

The Great Charter. The Great Charter bears some resemblance to the earlier Charter of Henry I, but it is more extensive, more elaborate, and more explicit. It is throughout a feudal document, almost every section dealing with some grievance of the baronage. It also contains a few sections which were of interest to the clergy and the trading classes, or which have to do with the government of the kingdom. The provisions of the Charter may therefore be grouped under four heads.

1. The authors of the Great Charter sought first of all to secure the rights and the "liberties," or privileges, of the nobility. The payments and the services due the king from his tenants or from their lands were stated in fairly specific terms and the king promised to exact only what he had a right to collect according to ancient custom. It therefore became difficult for the king to increase the burdens of the baronage, as William Rufus had done, or to reduce the rights of the nobility, as Henry II had tried to do. It is an interesting fact that the question of foreign military service found no place in the document. Perhaps the barons had come to see that their contention was untenable.

2. Some attempt was also made to secure the property of the merchants, for the merchants had been useful allies in the fight against King John. The Charter makes specific mention of the city of London: the King promises that "it shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water." The same rights are secured to "all other boroughs and villages and ports." These guarantees have special reference to commerce, and are therefore of interest to the trading classes whom the king had occasionally afflicted with burdensome dues and taxes.

3. The church is assured of the right to govern itself and to be free from secular interference in the election of its high officials, but the terms used are very general. After the death of Stephen Langton Henry III protested against the choice of the Canterbury monks and the pope sustained the protest. There were several other contested elections in the thirteenth century, and the pope was usually found on the king's side; for the Roman see could not always afford

to insist on the freedom that it claimed for the church. Its financial needs were growing, and a benevolent monarch could do much to assist in the collection of revenues among the faithful.

4. The Charter left the machinery of government practically unmolested. The reforms of Henry II were recognized, but the document reveals an effort to limit their operation and to prevent further extension of royal power. In a sense, therefore, the Great Charter is a reactionary document: it looks back to the time before the king had begun to interfere with feudal rights. In section 37, for example, an attempt is made to limit the use of the writ *praecipe*, a royal order by which a case might be transferred from a feudal to a royal court. The result of such a transfer would be a loss of revenue to the lord concerned, and the writ *praecipe* was consequently in great disfavor among the barons.

"Liberty" and "freeman." The term "freeman" which appears repeatedly in the Charter is used in a feudal sense and is practically limited to lords and knights. "Liberties" in those days meant privileges, and it was the liberties of the aristocracy that the Charter was intended to secure. There were men in England who were neither nobles, clerks, nor tradesmen, but were still classed among the freemen. These, however, formed neither a very large nor a very influential class; the vast mass of the nation was still made up of villein farmers. For the villeins the Charter had no promise of any great value; only when villeinage had disappeared and all Englishmen were rated as freemen did the document come to have importance for all classes.

Four hundred years after the act at Runnymede in the fight between the English people and the Stuart kings, the Great Charter was invoked by the famous lawyer Edward Coke, and with a new interpretation of the word freeman it was used effectively against the sovereign. As the Stuarts were sometimes guilty of imprisoning those of their subjects whom they found particularly troublesome, the following section of Magna Carta came to have unusual importance:

"39. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land."

In 1215 this meant that King John promised to deal justly with his own feudal tenants or vassals, and that a baron should be entitled to a trial in a court of barons and not by men of a lower class, since these would not be his peers or equals. A jury for the trial of criminal offenses did not yet exist in England. Coke and the Puritans, however, understood this section to limit the king's power to imprison his political enemies and to secure a jury trial to all who were charged with crime. New England was settled in Coke's day and the views of the great Puritan lawyer as to the civil rights guaranteed by the Charter ultimately found their way into the American system of government.

In the course of time a wider application was also given to a principle embodied in section 12. In this section the king promises to collect only the customary dues from the baronage and that no new scutage or aid shall be levied without the consent of the barons themselves given in a formal council. It is to be noted that this applies to a class and to a form of taxes collected from this class only. But the provision seems to recognize the principle that the king ought not to change the law without the consent of the classes that would be affected by the change. After the appearance of Parliament it was easy to argue on the basis of this provision that Parliament should control taxation and still later that taxes can be legally levied by representative bodies only.

Innocent III and the Charter. It seems quite likely that John was at first not wholly indifferent to the promises made in the Charter; but many of the barons were dissatisfied with the outcome and acted as if the royal power could be legally defied. Soon both sides were preparing for civil war. The king hastened to lay his case before the pope, and Innocent III promptly annulled the Charter on the plea that it had been extorted by force and that it was an attempt to bind a vassal of the Holy See without consulting the pope as overlord of England. He ordered Stephen Langton to excommunicate the opponents of John and when the archbishop refused to do so, he suspended him from official duties; for two years the primacy was practically vacant.

Louis of France invited to England. The leaders of the baronial party now turned to France for help and invited Philip's

son Louis to claim the English throne to which, they asserted, he had full right as the husband of Blanche of Castile, a granddaughter of Henry II. Louis accepted the invitation and came to England in May, 1216. In October King John died from partaking too freely, it is said, of unripe peaches. A few months earlier Innocent III had also passed away. A more cautious and less aggressive prelate was elected to the papal office; a boy of nine years succeeded to the English throne. Under the circumstances many of the barons felt that it was unwise to continue longer in opposition to the monarchy, and the rebellion began to wane. The fighting continued, however, for a year longer, until by the treaty of Lambeth Louis of France, consoled by an indemnity of 10,000 marks, agreed to renounce his pretensions and withdraw from the country.

Later history of the Charter. For the next ten years the English kingdom was in the hands of a regency, a small committee of three men who directed the administration in the name of the youthful Henry III. Soon after Henry's coronation the regency reissued the Great Charter, though in a mutilated form, some of the more significant provisions being omitted. Except for a few weeks in the summer of 1215 Magna Carta in its original version had no legal force; the Great Charter of the English statute books is the revised and somewhat abbreviated form in which the document was issued and confirmed in 1225, when Henry III had reached his majority. After the feudal system had fallen into decay many of the provisions of this famous document became obsolete and the Charter lost somewhat in the national regard. Nevertheless, it was frequently invoked and during the transition to modern constitutional practice it served a useful and important purpose, for it announced and secured the confirmation of the principle that the English king is subject to English law.

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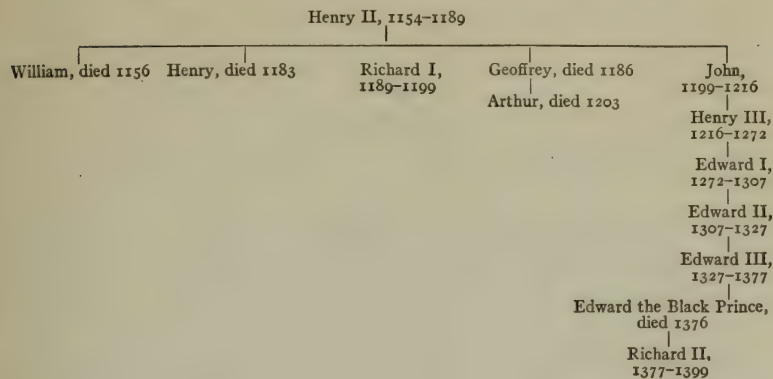
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THE EARLIER ANGEVIN (PLANTAGENET) KINGS, 1154-1399



CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH NATIONALISM.

The Angevin dynasty. The Angevin dynasty sprang from a strong, virile, energetic race. The earlier counts of Anjou and their descendants who bore the English crown were nearly all famous for vigorous activity and unyielding temper. Even King John whose sins were many cannot be charged with weakness. But the fourth Angevin king, the amiable Henry III, had inherited very few of the dynastic qualities; though in most respects he was a better, at least a more refined, man than the Plantagenets who had ruled before him, as king and statesman he was weak, impractical and incompetent. In his long reign of fifty-six years England saw great changes and much real progress, in which, however, the monarchy had no material share. But in Henry's oldest son, Edward I, the ancestral qualities of courage and strength reappeared, and the English king resumed his place as the leader of the nation.

The passing of foreign domination. Henry III was crowned king one hundred and fifty years after the battle of Hastings. During the intervening century and a half England had been ruled by foreigners; the native English had been allowed almost no share whatever in the general administration of the kingdom. Early in the thirteenth century this condition came to an end. In 1213 Stephen Langton assumed active control of the English church, the first Englishman to be appointed to a high office since 1066. After Langton's time other Englishmen were admitted to the higher places, and the native element gradually returned to its old place in the councils of the nation.

English nationalism. The appointment of Englishmen to the higher administrative offices in the kingdom is significant as indicating the growth of a sentiment that is called nationalism. There had no doubt always been an abiding interest in what is now called the nation: the Anglo-Saxon thought of himself as an Englishman and of England as his peculiar home; he had

fought fiercely for his country and his dynasty against the invading Danes and Normans. But the feeling that England should be for the English only, that all its institutions should bear a peculiarly English stamp, and that the external influences which to such a large extent direct the life and the activities of a people should be controlled from within the state,—this all-pervading feeling of nationalism was a matter of slow growth. Nationalism is largely the product of a common history: not until the Saxon, the Mercian, the Briton, the Northman, the Dane, and the Norman, had lost interest in their individual pasts and had developed a new interest in their common historic experiences and achievements could real nationalism become possible. When English history reaches the middle of the thirteenth century this new attitude toward what is called the nation is becoming evident in every important field of the national life.

Opposition to alien control. The first prominent fact in this development is opposition to foreign influences and foreign control. One thing that King John had to promise in the Great Charter was to “remove from the kingdom all foreign born soldiers, crossbowmen, servants, and mercenaries, who have come with horses and arms for the injury of the realm.” It was this feeling of hostility to foreigners that made it impossible for Louis of France to maintain himself in England after the death of King John. The barons, seeing that the prince’s French companions were receiving an undue share of the spoils of war, deserted their new leader and made peace with young King Henry.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the leaders of the English nation began a determined and fairly successful fight against the presence of alien influences in the higher circles of the secular administration. So close had been the relations between England and the French provinces in the valleys of the Seine and the Loire, that it was only natural that adventurers in search of offices and other places of profit should crowd into the English court. During the ten years while Henry III was still a minor, England was governed by men who were aliens by birth or blood and to some extent alien also in their sympathies. William Marshal, the aged regent, was of Norman ancestry, but he was a sincere friend of the Angevin dynasty and

loyal to the interests of the English kingdom. Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciar, was also a Norman. Hubert was a man of more than usual abilities both in the council chamber and in the field. He had been in command of the forces that drove Louis out of England; and by his brilliant victory over the French fleet in the Strait of Dover he had forced the pretender to agree to the treaty of Lambeth. Gualo, the papal legate, who for a period of two years served as the third member of the regency, was an Italian cardinal. Cardinal Gualo showed great ability and much energy, though little tact, in asserting the rights of the Roman see.

Pandulf and Peter des Roches. After two years William Marshal died and Hubert de Burgh took his place as the king's chief minister. Associated with him were the legate Pandulf and Peter des Roches, an adventurer from Poitou, who served as the young king's tutor and guardian. Peter des Roches was also bishop of the important see of Winchester. Pandulf was the nuncio to whom King John had made submission in 1213. During the last year of John's reign he firmly supported the king who, as a reward, gave him the rich see of Norwich. Pandulf interfered constantly in the administration and was cordially disliked by his associates in the regency. After three years, on the request of Archbishop Langton, the pope recalled his representative and agreed to send no more legates from the Roman curia. In this way one of the most effective foreign influences was successfully removed from the government.

Hubert de Burgh and the baronage. For ten years Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches were rivals in the administration. The justiciar being a baron of the first rank, his very greatness brought him many enemies among his jealous brethren in the aristocracy. His efforts to stamp out lawlessness were also viewed with displeasure by the great lords who chafed under all real restrictions. The justiciar had further incurred the hostility of a strong alien element led by the bishop of Winchester, whose capacity for political intrigue was considerable. In 1227 Hubert de Burgh declared the king to be of age; and since a tutor was no longer necessary, Peter des Roches was dismissed from his office. The crafty bishop found it expedient to go to the Orient on a crusade and for four years the justiciar was without a rival in the government. Meanwhile

Hubert lost the king's favor, largely because he opposed Henry's plans for the reconquest of his lost Aquitanian territories. Consequently when the bishop-warrior returned to England (1231) he and his partisans found it easy to convince the king that the justiciar had been guilty of embezzlement and Hubert de Burgh was dismissed from the royal service.

Foreigners in high offices. During the first decade of the new reign a stream of adventurers had been coming to England from Bishop Peter's native county, Poitou, and many of these were admitted to important offices in the king's government. The administration, especially on the side of the exchequer, was soon filled with Poitevin officials. One of the Bishop's nephews, who had already enjoyed several places of profit including the sheriff's office in sixteen shires, was appointed the king's treasurer. This was not pleasing to the English and least of all to the barons who coveted these offices for themselves and their kindred. A revolt led by the younger earl Marshal was put down with some difficulty; but on the demand of Edmund Rich, the new archbishop of Canterbury, who went so far as to threaten the king with excommunication, Henry III dismissed several of his Poitevin officials and Bishop Peter was forced to go into temporary exile.

Two years after the passing of the Poitevins another host of impoverished noblemen descended upon England, this time from southeastern France. In 1236 Henry III married Eleanor of Savoy, a daughter of the count of Provence. Among those who were attracted to England because of this connection were four of Queen Eleanor's uncles, princes of no striking abilities but eager for honors and revenues. For more than a decade the influence of the queen's uncles was a real force at the English court and in the higher official circles.

About the middle of the century (1247) a third group of French adventurers came to Westminster, all fired with hope and ambition to share in the good things that Henry III had at his disposal. Henry's mother Isabella was still a young woman when King John died. Soon after this event she returned to her French kindred and eventually married Count Hugh of Lusignan to whom she had been betrothed in those earlier days before John made his fateful journey into western France. By this second marriage Isabella

became the mother of a numerous family. She died in 1246 and the following year four of the younger Lusignans, owing to the unsettled state of the Loire country, thought it wise to seek their fortunes in England. Henry III received his young half-brothers in kindly spirit and gave them places of profit and prominence in the kingdom. Like the other immigrant nobles they were utterly ignorant of English needs and did little to help the incompetent king in the government of the realm.

Edmund Rich. Meanwhile, the anti-foreign party was growing steadily in strength and influence. After the death of Archbishop Langton this group had looked to Richard Marshal for guidance and leadership; but the Marshal unwisely took up the sword against his sovereign and fell in battle. The mantle of leadership now fell upon the shoulders of Edmund Rich, the learned and saintlike archbishop of Canterbury. Though Edmund Rich succeeded to some extent in removing the Poitevin influence from the government, as stated above, he was on the whole not very effective as an opposition leader. Six years after the Marshal's death he retired from active life and for some time the national party was wanting both in policy and leadership.

Cardinal Otho. 1237. The opposition to alien influences was not confined to English politics; it was also evident in the English church. It must be remembered that in 1213 the king had become the pope's vassal and that the pope consequently had certain suzerain rights in England. It was in his capacity as the representative of a feudal overlord that the papal legate took such a prominent part in the government during the first four years of the new reign. When Pandulf finally resigned his appointment the legate's office was allowed to remain vacant for nearly sixteen years. But in 1237 a new legate arrived, the Cardinal Otho, this time on the king's own invitation. The activities of Gualo and Pandulf had called forth much jealousy and resentment on the part of the baronage; but the presence of Cardinal Otho excited a great deal of open hostility among nearly all the articulate classes in the kingdom. When he came to Oxford he was mobbed by the students and was forced to seek refuge in a church tower.

Robert Grosseteste. At this point there appears promi-

nently in the history of the century an English churchman who for a period of more than twenty years was to lead the national church in its opposition to foreign domination: Robert Grosseteste, bishop of the extensive diocese of Lincoln. Bishop Grosseteste was an Englishman of the villein class, who by sheer power of intellect and courageous devotion to study and research had acquired a fame for scholarship and had risen to an intellectual leadership which extended far beyond the limits of Great Britain. Grosseteste had studied at the universities of Oxford and Paris; he was acquainted with the Greek language and was interested in Greek translations; he had mastered the scientific lore of the time and was a friend of Roger Bacon, one of the greater scientists of the age. The Oxford scholar had passed middle life before he was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln; but on his appointment he stepped almost immediately into Langton's place as the national leader of the English church.

Grosseteste's attitude toward the Holy See. Bishop Grosseteste was not in any sense an opponent or even a critic of the ecclesiastical system of his time. He was a firm believer in the rights of the Holy See: he held and taught that the pope was above kings and bishops and consequently had a right to demand obedience. At the same time he realized that much unwisdom and even corruption existed in high places and he felt that it was his duty to rebuke sin wherever he found it. Till the day of his death he was outspoken in opposition to extortion and misgovernment on the part of royal and papal officials. Once he was suspended for refusing to carry out an order from the Roman curia and on a later occasion he was threatened with even more severe punishment; but the pope was warned that to proceed against a bishop with such a wide renown for piety and zeal would be indiscreet; and the strenuous prelate was allowed to retain his diocese till his death.

Papal taxation. Aside from the exasperating officiousness of the papal legate the English church had two grievances against the Roman see: heavy taxation and the system of provisors. The financial difficulty was the first to reach an acute stage. The claim that ecclesiastical property might be taxed in the interest of the Roman see was new doctrine in England. It had indeed been put forth in the days of Henry II but without success. Not till the year 1229 was the doctrine actually ac-

cepted by the English rulers. The legate who had such an unpleasant encounter with the studious men of Oxford spent several years in England, chiefly in the interest of the Roman treasury. He finally demanded that the English churches and monasteries pay a fifth of their income for the year 1240 to the Roman curia. The English churchmen protested but to little purpose, for the king, who was unable to see how his obedience to the ruler of the church could have any limits, took the legate's part and threatened the objectors with dire punishment. Bishop Grosseteste was not able to interfere successfully with the cardinal's progress as a tax collector, but he did much to develop a strong public sentiment against the papal demands.

The "provisor" system. The system of provisors was a practice according to which the popes "provided" new officials for vacancies in the hierarchy or reserved the right to fill these as they should become vacant. Sometimes provision was made in this way even though the office might still be occupied by an active incumbent. In other words, the pope would promise a certain definite appointment to some favored friend or relative before a vacancy was even in prospect. Frequently the men for whom such provision was made were Italians. Thus England was threatened with another stream of foreign office-holders, though as a matter of fact very few of these "provisors" ever came to the land. They performed the duties of their offices through deputies, their own care being for the revenues only. To a people that was developing a vigorous national consciousness such a state of affairs would soon become intolerable; and when the pope promised the spoilsmen at Rome the next three hundred church offices that should become vacant in England, the entire nation was stirred. Archbishop Edmund, who had repeatedly protested against these new practices, left England in despair and retired to the Continent. A few months later he died and the king secured the election of a foreigner, Boniface of Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, to the high office of archbishop and primate.

The situation in the church became peculiarly trying about the middle of the century in the pontificate of Innocent IV, who is believed to have nominated as many foreigners to benefices in England as all his predecessors combined. An inquiry organized by Bishop Grosseteste in 1252 revealed the fact that

the annual income of foreign ecclesiastics holding offices in England amounted to 70,000 marks, or more than three times the yearly revenues of the English king. The next year Grosse-teste was asked to confirm the appointment of one of the pope's nephews to a canonry in Lincoln cathedral. The stout-hearted bishop refused and is said to have phrased his refusal in vigorous language: "In a filial and obedient spirit I do not obey, I refuse, and I rebel."

Adventures beyond the sea. It was only natural that the French relatives of the English dynasty should be interested in the extension of Angevin power on the Continent, particularly in France. It was largely through their influence that Henry III was brought to look with favor on two ventures, neither of which accorded with true English policy: he wished to regain some of the French territories that his father had lost, and he was anxious to extend the influence of his dynasty by securing the Sicilian crown for some member of his family in accordance with the wishes of the reigning pope, Innocent IV.

The failure in Poitou. In 1242 an opportunity appeared to have come for the reconquest of Poitou, which had been lost during the king's minority. Hoping for active assistance from the English and following the suggestion of Henry's step-father, Hugh of Lusignan, the barons of Poitou had risen in revolt against their French suzerain. But Henry III was no match either in war or in diplomacy for his great rival, Saint Louis of France. Louis IX had inherited all the prominent qualities of kingship that his grandfather Philip Augustus had possessed; in addition he had certain personal virtues that his grandfather had never cared to possess. The English barons refusing to aid their king in any foreign adventures, Henry III was able to muster a small force only for service in Poitou which Louis IX found it easy to overcome. King Louis now seized the northern part of Aquitaine and forced Henry to accept a new boundary one hundred miles farther to the south on the Charente river. On other sides, too, Henry's French territories were pared away, till only a fragment remained of Eleanor's great duchy. From now on for a hundred years the possessions of the English kings in France were usually called Gascony.

The Sicilian venture. Since the days of Hildebrand there had been an almost continuous strife between the papacy and

the German emperors who still claimed sovereignty over northern Italy and a certain measure of authority in the papal kingdom itself. During the pontificate of Innocent III a member of the imperial family came into possession of Naples and Sicily, and the pope now found a hostile dynasty occupying both borders of his kingdom. After the death of Frederick II (1250) Innocent IV made an effort to break up this dangerous connection between northern and southern Italy by finding a new king for Naples and Sicily. He offered the crown to Henry's brother Richard and even to Henry himself; but the English king finally accepted it for his younger son Edmund. In return for the honor he promised to help the pope with an army and a subsidy of 140,000 marks.

Simon de Montfort. These two ventures, the Gascon and the Sicilian, were as futile as they were expensive. The English barons, who still refused to admit an obligation to serve abroad, also objected to the contributions levied. Matthew Paris relates that when the subject of the Sicilian subsidy was broached in the great council "the ears of all men tingled and their hearts stood still in amazement." The barons had finally found a leader in Simon de Montfort, a French adventurer who had come to England a generation earlier in search of fame and official preferment. Henry III had allowed him to marry his sister Eleanor, King John's daughter; but the king was not always on the best of terms with his ambitious brother-in-law; for Simon showed a tendency to go his own way, even though it might lead him into opposition to the government. A few years before the Sicilian crown became an issue in England, King Henry had sent Earl Simon to Gascony as governor; but his methods, though intelligent and effective, were not relished by the Gascon people, who had serious objections to efficient government of any sort. Henry III gave a ready ear to the complaints of his subjects and Simon lost the royal favor. Soon he was enrolled among the king's most active opponents.

Grievances of the baronage. The chief grievances of the English barons were the continued influence of French and Italian foreigners in the government of the state and the church and the heavy taxes levied and collected for purposes that brought no advantage to the nation. Several attempts were

made to limit the royal power by pledging the king to act in all important matters on the advice of a council appointed by the assembled barons. In the year 1258 the barons met the king in a great council to which the government had also summoned representatives from the various shires. When the king for the third time brought up the matter of the Sicilian subsidy, the barons hotly replied that they would consider the payment of this contribution on certain conditions only, the chief of which were that the king should dismiss his half-brothers and other alien office-holders, and that he should agree to the appointment of a committee to reform the administration. A committee of twenty-four was duly appointed, each of the contending parties selecting twelve. The report of this body was accepted two months later and has come to be known as the Provisions of Oxford.

The Mise of Amiens. 1264. According to these provisions the king was to take no important action without consulting a permanent committee of fifteen men chosen by the king and the barons. But neither this nor any other scheme of reform proved workable. The king was incompetent but the barons were selfish, and it is unlikely that a baronial oligarchy could have given England good government. Three years later Henry requested the pope to release him from his oath to observe the provisions and, the request being granted, he promptly set the new constitution aside. The result was civil war. Finally both parties agreed to refer the matter in dispute to Louis IX as arbitrator. Saint Louis was a just and upright man; but he believed that royalty should be allowed a wide authority, and to him any plan to limit the king's power seemed an abomination. By a decision known as the Mise of Amiens he declared Henry III's contention correct and proper in almost every respect. As a king he had an incontestable right to employ such counsellors as he preferred, alien as well as native.

The baronial revolt. The barons refused to abide by this decision and prepared to resist the king. Henry now had the assistance of his oldest son, the lord Edward, who from this time onward proved to be the real force in the king's government. Simon de Montfort collected a considerable army on the Welsh border and led it southeastward against the royal forces which were gathering at various points in the neighborhood of London.

At Lewes near the Sussex coast the two armies met and Earl Simon gained a complete victory. Prince Edward was taken prisoner, and for more than a year Simon de Montfort controlled the kingdom.

In a treaty with the rebels, the so-called Mise of Lewes, drawn up a few hours after the battle, Henry III agreed once more to observe the Great Charter and to carry out faithfully the provisions of Oxford. It was further agreed that all questions in dispute should be settled by arbitration. But when Earl Simon discovered that the scheme for arbitration that he had accepted was likely to work out in the king's favor, he refused to carry out the agreement.

The beginnings of Parliament. In his effort to secure a satisfactory settlement Simon made use of an institution which had gradually been taking form since late in the reign of John, namely the Parliament. A Parliament was the old *Curia Regis* in its larger form composed as in Norman times of the king's chief officials and the more prominent peers of the realm; but to this body there had recently been added a new element of representative knights from each of the various shires. As early as 1213, the year of John's reconciliation with the church, the king had made an attempt to consult the shires on certain matters of business through their representatives. During the years of trouble between Henry III and the English nobility, both sides had on occasion called in representatives from the counties to assist in the deliberations of the great council. In a Parliament called and held shortly after the battle of Lewes each shire was represented by four elected knights. The knights (or the lesser aristocracy including the knights) had by this time become the controlling element in the local administration; and it was doubtless thought wise to seek the support of a growing class which was at the same time developing sources of real political influence.

It would not be correct to say that Simon de Montfort originated Parliament or even the House of Commons: what he did was to add another new element, one that was distinctly non-baronial, in the citizens and burgesses who were summoned to the council to speak for the organized cities and boroughs. A Parliament called early in 1265 by Simon de Montfort, though as usual in the king's name, was packed with the earl's friends;

the barons who were counted among his enemies he neglected to summon. To make his control of the sessions doubly sure he also summoned representatives from a number of boroughs which he knew were friendly to himself and his cause. It is not probable that he intended this arrangement to be permanent; but Edward, when he became king, acted on the precedent of 1265, and thus the English Parliament came to be composed, after some experimentation, of three separate elements: the barons, including the higher officials of the state and the church; two knights from each shire elected by the county court; and two burgesses or citizens, usually of the mercantile class, chosen from each borough or city. Seventy or eighty years after Simon de Montfort's time the members from the shires and the organized towns began to sit as one body and the House of Commons came into being. In the term "commons" there is no suggestion of a lower or humbler class: the House of Commons was the representation of the organized "communities," the counties and the towns. As the boroughs were far more numerous than the shires, the burgesses ultimately came to be the controlling element in the lower house.

The battle of Evesham. 1265. The famous Parliament of 1265 met in February; six months later Simon de Montfort's career as a political reformer came to a tragic end. In May Prince Edward had escaped from captivity and had joined the Marchers on the Welsh border who were already in revolt against the new régime. With a superior force he attacked Earl Simon and the baronial insurgents at Evesham on the Avon river. In the battle that followed de Montfort's army suffered a total defeat, the old earl himself being among the slain. The attempt to control the kingship had failed.

Statute of Marlborough. 1267. Nevertheless, the opposition movement was not wholly barren of results. Prince Edward thought it expedient to make important concessions to the baronial party. In a Parliament held at Marlborough the substance, though not the devices, of the provisions of Oxford was accepted by the government and enacted into law. In this way the more important grievances were removed. The alien officials gradually disappeared from the administration. And, what was most important, the English king accepted the expedient of an enlarged Curia Regis and thus permitted the development

of a national Parliament in which the middle classes came to have a large and influential representation.

The positive phase of English nationalism. Thus far the national movement has been considered chiefly on the negative side, as opposition to domination from abroad. It had, however, a strong positively English phase, which appeared most prominently in the growth of English law, in the development of certain specifically English legal institutions, in the revival of the English language as a medium of literary composition, and in the development of a distinctly English type of architecture. More and more the emphasis came to be placed on things English; even the court felt the influence of the newer tendency. Henry III was a native born Englishman and took great pride in the fact. He gave English names to his two sons Edward and Edmund. His successor, Edward I, went farther and made considerable use of English in conversational speech, though French remained the language of the royal court for some time to come.

Common law. The thirteenth century saw the completion of a remarkable development in English law; it saw the beginning of still another. In feudal times when custom ruled, laws were local in their application, each region or province having its own ancient usages which passed for law. The itinerant justices who were sent out through the circuits by Henry II and his successors found these customs deficient and not always applicable to the litigation that came before them. Soon there arose from the decisions of these judges a body of law which was common to the whole kingdom and was therefore known as the Common Law. This new common law was made up of a variety of elements, the more prominent sources being the Old English laws, feudal custom, royal instructions to the judges, judicial decisions, and principles borrowed from the great storehouses of Roman and canon law. Toward the close of Henry III's reign, after this growth had continued for a hundred years, Henry Bracton, an eminent English lawyer and jurist, summed up and systematized the common law in a famous "treatise on the laws of England." The growth of the common law did not cease with Bracton's work, for the judges still found it necessary to determine difficult questions. But by the close of Henry's reign the principles of the common law had been fairly

well established and its procedure in large measure defined and formulated; consequently after Bracton's day this development was no longer a prominent fact in the legal history of England.

Statute law. The legal growth continued in statute law, which was enacted from time to time as it was found necessary to supplement the provisions of the common law. Statute law, unlike the common law, emanates from some authority possessing a recognized power to make or amend the law. In earlier times this was the king, but during the later middle ages the law-making power gradually passed to Parliament. The Charter of Henry I and the Great Charter are counted among the statutes; but the earliest law that is specifically called a statute dates from the reign of Henry III. There were, however, but few such enactments before the time of Edward I in whose reign they became fairly numerous. So great was King Edward's activity in this direction that he came to be known as the English Justinian.

Edward I was proclaimed king on the death of his father in 1272. The prince was absent at the time on a crusading expedition and did not return to England before the summer of 1274. Soon after his coronation King Edward set his lawyers to the task of amending the laws of the realm, especially on the side of local administration. The first fruits of this labor came the following year in the First Statute of Westminster, a lengthy enactment of fifty-one chapters dealing largely with abuses in the administration. Ten years later this code was supplemented by a Second Statute of Westminster comprising fifty separate laws also devoted chiefly to administrative matters. In these two statutes definite form was given to the many promises of good government that had been published earlier in the century in the form of charters, provisions, and agreements.

Edward I was also desirous to provide for the greater security of life and property throughout his kingdom. To this end he issued the Statute of Winchester based in part on Henry II's Assize of Arms. By this enactment all men between the ages of fifteen and sixty were ordered to provide themselves with armor and weapons, each according to his rank and wealth. To ensure greater safety on the highroads the landowners were ordered to clear away all the brushwood and to fill in all the ditches on either side of the road for a space of two

hundred feet. It was further enacted that if a community should prove lax in prosecuting robbers and murderers, it should "be answerable for the robberies done and the damages." The authorities of walled towns were commanded to keep the gates closed from sunset to sunrise and to have guards posted at each gate during the summer months. Strangers were to be closely watched and suspicious persons promptly arrested (1285).

Markets and fairs. Edward was the first English king to regard English trade and commerce as a matter that ought to concern the nation as a whole. One of the most cherished privileges of the English boroughmen was the right to hold a market one or two days each week, when those who had wares to dispose of would place them on sale in the market place and buyers would come to town from all the surrounding country. The right to hold these markets was derived from a royal grant which might be awarded to individuals or to churches as well as to municipal authorities. Inasmuch as a market was in various ways a source of profit, this right was eagerly sought. Even more important in some respects were the great fairs or continuous market periods which were held once a year in the leading commercial centers and might continue for two or three days, a week or two, or even for a month. To these fairs came merchants from all parts of the kingdom and even from foreign lands. The fairs and markets were largely in the control of the local merchants, and though foreign traders were invited to attend, their presence was always regarded with jealous eyes. Consequently the traders who came from abroad or from other English towns sometimes found it difficult to collect the debts owed to them and to remain secure in the possession of their wares. To remedy this Edward I published a Statute of Merchants which enabled traders, from whatever town or country they might come, to collect payments due them, to levy on the debtor's property, if necessary, and even to send the person in arrears to the debtor's prison. For the better protection of foreign traders the king granted a charter (*Carta Mercatoria*) to the Continental merchants trading in England, by which they were allowed full freedom of trade and safe conduct in their journeys to and from the English markets and fairs.

Decline of feudalism. Suggestive of English opposition to

the Roman curia as a foreign power and to the growing strength of the ecclesiastical establishment within the boundaries of the state, was an effort in Edward's day to limit the wealth of the church. Feudalism as a force in the state was steadily losing ground: the knight was yielding his place in the host to the lighter-armed foot-soldier; and representatives from the mercantile class in the boroughs were soon to displace the knights of the shire as the controlling force in the lower house of Parliament. On the other hand the social and fiscal arrangements of feudalism possessed much vitality and persisted a long time. It will be recalled that the death of a tenant always brought certain monetary advantages to the overlord in the form of relief, the income from wardship, or other feudal incidents. The church, too, held land on feudal terms, but the church never died. The lords who gave lands to ecclesiastical corporations could no longer expect to collect these incidental revenues. The hand of the church was regarded by the lawyers of the time as a "dead hand;" it could never give out or back what it had once received, though its abilities to acquire and to hold were not impaired. There was consequently a great deal of land in England which could not be bought or sold and which yielded very little income to the nominal overlord. To remedy this condition Edward, by the Statute of Mortmain, forbade all further grants of this type to the church. Various expedients were found, however, by which this law might be avoided: the king still possessed the power to license such grants and later rulers gave the permission freely. Though the statute made the process more difficult, English land continued to pass into mortmain.

Edward I and the Jews. Edward's legislation shows, on the whole, an intelligent appreciation of the national needs as they appeared in the closing decades of the thirteenth century. This is particularly evident in his insistence on fair treatment for alien merchants, without which English trade on the Continent could not be expected to prosper. For another class of aliens, the Jews who resided in the kingdom, the great king showed neither kindness nor sympathy. Since the days of William the Conqueror the Jews had been allowed to live in comparative peace; in spite of occasional persecution they had for three generations or more prospered as no other class in the

kingdom had prospered at the time. The medieval church looked on the taking of interest as a mortal sin and consequently the money-lender's profession was closed to all Christians. But the vast enterprises of the age of faith, the building of magnificent abbeys and cathedrals, the erection of costly shrines, the great military expeditions to the Holy Land, could not be financed without the assistance of wealthy Jews, and therefore the money-lender came to be an important factor in the economic life of the time.

The interest charged for the use of money was high in the middle ages: ten percent was common, but the rate often went as high as forty and it sometimes reached an even higher figure. A people that was engaged in this supposedly sinful, though apparently useful and sometimes necessary, profession could not expect to rise high in popular estimation, and the mob found it easy to believe current stories of how the Jews profaned the Christian sacraments and resorted to criminal practices in connection with their own religious rites. In an age when the crusading fervor was readily stirred it was not difficult to kindle riots against the hated money-lenders: in the earlier months of Richard I's reign several hundred Jews suffered death at the hands of the Christian mob. Nevertheless, the race continued to prosper, till in the thirteenth century so much of the land was found to be mortgaged to the Jewish bankers that the government became alarmed. Henry III finally forbade the Jews to acquire land under any form of tenure. At the same time it was discovered that the Jewish banker was no longer indispensable: the Italians had learned that, though the taking of interest might be sinful, there was nothing in canon law forbidding the lender to exact a fine if the payment was not made when due.

Edward I finally determined to exclude the Jews entirely from his dominions. In 1287 they were driven out of Gascony and three years later they were forced to leave England. The number sent into exile is usually placed at about 16,000; most of them found homes in France and Germany. For a time their place in the financial world was taken and held by merchants and bankers from Florence and other Italian cities; but about the middle of the following century native goldsmiths began to compete with the alien

bankers on Lombard Street in London, and the Italian money-lender gradually lost control of his profession in England.

The common law courts. Sometime during the second half of the thirteenth century, perhaps shortly before the death of Henry III, the development of the three historic common law courts at Westminster reached a practical completion. As in the days of Henry II the disputes that were finding settlement in the king's curia fell into three main classes: financial questions touching the king's revenue; certain important criminal offenses or other matters in which the king was interested or concerned; disputes between the king's subjects that had not found satisfactory settlement in the local courts. The financial disputes soon came to be settled in the exchequer, which in this way became a law court as well as a chamber of accounts. Since the closing decade of Henry II's reign the cases of interest to the king's subjects had been tried by a bench of judges usually sitting at the capital and popularly known as the court of common pleas. The pleas of the crown continued to be heard by a body of judges who, since the cases were supposedly decided in the king's own presence, frequently traveled about with the king. But in time this court also came to be located at the capital. These three courts, the exchequer, the court of common pleas, and the king's bench, transacted a great deal of important business; though the vast mass of litigation was still heard and settled in the local courts.

In the same period the jury system employed in the local courts reached its complete development by the introduction of the petit jury into the trial of criminal cases. The English judicial system, both the central and the local, was thoroughly national; there were no corresponding institutions resembling these anywhere else in Europe. Certain features of the English system, especially the jury and the itinerant courts, have been widely copied, not only in English-speaking countries like the United States, but also in many countries on the Continent.

The literary revival. The thirteenth century also witnessed a significant literary revival along national lines. Old English literature had reached its highest point of excellence about the year 1000 in the prose writings of Alfric. But the Danish conquest cowed the spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the writings of the English during the eleventh century show little originality

or literary strength. With the passing of the Norman dynasty the Old English literary tradition came to a close: the last entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is for the year 1154. The merry Englishmen still sang their old folk songs and probably composed new ballads, while men of a more serious turn of mind wrote homilies in the native idiom or experimented with religious verse. Still, so far as we know, French and Latin were the languages employed by all the major and nearly all the minor writers in England during the reign of Henry II and Richard I.

Layamon's *Brut*. English literature found a new beginning early in the thirteenth century (about 1205), when Layamon, a priest from the Severn valley (Worcestershire) composed a rhyming chronicle, the *Brut*, in the popular language now called Middle English. Layamon's *Brut* is largely a translation from a French poem, the *Roman du Brut*, by the Anglo-Norman poet Robert Wace. It is a confused, inartistic product made up almost exclusively of Celtic legends; nevertheless, it remains an important landmark in the history of English thought and culture. The natural thing for a priest would have been to continue in the beaten track of religious tradition; instead Layamon wandered off into the rich fields of fable and legend. The fact is significant as indicating a change in literary interests. Further evidence of this new spirit is found in a poem of unknown authorship, the *Owl and the Nightingale*, written a decade or two later than the *Brut*, in which the love theme is made prominent. Layamon has the distinction of being the first English poet to draw on the vast wealth of Celtic lore: it was he who first sang in English verse of the sorrows of King Lear, of the majesty of King Arthur, and of the exploits of the knights that gathered about the famous round table.

Orm and the *Ormulum*. The thirteenth century was an age of transition and in such an age there is always much of the old as well as something of the new. A few years after Layamon had composed the *Brut* another literary document came forth from a cloister in the northern Midlands: this was the *Ormulum*, a rhyming almanac and religious handbook prepared by Orm, an English monk, who like Layamon addressed his audience in the native idiom. It was Orm's purpose to give an English version of the passages from the Gospels which the church had

appointed to be read as a part of the divine service on each particular Sunday or church holiday, and to supplement each of these with a little sermon. About 20,000 lines of this curious production have been preserved.

Changes in the English language. For those who are interested in the history of the English language the awkward verses of Layamon and Orm are of inestimable value, inasmuch as they serve to show how the popular speech had developed during the preceding century. Great changes had come over the English idiom since Alfric wrote his homilies two hundred years before. Some of these changes go back at least as far as to the eleventh century, but the process appears to have gone forward at a more rapid rate in the twelfth. The grammar had become simplified, largely through the loss of inflections in which the Anglo-Saxon language was relatively rich. This process began in the north, the region of the old Danelaw, and may have been due in part to the presence of a strong Scandinavian element. Among the inflectional changes may be mentioned the general adoption of *es* as the ending for the plural and also for the genitive forms of the noun, which has survived in the modern endings *s* (or *es*) and *'s*.

The phonetic system of the language was also beginning to suffer a series of marked changes. In the course of time the vowels *a* and *e*, which in Old English times were sounded as in modern German, have taken on their present sound values, while *ī*, *ō*, and *ȳ* have in many cases shifted to *ī*, *u*, and *ōū* respectively. Thus *hāl*, *mīn*, *dō*, and *hūs* have become *hale*, *mine*, *do*, and *house*. In many instances the changes have not followed any general rule, and in certain other cases the ancient sound values have remained. It is also true that some of the old English vowel sounds have disappeared entirely. This development in the vowel system was not completed before late in the sixteenth century, but most of the changes can be traced back to the twelfth or even to earlier periods.

In addition to these changes in grammatical forms and phonetic values the writings of the thirteenth century show a notable growth in the English vocabulary, chiefly in the form of materials borrowed from Danish and Norman sources. In the writings of Orm, who lived in the Danelaw and bore a Danish name, there is evidence of a considerable borrowing

from the Northern dialects. Of French words Orm uses only a small number, probably because he was writing for the common people. Layamon uses only about one hundred words of Norman origin. But as the decades passed the use of foreign words in literary English became increasingly common, till by the close of the thirteenth century a large Norman-French element had found a permanent place in the English vocabulary.

The newer English chronicles. The new national spirit is evident even in the writings of the men who preferred to clothe their thoughts in the garb of Latin prose. One important result of the Norman conquest was a renewed interest in classical learning. This interest found expression in part in a noble series of chronicles beginning in the reign of Henry I and continuing for more than four hundred years. These chronicles were nearly all written in Latin. They were for the most part, though not exclusively, composed in the quiet of English cloisters: the monks had leisure, they had access to books, and they were skilled in the art of writing. Some twenty miles northwest of London was the great monastery of St. Albans, the wealthiest and most important monastic foundation on the island. Situated on the great highway that ran north from the capital, St. Albans was a convenient resting place for travelers, and the monks frequently entertained men of real prominence in the political and ecclesiastical life of the kingdom. Consequently they had an unusual opportunity to learn what news there was in the kingdom and even in the wider world.

Matthew Paris. Among the officials of this abbey there was a historiographer, and for more than twenty years in the reign of Henry III Matthew Paris held this important post. Matthew Paris was a man of wide learning and large acquaintance, and his chronicle ranks higher than any other work of this type produced in Britain. His comments on the issues of the time reveal not only insight but courage: he condemns abuses wherever he finds them and in his criticism spares neither king nor pope. Matthew Paris began to write in 1235. The influence of the Poitevins had been removed in part the year before; but in the following year came the king's marriage, with the consequent influx of hungry aristocrats from Provence. Soon after the coming of Queen Eleanor the legate Otho arrived and the problem of papal taxation began to stir the land. Matthew

Paris makes no effort to suppress his indignation as he records the inroads of the foreign office-holders, whether churchmen or seculars. He died in 1259 on the eve of Simon de Montfort's revolt.

National themes in English literature. The nationalistic tendency in the literature of the age is further evident in the choice of themes, whether the writing was to be in English, French, or Latin. Toward the close of the eleventh century a literary movement had begun on the Continent which continued in the romances of the French troubadours and the German minnesingers of the twelfth century. The English literary movement that began in the reign of John doubtless derived its impulse from the French and was, therefore, in its origin not wholly national. But it is to be noted that such time-honored subjects as the Trojan war, and the exploits of Alexander, Caesar, and Charlemagne were at this time beginning to yield their places to subjects that were English or at least British. King Arthur, Lancelot of the Lake, Tristan and Iseult, the Holy Grail, King Horn, Havelock the Dane, Alfred the Great, and Richard the Lion-heart were the favorite themes among the romancers of the later middle ages. Havelock the Dane and King Horn were probably Scandinavian viking chiefs who had in earlier centuries sought and plundered the British shores. But the more important of the themes mentioned were Celtic and belonged to the Celtic lands of Wales and Cornwall. It was believed at one time that King Arthur's bones and those of his famous queen rested in the cemetery of the ancient abbey of Glastonbury. According to Celtic legend Glastonbury was also the British home of the Holy Grail.

The Universities. An important factor in the development of national consciousness was the English university. There was a university at Salerno in southern Italy as early as the eleventh century; but the real development of this new type of higher school came in the earlier decades of the twelfth. It was in that period that Paris, largely through the fame and influence of the great Breton teacher Abelard, became a renowned center of learning. There was an important school at Oxford in the earlier years of Henry I, and lectures were given in the liberal arts, in law, and in theology even during the miserable years of Stephen's reign; but not till somewhat late in the reign of

Henry II did the schools at Oxford take on the appearance of a university. It may not even then have been recognized as such an institution; but there seems to be no doubt that by the close of Henry's reign Oxford had a large population of teachers and students actively engaged in academic work. The first master's degree seems to have been awarded to Edmund Rich shortly before the close of the twelfth century. Cambridge became a recognized center of learning about half a century later than Oxford, in the reign of King John, perhaps about 1209.

It was in this same century, late in Henry III's reign, that arrangements were first made for the accommodation of students in colleges. A college was a group of buildings where the students ate, slept, studied, and worshipped. It would therefore normally have a dormitory, a dining hall, a library, and a chapel. The buildings were frequently grouped after the monastic pattern around a central court. The oldest of these institutions is said to be Merton College, which was founded about 1270 by Walter de Merton, a prominent jurist and churchman. Of almost equal age is Balliol College, built and endowed by the wealthy Balliol family, which in the next generation was to give a king to Scotland. In those same years a group of students at Cambridge were forming themselves into an association which later developed into a collegiate institution known as Peterhouse. In time the colleges came to be the most characteristic feature of English university life.

Medieval science. In the thirteenth century the universities were devoted chiefly to the study of theology and the necessary preparatory subjects. But other studies, especially law and philosophy, also flourished. The natural sciences were scarcely in existence as yet, for the medieval mind feared to investigate nature, inasmuch as that might mean searching out the secrets of God, which, it was believed, He guarded jealously; or it might mean coming into actual contact with the forces of Satan, whose control in this evil world was thought to be quite extensive. Such men as Robert Grosseteste were, it is true, not to be deterred from any form of study, but scholars of that type were not numerous. Grosseteste, who for many years lectured at Oxford, was deeply interested in the physical sciences and sought by careful experimentation to learn the laws of nature more completely. He based his studies on the con-

clusions of Aristotle; but in his researches he often refused to remain within the boundaries set in the writings of the great Hellenic philosopher.

Roger Bacon. Grosseteste's younger contemporary, Roger Bacon, came very near being a true scientist, for Bacon understood and emphasized the value of experimental study in the pursuit of science. He seems also to have possessed a scientific imagination of the more daring type; for he looked forward to a time when all the secrets of nature should be disclosed, when carriages should be self-propelling, and men should be able to sail the air as well as the sea. Bacon was deeply interested in mathematics and physics and was much attracted to the subject of optics. His writings reveal a wonderful command of the learning that Christian Europe possessed in the thirteenth century, but they do not indicate that Roger Bacon was, after all, so very far in advance of the more prominent thinkers of the age. Like most of his fellow-workers he failed to distinguish clearly between magic and natural science; and scientific research on the borderland of magic is not always a fruitful effort.

New religious brotherhoods. The great English scientist belonged to a new religious brotherhood of the monastic type, the Franciscan order. During the years of the interdict in England an Italian layman, Francis of Assisi, was gathering about him a band of devoted followers who were eventually organized into a new religious fraternity. The purpose of the new order was to serve humanity, to go forth into the world bringing spiritual aid and comfort to the distressed and suffering, not striving in solitude like the monks for one's own personal salvation. While Saint Francis was thus active in Italy, Domingo de Guzman, a Spaniard of noble birth, was preaching the Catholic faith to a sect of heretics in southern France, and out of his activities rose another great religious order, the Dominican. In popular speech the followers of Saint Francis and Saint Dominic soon came to be known as Friars. The Dominicans who wore a black habit were spoken of as black friars, while the Franciscans for a similar reason were generally called grey friars.

These two brotherhoods had many points of resemblance, but in certain respects they differed quite distinctly. The

Dominicans, though primarily preaching brethren, were enthusiastic teachers; early in the history of the order the black friars began to seek the centers of learning to make sure that the future teachers of the church should be thoroughly grounded in the orthodox faith. The Franciscans also found it expedient to locate in the university towns; but they never forgot their original mission as workers among the neglected poor. The friars had headquarters of the monastic type and were bound by monastic vows. They were, however, not bound to any particular locality; they traveled about wherever their presence seemed to be required, often begging their way from door to door. Their simple preaching, their human spirit, and their practical knowledge of medicine made the grey friars very popular in England; soon Franciscan chapels were to be found in the slums of all the English towns. Furthermore they were keenly interested in all the great movements of the time; in the conflict between the king and the baronage the grey friars were active partisans of Simon de Montfort.

Church architecture. Among the many achievements of the thirteenth century that may be characterized as distinctively English was a new form of church architecture. The century of Langton, Grosseteste, and Roger Bacon was a notable age in the building of English cathedrals: many of the splendid religious monuments that still adorn English cities were built in large part during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. The erection of ecclesiastical edifices on a larger scale began with the Normans, who were far in advance of the Anglo-Saxons as builders and architects. The Norman style was a form of the Romanesque and was characterized by its round arches and massive columns. In the twelfth century this began to be displaced by the lighter Gothic style with its pointed arches, lofty ceilings, high stained glass windows, and tall spires. The new style was apparently developed in northern France during the earlier half of the twelfth century; it soon passed over to England where the master builders, after experimenting for a generation or two, produced a national type which has since been called the Early English. In addition to all the characteristics that are peculiarly Gothic, the early English style had a unique scheme of ornamentation which was its chief distinguishing

mark. This was based on a combination of straight lines in various forms and patterns; hence the early English is sometimes called the geometrical style. In the fourteenth century this form gave way to a new scheme in which flowing lines were used with great effect. This was called the decorated style and marks the highest point of achievement in medieval architecture on British soil.

Political unrest in the thirteenth century. During the fifty years following the granting of the Great Charter the political history of England is a tedious story of incompetence and even corruption in the higher circles of government, of general dissatisfaction with the methods and policies of the king, and of futile opposition on the part of the baronial party. The twenty years from 1235 to 1255 were especially fruitful of trouble and discontent. Within these two decades fall the king's marriage to Eleanor of Provence; the coming of the queen's uncles and the king's half-brothers; the exactions of the papal legate; the quarrel over the provisors; the unprofitable expedition to Gascony; and the temptation of the Sicilian crown. The active opposition of the baronage culminated in the events of 1264 and 1265, in the Mise of Amiens, the battles of Lewes and Evesham, and the second Parliament of Simon de Montfort. During the thirty years that followed, the English nation under the guiding hand of Edward I enjoyed a period of sane, efficient government and progressive legislation. Toward the close of the century, however, Edward Plantagenet became involved in foreign problems and foreign warfare to such an extent that domestic needs were lost sight of and discontent began to raise its voice once more.

The achievements of the century. But the weakness of political rule in the days of Henry III must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the thirteenth century was after all a wonderful age. A deeper national feeling was striking root in all classes of the population. The universities were prospering and the English mind was active as never before. About 1250, when the popular discontent was rising almost to the point of rebellion, there lived in England a number of men whose works and activities form durable links in the chain of progress. Five of these deserve to be named once more: Bracton, the jurist who systematized the common law; Grosseteste, the learned church-

man and ecclesiastical reformer; Simon de Montfort, the man who transformed Parliament; Roger Bacon, the scientist; and Matthew Paris, the keen and fearless historian of the age. It is the activity of these and many other writers, thinkers, builders, and statesmen which constitutes the true glory of the thirteenth century.

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CHAPTER VI

THE BRITISH IDEA AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE

Edward I. 1272-1307. Edward I, whose reign began in 1272 and continued for nearly thirty-five years, was one of the ablest and strongest of all the kings that have ruled in England. He is described as a tall, handsome man, fair-haired in youth but darker in middle age. Edward Longshanks was a rare combination of an intelligent king and a valorous knight; he was also a determined, resolute man who pursued his purposes with an energy that never flagged. He had none of the weaknesses so prominent in his amiable father, nor had he inherited the mean spirit of his grandfather John. In many respects he resembled his energetic ancestor Henry II; but his character was formed of finer clay. King Edward had great faith in himself, in his decisions, and in his purposes; a faith that may almost be classed as a weakness, for the great king found it extremely easy to justify his own actions, no matter how they were judged by others. So conscious was he of a desire to do what seemed right in every instance, that he rarely doubted the justice of anything that he set out to do. Like Henry II he strove to maintain order in the kingdom, to secure internal peace and to provide efficient government; but there was this important difference: what the first Angevin hoped to attain by means of administrative machinery, Edward I sought to accomplish through extensive and enlightened legislation.

The "British idea." Edward I realized more fully than any of his Norman or Angevin predecessors that he was an English king; but his plans were not limited to the boundaries of England. He wished to extend his territories in the British Isles and hoped to unify the entire British archipelago into a single monarchy. This he thought could best be achieved by extending the English political system over Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. This so-called "British idea" was an ancient one: both the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman dynasties had asserted

feudal claims to Wales and Scotland. For a few years the king of Scotland had been the acknowledged vassal of Henry II, and Henry had also made some progress toward the conquest of Ireland. But not before the accession of Edward I did circumstances appear favorable for the complete realization of the British plan.

The situation in Wales. Edward failed ultimately to subdue Scotland, but he succeeded in his operations against the Welsh. In the thirteenth century Wales was nominally under the suzerainty of the English king, though in fact the Welsh princes ruled quite independently over those parts of their country that still remained under Celtic control. It will be remembered that the Norman kings had allowed those of their vassals who had the resources and the inclination for private warfare to invade Wales and seize lordships for themselves. These adventurers were fairly successful, and soon all the eastern and the southern borders had passed into the power of the lords of the March. Most prominent among the Marchers was the Mortimer family, whose possessions lay along the east border of the principality. The territory actually governed by native Welsh princes in the thirteenth century was frequently limited to a small area in the northwest,—the present shires of Anglesea and Carnarvon with certain adjoining territories.

Llewellyn. While Edward was still a prince, he was made earl of Chester, a county that lies on the border of North Wales. Llewellyn, the last Welsh prince of that name, ruled in North Wales at the time. Though a vassal of Henry III, it was Llewellyn's purpose to oppose his overlord at every opportunity. In the baron's war of 1264 and 1265 he sided with Simon de Montfort. His ambition was to extend his sway over all the territories of Wales, the March as well as the north and west, and for some years he was fairly successful. Edward and the Welsh prince regarded each other with deep distrust; when Edward became king, Llewellyn showed no desire to appear at court to do homage to his lord. After three years of waiting King Edward decided to enforce his rights. In 1277 he moved an army westward from Chester along the north coast of Wales, and with the help of the lords of the March defeated Llewellyn, whose realm was now definitely limited to the northwest part of Wales. The March lands were formally

separated from the principality and annexed to the territories of the English crown.

The conquest of North Wales. The Welshmen of the March soon found rule by English officials unbearable and, after five years of uncertain peace, war broke out once more between King Edward and his vassal Llewellyn. With a large army the English king proceeded to invade the principality but found the task beset with great difficulties. Across the northwestern part of Wales lies the mount of Snowdon like a massive wall with



gentle slopes toward the Irish Sea and steep declivities toward the east. Llewellyn's position seemed impregnable. But at the critical moment the prince, who had left his mountain fastness to seek assistance elsewhere in Wales, was killed in a skirmish, and resistance melted away. The conquered principality was cut up into shires after the English pattern and governed by royal officials after English methods. The shire system was, however, not immediately extended to the March, where the lords for some time yet were allowed to continue in control.

With the death of Llewellyn the old Welsh principality

perished. The English legal system was formally extended to the conquered land, though much of the old native law was allowed to remain in force for a time. But the Welsh people have refused to become English; to a large extent they have remained Welsh in language and sentiment to the present day.

Feudal relations of England and Scotland. The pacification of Wales was completed in 1283. Three years later the problem of the relationship to Scotland took on unusual interest. Since 1189, when Richard I allowed William the Lion to purchase a release from the homage that he had rendered to Henry II, the kings of Scotland had claimed absolute independence of the English crown. The terms of the treaty between Richard and William were somewhat ambiguous in language and there remained some doubt as to whether the English king did not still possess the right to some sort of overlordship over Scotland; but for a century the claim was allowed to rest. Several times during the reigns of John and Henry III the rulers of Scotland did homage to the king of England; but in every case this was for lands which they held within the boundaries of England, particularly in the shire of Huntingdon.

The Scottish succession. 1286. Alexander III was king of Scotland in the early years of Edward's reign. He was married to Edward's sister and there were peace and cordial relations between the two countries and the two courts. But in 1286 Alexander was accidentally killed and Scotland was without a ruler. The nearest heir was a little granddaughter Margaret, the daughter of Eric the king of Norway. Margaret was about three years old at the time of her grandfather's death and some of the Scottish lords raised objections to her accession. Civil war broke out and the guardians of the kingdom now turned to Edward I, the great-uncle of the little queen, for counsel and help. Edward had no desire to interfere in Scottish affairs but hoped to secure the union of the two kingdoms of Great Britain through the marriage of the little princess to his young son Edward, who was born soon after the Welsh campaign and some years later was given the title "prince of Wales." The Scottish lords agreed to this, and a marriage treaty was concluded at Brigham, which expressly provided, however, that in no case should the northern kingdom be obliged to give military aid to England and

that no lawsuit should be carried from a Scottish to an English court. The "Maid of Norway" was sent for, but on her way to Scotland she died, and Edward's plans for a union of the British Isles under a single king were completely shattered.

The make-up of Scotland. It will be remembered that the kingdom of Scotland was originally made up of four parts; the



kingdom of the Picts in the Highlands and the Scots in Argyll, which were united under Kenneth MacAlpin in 844; the Anglian district of Lothian which was seized in 1018; and the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde which was absorbed sixteen years later. The consolidation of Scotland was completed in the eleventh century except for the fact that the three adjacent groups of islands, the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and the Shetlands, with parts of the northern and the western coasts of the main

land were still held by the Norwegians who had colonized them centuries before. The outlying parts of the mainland were gradually brought into subjection and in 1266 the Hebrides were added to the Scottish realm; but the two remaining groups of islands remained under Norwegian rule for two centuries longer.

English influence at the Scottish court. During the period of Norman rule in England close relations had been established between the courts of London and Edinburgh; especially was this true after the marriage of Henry I to the Scottish princess Edith Matilda. Four of Queen Matilda's brothers ruled as kings of Scotland and all were favorably disposed toward the English element in their kingdom. The youngest of the four, David I, was educated at the court of Henry I, where "he was polished from the rust of Scottish barbarity." David married an English wife, and when he returned to his native country (1124) to receive the Scottish crown a number of young Norman-English nobles followed in his train. To these King David granted large estates, and as some of them also had lands in England they were bound by feudal allegiance to both the English and the Scottish king. The infiltration of this alien element continued for some time, and some of these adventurers, by marriage to Scottish princesses, came to be related to royalty itself. Among the latter were the Bruces and the Baliols, both of which families stood close to the native dynasty.

The appeal to Edward I. In 1290 Bishop Fraser, one of the guardians of the northern kingdom, reported to Edward I that "there sounded through the people a sorrowful rumor that our said Lady [Queen Margaret] was dead." In the same letter the bishop recommended John Baliol for the vacant kingship. A little later the seven earls of Scotland who claimed the right to elect the new king also appealed to Edward and recommended the aged Robert Bruce for the high office. In requesting his intervention the partisans of each candidate advanced the theory that Edward I was in fact lord paramount of the kingdom. King Edward had never made any formal claim to the control of Scotland, but it was only natural that he should make as much as possible out of this admission on the part of the Scottish leaders themselves.

On the strength of this invitation Edward summoned the Scottish magnates to meet him at Norham on the border the

following May. He came to the meeting place with a strong force and at once revived the old claim to feudal overlordship. Many of the Scottish leaders were reluctant to agree to this; but the danger of civil war hung over their land and they finally submitted and acknowledged King Edward as suzerain. Nine pretenders had already appeared and before long four more laid claim to the kingship. Of the thirteen eleven were of Norman-Scottish blood. Only three of these were, however, seriously considered: John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. Bruce and Baliol were also vassals of Edward I for lands which they held in England.

John Baliol. 1292-1296. The submission of the Scottish nobles was made at Upsettlington, a little village on Scottish soil to which the conference had been adjourned. Here all the nine claimants present "agreed to receive judgment from him [Edward] as our Lord Paramount and we become bound to submit to his award." Pending the award the kingdom was surrendered to the English king. Edward waited for more than a year before announcing his decision; finally he made the award and gave the crown to John Baliol. The decision was in strict conformity to the feudal law of inheritance, and the rival competitors raised no serious objections. Three days later King John did homage to Edward, who was to continue as lord of all Britain.

Edward's Scottish policy. Soon, however, the satisfaction of Scotland turned to distrust; for Edward adopted a policy which went far beyond what feudal law would sustain: he demanded that appeals should go from the courts of Scotland to his own court of king's bench at Westminster. This was contrary to the agreement at Brigham, but that treaty was probably without force, inasmuch as King John Baliol soon after his elevation to the kingship had formally released King Edward from all his promises to the Scottish people. Among the first cases to be appealed was one brought by a certain wine merchant of Gascony who had an old bill against the Scottish crown for wine that had been sold to Alexander III. This was too much for the new king. After scarcely more than a year of apparent loyalty to his suzerain John Baliol entered into secret negotiations with King Edward's enemy, Philip the Fair of France. Edward learned this and summoned King John and the more

important Scottish barons to appear in London and join the host which he was preparing to lead against his French overlord. John Baliol ignored the summons, allied himself openly with the French king, and the following year, 1296, formally renounced his allegiance.

Difficulties in Gascony. 1295. The year 1295 is one of the great landmarks in English history. Edward I was in a difficult position. Scotland was in revolt. Madoc, a kinsman of the heroic Llewellyn, had attempted an unsuccessful rising in North Wales the year before and the Welsh were still restless. Serious trouble was brewing in France. There still remained to the Angevin kings the Gascon part of the Aquitanian duchy, a broad strip of territory between the Charente and the Pyrenees which Louis IX had permitted Henry III to retain by the treaty of 1259. For these lands Edward, who was duke of Gascony, was the vassal of the French king. Philip IV, usually known as Philip the Fair, who ruled France during this period, was an able and resourceful monarch. He disliked the presence of the Angevin dynasty in France and treated his royal vassals in Gascony very much as King Edward treated his own vassal, King John Baliol; though the English king, who was easily blinded by his own advantage, did not perceive the similarity. Philip had come into possession of some of the frontier fortresses in Gascony and refused to return them. War seemed unavoidable, but with Scotland in revolt and allied with France, the situation looked anything but favorable.

The Model Parliament. 1295. King Edward now called on the English nation to help provide the funds necessary to secure his threatened rights and dominions. All classes of society that had wealth and all organized communities that had authority to make assessments were summoned to meet in Parliament; this was the so-called "Model Parliament," though the name is hardly appropriate as no subsequent Parliament was just like the model of Edward's reign. The sessions were held at Westminster toward the close of the year. The earls and barons appeared in person. The higher church officials, the archbishops, the bishops, the abbots, the archdeacons, and the priors of the cathedral chapters, also attended in person; the lower clergy sent proctors or representatives. The shires were represented by 74 knights and the boroughs and cities by 220 burgesses and citi-

zens. It is not known how this body transacted its business; but it seems clear that each of the several classes or estates organized itself as a separate body. Parliament was still in the process of formation and had no definite field of activities; this Parliament was called to grant funds to meet an unusual situation. The king was successful in his negotiations with the lords and the representative members from the boroughs and shires: each particular class voted a fraction of the income from its personal property to the king's use; the nobles and knights from the counties offered an eleventh, the merchants from the boroughs a seventh. The churchmen were not so liberal as the king had hoped they would be: Edward asked for a third or a fourth of the income of the clergy; but the prelates were unwilling to grant more than a tenth and the king was forced to accept the smaller sum.

Union of England and Scotland. 1296. The following year King Edward crossed the border and invaded the northern kingdom. Berwick was stormed and a frightful massacre of civilians began which continued for two days. From Berwick Edward continued his march northward across the Lowlands and into the heart of the Highlands. John Baliol, defeated in the field, abdicated. Edward I now proclaimed himself king of Scotland and for ten years he ruled as sole king in the British Isles. To symbolize the union of the crowns Edward carried to England the famous Stone of Scone, on which the Scottish kings had long been crowned, and had it placed in the seat of the throne at Westminster Abbey where it still remains. An English regent was left in Scotland to represent Edward's authority. The Scottish nobles apparently acquiesced in these arrangements. Nearly two thousand prominent Scotsmen, — barons, knights, and bishops, — signed a document since known as the Ragman Roll, by which act they swore fealty to Edward I and renounced Baliol's alliance with France.

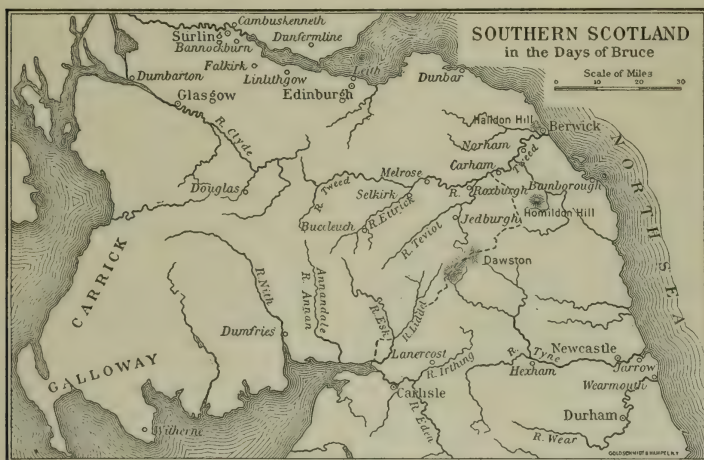
The bull *Clericis Laicos*. The trouble with France was still unsettled and Edward soon found himself in need of more money. Instead of calling another Parliament, he tried to secure funds by making private arrangements with the clergy and the merchants. On the papal throne at this time sat Boniface VIII, an aged and unbending Italian, who clung to the principles of Gregory VII and Innocent III without realizing that it would

be most inexpedient to make practical issues of these pretensions. In 1296 Boniface issued a famous bull in which the Roman claims to superiority were stated again and the clergy forbidden to contribute money on the king's demand. The bull had its effect; when a new Parliament was called later in the same year to vote taxes, the archbishop of Canterbury resisted and the church did not contribute. In reply the king withdrew the protection of the courts from the clergy, thus virtually outlawing the entire clerical order. An agreement was soon reached, however, according to which the clergy were to give voluntary "gifts" but not pay taxes. These gifts were assessed by church councils called Convocations which were summoned by the archbishops whenever the king called a Parliament. Of these Convocations there were two, one for each of the two provinces, Canterbury and York. This arrangement was the rule for more than three centuries. The clergy withdrew permanently from Parliament. The bishops and many of the abbots did indeed continue to hold membership, but they sat as lords, not as representatives of the church.

Wallace's rising in Scotland. The conquest of Scotland had been marked by much unnecessary severity and Edward's regent and commissioners showed little tact in administering the government. Aroused by these wrongs the Scottish nation revolted. The rising began a few months after Edward's return to his southern kingdom; and it soon found a capable and heroic leader in William Wallace, a Scotsman of gentle, though perhaps not noble, blood. With a few prominent exceptions the barons held themselves aloof from the movement; but the bishops of the national church, who feared subjection to the archbishop of Canterbury, aided the revolt. At Stirling Bridge Wallace's ragged followers routed an English army which hastily retreated across the border. Wallace now carried the war into England and ravaged the northern shires. Edward, who was in Flanders making war on the French king, hurried back to England and took command of his forces in person. At Falkirk he came upon the Scottish forces, and Wallace suffered a disastrous defeat. His influence among his countrymen began to wane; some years later he fell into the hands of the English government and was executed as a traitor.

Annexation of Scotland. 1304. The rebellion continued for

six years after the battle of Falkirk; but Edward finally subdued the Scots for the second time. The conqueror at once proceeded to annex Scotland to England. It was his intention to give his new subjects a just and liberal government and, so far as possible, to retain Scotch laws and institutions; but Great Britain was to have a single Parliament meeting at Westminster and composed of lords and representative members from both kingdoms. It is interesting to note that the union of England and Scotland four centuries later followed in all essentials the lines laid down by Edward I.



Robert Bruce. It was now fifteen years since Edward had been invited to intervene and assist in the matter of the Scottish succession. During these years much had happened to sow hatred for the English king in Scottish hearts. Thus far, however, no leader had appeared around whom the northern chiefs were willing to rally. But in the second year following the union of the kingdoms a leader whom all could follow appeared in Robert Bruce, the young grandson of the Bruce who had sought the kingship in 1291. In 1306 Bruce took up the sword and claimed the crown. He was young, strong, aggressive, and persistent, a chief with something of the heroic in his make-up. But even with a leader like Robert Bruce the Scots were slow to rally. The nobles were distrustful and jealous of the young pretender. Ten years earlier he had joined the forces of

William Wallace; but after a few months he had returned to the service of Edward I. In 1298, soon after the disaster at Falkirk, Robert Bruce had raised the standard of revolt ostensibly in behalf of the discredited John Baliol; but four years later he was again taking oaths of fealty to King Edward. During the last stages of the Scottish rebellion he even assisted in the war on his own countrymen.

Murder of the Red Comyn. 1306. While thus posing as a loyal subject of the English king, Robert Bruce was at the same time involved in plots looking toward the restoration of Scottish independence. Early in 1306 he went north on a mission for King Edward which he never performed. Instead he sought out one of his kinsmen, the Red Comyn, whose father had been a candidate for the royal office at Norham and Upsettlington. Bruce and Comyn met in the cloister of the Franciscan church in Dumfries. They quarreled and finally drew weapons. Comyn was wounded and fled into the church where one of Bruce's followers gave him the final stroke. The only course now open to Bruce was to assert his claim openly. Bishop Wishart of Glasgow (who had taken the oath of loyalty to Edward six times) absolved him from the guilt of Comyn's death. A few weeks later Bruce was formally crowned at Scone; but so weak was his support that in a few months he found himself a fugitive in his own kingdom.

Edward II. 1307-1327. In the year 1307 King Robert had a few slight successes and the number of his followers was steadily increasing. Soon King Edward appeared on the southwest border with a powerful army and prospects again looked gloomy for the young rebel. But the great English king was not young any longer; he was in wretched health and when his army had come into sight of Scotland, Edward I, worn out with "sturt and strife," yielded to an old illness and died. The death of Edward Longshanks secured the independence of Scotland. His successor, Edward II, though a handsome, attractive, and carefully trained prince, was lazy and indolent, and cared nothing for the serious business of kingship. With such a leader all plans for the speedy conquest of Scotland were likely to fail. Edward II did, indeed, order his army to continue the advance into Scotland, as his father had commanded; but after the invasion had proceeded a short distance beyond the Solway, the

young king tired of marches and camp life and ordered a return to England.

The baronial opposition in England. The barons had watched with uneasy feelings the growth of royal power in the vigorous reign of Edward I. The new king was scarcely crowned before he found himself facing an organized baronial opposition led by his own cousin, Thomas of Lancaster, the foremost noble in the realm. After three years of ineffective government Edward was forced to agree to the appointment of a committee of twenty-one peers, — earls, barons and bishops, — usually called the “lords ordainers,” who were to devise a plan of administrative reform. The following year this committee reported such a scheme, which the king reluctantly accepted. In these ordinances Edward II agreed to make no important ministerial appointment without asking the advice of the barons. He further promised not to leave the kingdom, to go to war, or to raise an army without first securing the consent of the baronage. For eleven years these ordinances were law in England; but, owing to factional disputes among the lords, who were as selfish as the king was incompetent, they were not consistently enforced.

Bannockburn. 1314. Meanwhile the strife in England had brought a real opportunity to the patriots in Scotland. For some years Robert Bruce and his followers had been carrying forward a series of attacks on the castles and other strongholds that were still in English possession, until after six years of such warfare, Stirling, a position of great strength and strategic importance located at the entrance to the Highlands, alone remained in the enemy's hands. The siege of Stirling awakened the English and Edward II made preparations to succor the garrison and reduce the country. With an army of more than 30,000 men the English king appeared in the neighborhood of Stirling in June, 1314. King Robert with a force scarcely more than one-third as large took up a position behind the little stream of Bannockburn, a few miles southeast of Stirling. The field was well chosen, for in addition to the protection afforded by the stream, the Scotsmen had the advantage of a stretch of boggy soil between themselves and the enemy. In the battle that followed the English host suffered a disastrous defeat. Scotland secured her freedom and her nationality. Robert Bruce secured

his throne, though the English government refused to recognize him as king of Scotland before 1328.

The rout of the English host at Bannockburn thoroughly discredited the king's government. A new group of ministers was now placed in charge with Earl Thomas of Lancaster as the recognized chief. Earl Thomas was a greedy, vicious, and brutal man, scarcely more competent in government than the king himself. The Scots were raiding the border counties; warlike barons were keeping the realm in constant turmoil; but the earl did almost nothing to secure either peace on the border or order in the kingdom. After a few years his authority crumbled and his faction lost control.

Hugh le Despenser. Meanwhile Edward II, who frequently followed the counsel of unofficial advisers, had found a new favorite in Hugh le Despenser, a young English nobleman. At the same time the favorite's father, the older Hugh, was coming forward as the leader of the king's partisans. Earl Thomas and the baronial party again took alarm; and in 1321 Parliament banished both the Despensers from the kingdom. But after a few months Edward II recalled them, collected a considerable force, and gave battle to his cousin of Lancaster at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. The earl was defeated and six days later gave up his life on the scaffold.

The victory at Boroughbridge left the king and the Despensers in complete control of the kingdom. Parliament was called and the Ordinances were repealed. It is worth noting that in this act of repeal the Commons assisted, thus sharing, perhaps for the first time, in a purely legislative act. The Parliament of 1322 is also famous for having announced the principle that "matters which are to be established for . . . the estate of the realm and the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by the King and by the Council of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm." It is not likely that the implications of this doctrine were fully understood at the time; but the statement proved useful in the later history of Parliament.

Roger Mortimer. The four years that followed were a period of unrest and misgovernment that recalled the worst days of Henry III. The Despensers believed in reform and efficient government, but they also believed in acquiring titles, lands,

and other forms of riches for themselves and their followers. Among those with whom they came into conflict were the Mortimers on the Welsh border. Roger Mortimer, the chief of the Mortimer connection, was thrown into prison, but managed to escape to France. In 1325 the queen, Isabella, a French princess of low character whom the greedy Despensers had also despoiled, found a pretext for a journey to her relatives at the French court, where she was joined the following year by her eldest son Edward. Here the queen met Roger Mortimer and the two were soon plotting the destruction of Edward II. In September, 1326, the conspirators landed in England supported by an alien force collected chiefly in the Netherlands. The partisans of Lancaster, Mortimer, and other important families joined the invaders, who announced that they had come to avenge the death of Earl Thomas and to drive the Despensers from the kingdom. The Despensers were both of them caught and executed and the fugitive king was taken prisoner. A few months later a hostile Parliament compelled the king to abdicate in favor of his young son Edward. Not long afterwards Edward II was murdered.

Edward III. 1327-1377. The rule of the conspirators was brief. The great problem was what attitude the government should take toward Scotland: the English still refused to recognize the independence of the Scots, but were unable to stop their raids across the border. Finally in 1328 Roger Mortimer, in a treaty of peace with Scotland, gave formal recognition to Robert Bruce's kingdom to the great disgust of the English. Two years later Mortimer was seized and imprisoned, the victim of a conspiracy which included the young king. Parliament was called, charges were preferred against the queen's favorite, and he was condemned to suffer death for treason. Edward III, who had been nominally king for three years and was already a husband and father, though only in his eighteenth year, now began his long and adventurous reign which was not to close till nearly fifty years later.

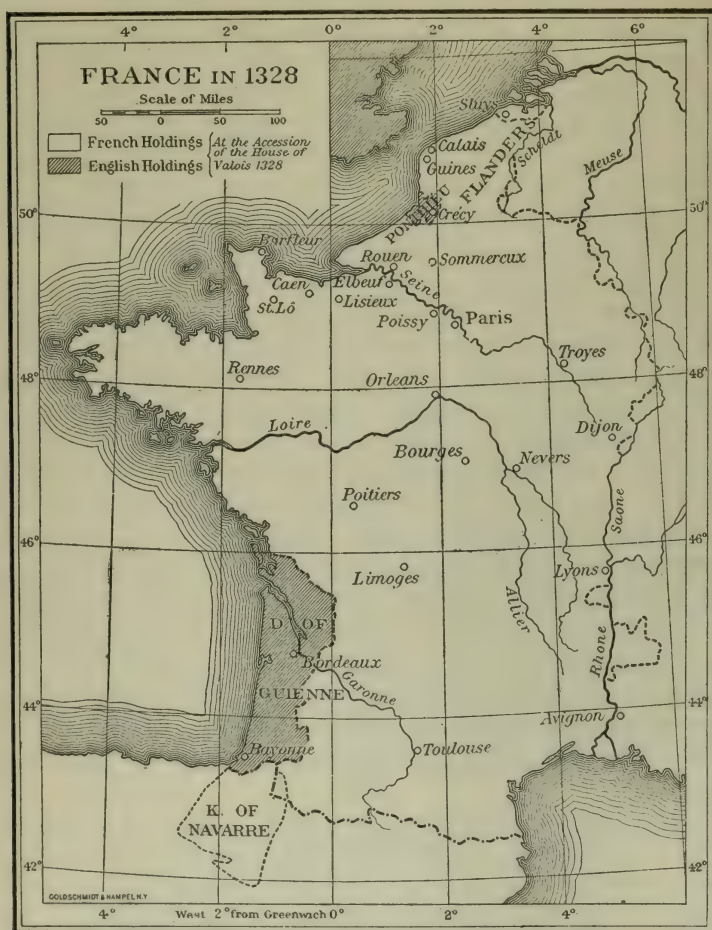
Civil war in Scotland. Two years after the murder of Edward II Robert Bruce also passed away leaving his son David, a child of five years, as heir to the Scottish throne. Edward Baliol, son of the luckless John Baliol, now thought the time opportune to recover his father's throne and sought aid at the court of

Edward III. Though little King David was a brother-in-law of the English king, having married a sister of Edward III, it was held at Westminster that the proper English policy was to encourage disorder in the kingdom to the north; the pretender was accordingly given a certain measure of informal recognition. In 1332 Edward Baliol appeared in Scotland with a small force made up largely of refugees like himself, defeated the incompetent Scottish regent, and succeeded in having himself crowned at Scone. Thirty years of intermittent warfare with England had unified the people of North Britain and they refused to accept a king who came from the capital of the enemy. Edward Baliol was soon driven back across the border; but the following year he returned, this time at the head of an army provided by Edward III. The northern patriots met the invaders at Halidon Hill near Berwick, where they suffered an overwhelming defeat.

Alliance of Scotland and France. The situation in Scotland was now anything but hopeful. The young king and his English consort were sent to France, where they remained for seven years. The French king entered into an alliance with his Scottish guest, and thus a close relationship was formed between the two crowns which endured nearly three hundred years. Meanwhile Baliol recognized Edward III as the overlord of Scotland and even surrendered to him several counties on the Scottish border. He was unable to maintain himself, however, without the active assistance of his new overlord, and Edward III had no armies to spare for prolonged adventures beyond the Tweed. For the Scottish trouble was soon to become associated with another and greater conflict, the so-called Hundred Years' War with France.

The problem of the French succession. The French war was rather a series of wars with long periods of merely passive hostilities. It began about 1338 and continued till final peace was made in 1453. The dispute that introduced this unfortunate war began in 1328, the year of Mortimer's treaty with Robert Bruce, when the direct male line of the French dynasty expired and a representative of a collateral branch of the family inherited the kingship. Three brothers, the sons of Edward I's old enemy Philip the Fair, had successively mounted the French throne and had died leaving no sons. On the death of the third and last, the Mortimer regency thought seriously of claiming the French

crown for Edward III, as the heir of his mother Isabella, who was a daughter of Philip the Fair. Though it was generally agreed that a woman could not inherit the crown, it was held



by some that she might serve as a "bridge" or a "plank" over which the rights of kingship might pass to her son. But the claim, for which there was no legal basis, was not pressed, and Edward III, as lord of Gascony, rendered the usual homage to his new suzerain, Philip VI, as king of France.

The problem of Gascony. Nearly ten years were allowed to

pass before Edward III made a serious move to revive his pretended claim to the French crown. Conditions were such, however, that a war with the neighbor across the Channel was almost inevitable. The French kings who were actively consolidating the monarchy and were naturally anxious to get rid of powerful vassals like Edward of Gascony, eagerly sought an opportunity to deprive the English king of all rights to French soil. Edward III on his side was irritated by the fact that the French were beginning to render aid to his Scottish enemies. But more important than any of these considerations were the close trade relations that existed between England and Flanders.

Flanders. The Low Countries, or the modern kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium, were, in the fourteenth century, a group of about a dozen little states, whose only bond of union was geographical. All but one of these were provinces or fiefs of the German empire; but Flanders, the most important member of the group, lay almost wholly within the limits of France. In Flanders several important cities had grown up, such as Ghent and Bruges, which were counted among the chief industrial and commercial centers of Europe. The most important industry in these provinces was the manufacture of cloth, for which the Flemings needed English wool. Between these wealthy Flemish towns and the English kingdom, there were, consequently important economic bonds. Neither side could afford to offend the other, for the Englishman was as anxious to sell his wool as the Fleming was to purchase it. While drawn to England for economic reasons, the Flemings were chronically hostile to the French king for political reasons. The cities claimed a large measure of self-government, far more than their rightful, though indiscreet, ruler, the count of Flanders, was willing to grant. In his troubles with the rebellious merchants the count had the active support of his suzerain, the king of France. In 1336 Philip VI induced the count to arrest all the English merchants in Flanders. Edward's reply to this attack was to forbid the exportation of English wool to Flanders or the importation of Flemish cloth to England. The result was economic distress in the Dutch towns and increased hostility to the French overlord, who had ruined their industry and their trade.

Causes of the Hundred Years' War. The Flemish merchants wished to be loyal to the French crown, though not to Philip VI.

They accordingly approached Edward III with the proposition that he should claim the throne of France; in case he did, they promised to accept and support him as their true king. In this way they fancied that their oaths and pledges of loyalty would remain unbroken. The plan was one that appealed to the English king, for Edward III was a knight rather than a statesman. In many respects he resembled Richard I: he was a strong, well-built, handsome man of twenty-five years when the Flemish temptation came to him; he loved the battle field and honored chivalry; he was kind and courteous to all who were of noble blood; but in the masses, the merchants, the artisans, and the villeins, he was interested only as they might contribute to his glory and power. It was a tremendous and indeed a foolhardy undertaking for the king of a nation that scarcely counted more than three or four million inhabitants to cross the sea and force his will upon a country that probably counted at least twenty millions. But the English estates had assented to the plan and in 1337 Edward III formally laid claim to the French crown, though this claim must be regarded as a pretext and nothing more. Edward was ambitious to rule his Gascon territories in full sovereignty; the English merchants were anxious to place the Gascon and the Flemish trade on a more secure footing. These were the chief causes of the Hundred Years' War.

The battle of Crecy. 1346. Hostilities began in a small way the following year; and two years later (1340) the English won an important naval victory at Sluys off the Flemish coast. The French king had secured the assistance of Genoese ships, and it is reported that he has brought together a fleet counting "more than six score great vessels beside others;" the English fleet was probably somewhat larger. This victory gave the English the command of the Channel; but not till six years later did Edward III make any serious attempt to invade France. The French king had been fairly successful in his operations in Gascony and had collected a huge army of mounted men for a great final effort. To draw the French army away from the southwest Edward crossed the Channel with a force of about 15,000 men and landed in Normandy. Failing in his purpose to reduce the Norman strongholds, he turned eastward and marched in the direction of Flanders. When not far from Calais

he was confronted by a powerful French army at least three times as strong as his own. He was forced to make a stand at Crecy and in the resulting battle the English won a decisive victory. More than 10,000 of the French host lay dead on the field, while the English loss is reported as less than one thousand. For a time Gascony was secure from French invasion.

Defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross. 1346. Meanwhile David II, who had been recalled from France five years before, decided to assist his French ally by raiding northern England. The Scots did not expect to meet much resistance, for the English soldiery was fighting in France, "leaving but a pack of shoemakers, skimmers, and merchants behind." But Edward's lieutenants raised the levies of the northern shires and two months after the victory at Crecy they defeated the invaders at Neville's Cross near Durham. David II was among those taken prisoners; he was sent to the Tower and remained in the custody of Edward III for eleven years. Robert, the high steward of Scotland, a grandson of Robert Bruce, governed the kingdom as regent during the king's absence. After David's death (1371) he ascended the throne as Robert II, the first of the Stuart line.

Surrender of Calais. 1348. From Crecy Edward proceeded to Calais which he besieged and forced to surrender after successful resistance for more than a year. Calais was the nearest Continental port and was only a few miles distant from the friendly cities of Flanders; consequently it provided a most excellent base from which to direct further operations against northern France. King Edward at first threatened to take the lives of the stubborn citizens, but the prayers of Queen Philippa prevailed, and there were no executions. The king did, however, demand an oath of allegiance from all the inhabitants and those who refused this oath were driven from the city. English colonists took their places and Calais thus became in great part an English city. It remained an English outpost and a sore irritation to France for more than two hundred years.

Papal mediation. The Black Death. For the following eight years there was almost complete suspension of hostilities, except for occasional raids on the Gascon frontier, and persistent efforts were made to reach an agreement and end the struggle. During the fourteenth century the popes, who were French,

had left Rome and taken up their abode in the beautiful city of Avignon on the French frontier, though outside the French kingdom. The Avignonese popes were anxious to bring the belligerents to terms, as the war seriously interfered with the prosperity of the church on the financial as well as on the spiritual side. For the English disliked to send revenues to a papal court whose sympathies and blessings were presumably given to the French whom they regarded as their national enemies. In the end papal mediation availed nothing; especially did the claim of Edward III to the French crown prove a persistent difficulty.

But what the pope and the cardinals were unable to accomplish an awful visitation known as the Black Death succeeded in bringing about. With death in almost every household in western Europe, the warring peoples did not have the heart to continue the conflict. France especially was sorely stricken: to the desolation caused by hostile armies were now added the terrors of the pestilence. King Edward was at last willing to resign his pretensions to the throne of France, if in return he might be allowed to retain Gascony, not as a vassal of the French king, but as an independent sovereign. The French, however, would not consent to the complete surrender of these territories but insisted on homage on the old terms.

Edward the Black Prince. In 1355 the war was renewed, the English raiding the French lands in the neighborhood of Flanders and Gascony. In this war Edward III took almost no part; he was again busy in the north in a vain effort to secure for himself the crown of Scotland which Edward Baliol had obligingly surrendered to his English overlord. The war in France was directed by King Edward's oldest son, Edward the Black Prince, as he was called from the color of his armor. In 1355 he had been made governor of the English possessions in Aquitaine and on the renewal of hostilities he led a great raid into central France as far as the Loire river. On his return to his capital Bordeaux his march was halted at Poitiers by a large French army, four or five times as strong as the English force. In the battle that followed the results of Crecy were repeated. Nearly 5,000 French knights found death on the battle field or were taken prisoners by the victorious English (1356).

The truce of Bretigny. 1360. At Poitiers the French king

John (who had succeeded his father Philip in 1350) and one of his sons fell into the hands of the Black Prince; and it was now possible to resume negotiations with better hope of a favorable outcome. The course of the war had led to the formation of



lawless bands, fragments of defeated armies or disbanded forces that preyed on the French peasantry and threw the nation into complete anarchy. Immediate peace was necessary and the war was closed with the treaty of Breigny on the terms proposed by the English a few years before. The English king gave up

his claim to the French crown; in return King John released Edward III from the obligation to render homage for the fiefs of Aquitaine, which was thus to become an independent duchy wholly separate from the French kingdom. King John was further to be restored to his freedom on the payment of a huge ransom. But the peace of Bretigny was never more than a brief truce. The Gascon lords refused to transfer their allegiance to the English king and the French people failed to pay the promised ransom. When King John learned that the terms would not be carried out, he returned to England where he died, still a prisoner of war, a few months later.

Charles the Wise. After the battle of Poitiers King John's son Charles, later known as Charles the Wise and Charles V, assumed the regency of the French kingdom. Unlike his English rival, Charles V was not a picturesque monarch; but he was shrewd and capable and gradually regained nearly all that his predecessors had lost. So long as the English remained in Aquitaine the French could not lay down their arms, and after nine years of uneasy peace hostilities flared up once more. King Charles' plan was to avoid pitched battles but to fight the enemy whenever possible from fortified strongholds and gradually to destroy his armies. In carrying out this plan he had the assistance of Bertrand du Guesclin, a soldier of fortune from Brittany, who is regarded as the ablest captain of his generation. At the same time conditions were becoming more and more unfavorable for the English. The pope was hostile. The danger from Scotland continued imminent. The shrewd diplomacy of Charles V had detached Flanders from the English alliance. Edward III was advancing into a premature old age, feeble in body and shattered in mind. His son Edward, who had shown bravery and even genius on the field of battle, did not prove to be a wise governor. He foolishly tried to interfere in Spanish affairs in favor of a deposed monarch, and taxed the Aquitanians heavily to pay for a fruitless expedition across the Pyrenees. The result was a growing discontent; here and there cities and barons showed an inclination to come to terms with Bertrand du Guesclin, who was searching out the weak points on the frontier. In suppressing rebellious movements the Black Prince revealed a cruel strain in his character, resorting to methods which have defaced an otherwise fair reputation.

In the rebellious city of Limoges more than 3,000 of the civilian population were put to the sword in a single day.

English defeat off La Rochelle. 1372. In 1371, a few months after the sack of Limoges, the prince, broken in health and troubled in spirit, left Bordeaux and returned to England where he died five years later. His younger brother, John of Gaunt, was for a brief period left in charge of the Gascon principality; but neither he nor his successors were able to stem the energetic advance of du Guesclin and his French companies. In 1372 an English naval expedition sent for the defense of the Gascon towns was caught off La Rochelle by a strong Castilian fleet and completely destroyed. In this battle the French and their Castilian allies won the command of the seas, which the English had held since the victory at Sluys, and communication with Gascony became impossible except by long and perilous marches across western France. When Edward III's reign closed the English crown scarcely retained more territory in southwestern France than the city of Bordeaux, which continued loyal because the connection with England was likely to bring commercial profit. The wines of Bordeaux were famous even in that day. In France they had to compete with the products of Burgundy; but England produced no wine, and so long as the English kings had territories in Gascony the merchants of Bordeaux might expect to enjoy the monopoly of the English wine trade.

Racial elements in medieval Ireland. During the years of the war with France Edward III made several attempts to strengthen his authority in Ireland, but without success. Throughout the fourteenth century English power on the island was steadily receding. The Anglo-Norman invasion in the reign of Henry II had not resulted in complete conquest; the invading barons found it easy enough to destroy such political unity as the country already possessed; but they were not able to replace this with a new form of unified authority except for a small part of the island. Racial unity was also lacking; in the thirteenth century four distinct elements occupied the island, each at war with the rest and ambitious to extend the area within its control.

1. The native Irish element was the largest as well as the oldest. The Irish were chiefly of Celtic origin, though not

exclusively so, for the Celtic invaders had evidently found the island occupied by an ancient dark-complexioned people which they conquered and ultimately absorbed into their own race. The Irish were organized into clans or tribes, the members of which regarded each other as distant kinsmen, all having descended, as was believed, from a common ancestor. At the head of each tribe was a chief usually chosen by the tribesmen from the most prominent family. Clan feeling was strong and the clansmen were, as a rule, very loyal to their chiefs; in the larger units they showed only a slight interest.

2. In the ninth and tenth centuries Scandinavian immigrants had established an Irish Danelaw along the eastern and the southern coast from Belfast to Limerick. The Northmen were frequently at war with the Celtic tribes; but, though often hard pressed, they were never wholly exterminated. As late as 1263 envoys from these settlements sought out the Norwegian king to ask help against their rulers, the lieutenants of Henry III.

3. The Norman adventurers who came to Ireland in the second half of the twelfth century occupied a position somewhat analogous to the Norman baronage in England subsequent to the invasion of William the Conqueror. Though not numerous they were men of power and influence; their castles could be found in almost every part of the island. The English kings had granted large areas of land to these adventurers and these lands they held by the customary feudal means, a force of armed retainers gathered in the baronial stronghold. The Normans had never been welcome; but the resistance of the Irish who fought without armor could avail but little against trained warriors clad in steel.

4. In the city of Dublin, which was a Norse rather than an Irish city, Henry II had planted a settlement of Bristol merchants. This colonial venture was not wholly successful, as many of the settlers soon returned to their homes in the Severn valley. Nevertheless, the settlement persisted and formed the nucleus of a small English establishment, which ultimately became the center from which English power and influence gradually penetrated into the more distant parts of the island.

In the fourteenth century the situation was rapidly changing to the disadvantage of the invading forces. The old Scandinavian element had disappeared; it had been absorbed in part by

the native population and in part by the English colonial settlement. The Norman group had by intermarriage and otherwise become closely identified with the native aristocracy; the Burkes, the Prendergasts, the Fitzgeralds and the rest were becoming uncompromisingly Irish. As the old hostility between Irish chieftain and Norman baron tended to disappear, the English colonials began to develop a feeling of contempt for the Normans whom they spoke of as "degenerate English." There were, therefore, in the reign of Edward III only two important elements on the island: the Irish and the English. Of these the native Irish were the stronger and the more active in warfare.

High kings and petty kings. What saved the English colony was the lack of unified purpose among the Irish tribes; of national feeling there was scarcely more than a trace among the Irish people in the middle ages. Before the coming of the English the tribes had been grouped into petty kingdoms of which there were normally five, each under its own king. These kings again owed allegiance to an overlord, or "high king," whose authority extended to all the shores of the island. This authority was, however, more often of a nominal character only; kings of unusual strength would be able to enforce their will, but strong and wise rulers were not common.

Clan chiefs and barons. Since the death of the luckless Roderick O'Connor there have been no native high kings in Ireland. The royal title was dormant till the sixteenth century when it was revived in the interest of the English king. In the five provinces native kingship persisted even as late as the fourteenth century: there was a king of Leinster who caused much trouble for the English in Dublin in the days of Edward III. In the later middle ages three forms of government claimed the allegiance of the Irish people. (1) The clans still remained intact, with their old laws, their own tribunals, and their elected chiefs. According to Old Irish law and custom the lands occupied by a clan were the common property of the clan. The chief would naturally have something to say in the administration of these possessions, but he did not in any sense own the land. (2) Planted in the midst of a great clan there might be a Norman castle where a baron disputed with the native chief the right to control the land and to govern the people in the

neighborhood. Frequently the Irish would find it necessary to render a measure of obedience to each of the two, the native chief and the Norman baron. (3) An effort had also been made to introduce the English system of local government with shires, courts, and sheriffs. King John had divided the southern and eastern parts of the island into twelve shires; but in the fourteenth century several of these had practically ceased to exist. The condition of Ireland in the days of Edward III was civil war. Baron fought against baron and clan made war upon clan. Quite frequently the Normans would take a hand in the struggles of the native chieftains, and these in turn sometimes assisted in the private feuds of the barons.

The English Pale. The only part of Ireland where the authority of Edward III was respected and upheld was the English settlement in and about Dublin, later called the Pale. In the fourteenth century the Pale comprised the greater part of five or six counties; in the following century it shrank to even narrower limits. The borders of the Pale were constantly suffering from raids on the part of the neighboring clansmen. Finally the settlers found it necessary to buy protection from the Celtic chiefs with a payment called the "black rent." Even the king's government sometimes found it expedient to pay the black rent.

The Statute of Kilkenny. 1367. Three times the lieutenants of Edward III made an attempt to restore order to the distracted land, but nothing was achieved. First of all it was necessary to break the power of the barons, whose allegiance to the English king was now merely nominal; but this would require a larger military force than Edward could spare from his wars with the Scots and the French. Finally it was determined to let the Irish alone and to make an effort to build up English institutions within the limits of the Pale only. Accordingly in 1367, Lionel, Edward III's second son, who served as viceroy in Ireland, called the barons of the Pale into a Parliament at Kilkenny where they agreed to a famous law, the Statute of Kilkenny. The purpose of this law was to make every form of intercourse between the English colonists and the native Irish unlawful. Marriage with the Irish was to be regarded as treason. Englishmen were forbidden to adopt Irish customs such as wearing long hair and mustaches; and the Irish within the

Pale were forbidden to speak their own language. English churches and monasteries were closed to Irish priests and monks; Irish bards were to be treated as spies. All commercial intercourse across the border was strictly forbidden. The Statute of Kilkenny was never enforced; nevertheless, it served to intensify the ill feeling between the races, and it seriously affected the economic prosperity of the English Pale.

Foreign policy of the three Edwards. The three Edwards ruled England for a little more than a century. It was a period when foreign affairs and border problems occupied a very prominent place in the thoughts of the English people. Four purposes dominated and directed the foreign policies of the kings and statesmen of the period: (1) they wished to consolidate Britain by uniting Wales and Scotland with England and Ireland into a single monarchy; (2) they sought to extend the area of English influence in Ireland; (3) they strove to secure full sovereignty for the English king in Gascony; (4) they wished to make sure of a market for English products in Flanders. These purposes led to nearly a century of almost constant warfare. It was an age of great battles; it brought forth a number of heroic figures; but in the end little was gained for the English people. Wales was conquered but Scotland was lost. In Ireland the record was one of losses and defeats. When Edward III died most of the Gascon lands had been seized by Charles the Wise. In their Flemish policy the kings were more successful; for some years there was a close alliance between England and the manufacturing towns of Flanders. In the next century this connection was to be broken; meanwhile, the manufacture of woolen cloth had been greatly promoted in the English wool district, and the time was coming when the island kingdom would be able to formulate a commercial policy in which the Flemish markets were no longer the chief consideration.

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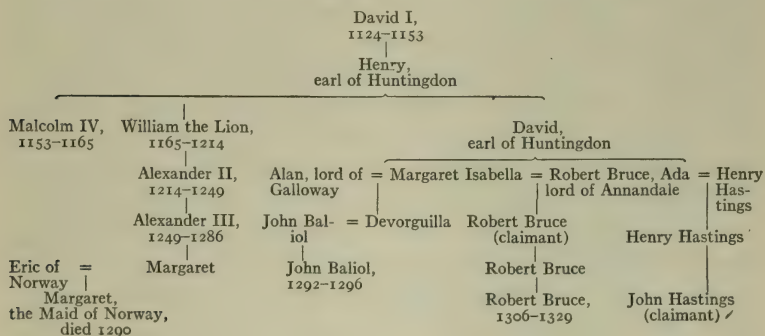
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THE PROBLEM OF THE SUCCESSION TO THE SCOTTISH THRONE IN 1290



CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION

An age of revolutionary changes. The fourteenth century was a period of great and far-reaching social and political changes. The center of authority in the English constitution was shifting from kingship to Parliament. New social classes were coming forward to demand a share in the control of the state. The bonds of villeinage were loosening and the economic system of the country was being rebuilt on a new basis. Heresy threatened to disrupt the national church. These developments were most clearly evident in the second half of the century and are often associated with the troubled reign of Richard II; but they began long before Richard's time and continued long after the death of that unfortunate king.

Break-up of the manorial system. The most significant facts in the social history of the fourteenth century were the gradual dissolution of the ancient manorial system and the beginnings of a movement tending toward the disappearance of the condition known as villeinage or serfdom. For at least three centuries the mass of the rural population had been chained to the soil, each successive generation inheriting the duty of tilling the earth on the estate where it was born. But in the fourteenth century the villeins were developing an interest in the world beyond the boundaries of the manor, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to hold them to their inherited duties.

Serfdom and warfare. There were several causes that led to the dissolution of the old servile system. Of first importance were the great wars of the age. The military undertakings of Edward I and Edward III called for greater forces than could possibly be collected from the nobility and its host of armed retainers. Consequently, the king found it necessary to recruit his armies from the unprivileged classes, of which the villeins formed the greater part. The common farmer proved to be an effective warrior, and as a result came to have a value in the eyes of the government which he did not earlier possess.

The armies of the middle ages were commonly small bodies of knights and their attendants who served for a limited period at their own expense; but a serious war of invasion could not be carried through with such forces. Ever since 1088 when William Rufus called on the English to assist in his war with the rebellious barons, the Norman and Angevin kings had occasionally found it necessary to go outside the feudal system in recruiting their forces. Edward III needed a volunteer force that would be satisfied to remain in the field till the campaign closed. The host that Edward took to France was therefore made up in large part of hired soldiers, each man serving for a daily wage ranging from two pence to two shillings per day. These seem small sums, but they would probably purchase thirty or forty times as much as the equivalent coinage would buy in our own country at present. It is also true that the shilling of Edward's reign contained at least twice as much silver in weight as the English shilling of our own time.

Edward's army was raised largely by the contract system: the king arranged with various lords, men of prestige and influence, that they should raise companies of men and be responsible for their wages, provisions, and equipment. Three classes of soldiers made up the host: the men-at-arms (knights and their attendants), the archers, and the knife men, whose chief duty seems to have been to kill the enemy's horses and to slaughter wounded Frenchmen.

The longbow. As the typical weapon of the knight was the sword, that of the peasant was the bow. The longbow, which was the most effective weapon of the age, was very much like the kind of bow that the American Indian used with so much skill: it was a piece of tough yew carefully strung with a firm cord, a weapon so well made, it is said, that a strong-armed archer could drive an arrow through an oaken plank three fingers thick. Ordinarily the arrow was drawn to the breast without much attempt at taking aim; but the shaft sped to the mark with wonderful accuracy. At Crecy the French army was four times as large as the English and at Poitiers six times as strong; but the English archers secured the victory.

The longbow seems to have come to England from the Welsh border. It is said that it was first used with real effect by English archers in the final conquest of North Wales (1284).

In the Continental armies the archers were generally equipped with the crossbow, a weapon that could be used with telling effect, especially when careful aim was a consideration. But the man with the longbow could shoot six arrows to every bolt that the crossbowman could discharge; for his weapon was ready at all times, no matter how damp the weather might be. At Crecy many of the Genoese mercenaries in the French host found their crossbows almost useless because a recent shower had shrunk the bow strings.

The decline of chivalry. The growing importance of the villein with his longbow had its counterpart in a steady decline in the importance of chivalry. For several centuries the mounted warrior had been the deciding factor on almost every battle field. When a body of mail-clad knights mounted on powerful horses charged a line of foot soldiers armed with lance and spear, the infantry usually had to give way. But the knight was helpless against the archer. No matter how heavy or well-made his armor might be, there were joints and other vulnerable places which the arrow frequently found. And even though the rider might escape, his horse could easily be brought down, and an unhorsed knight, burdened with fifty pounds or more of iron, could not accomplish much on the battle field.

The decline of chivalry as a military institution was further hastened by the introduction of firearms into offensive warfare. The manufacture of gunpowder seems to be an ancient art, the original home of which was the Far East. The English scientist Roger Bacon is said to have known the composition of gunpowder; but no practical use for the new explosive in warfare was found before the following century (the fourteenth) when experiments began to be made with a small form of cannon, called by the English "crakys of war." It is said that Edward III had three cannon on the field of Crecy, though it is not believed that they proved very effective. It was in siege operations that the new weapon found its earliest utility. The feudal fortress was unable to withstand the attack of the new gun, and gradually the castle, as a military stronghold, ceased to be.

The Black Death. 1348-1351. The break-up of the old agrarian system and the consequent reshaping of rural society were materially hastened by the destructive course of the great

pestilence that swept over western Europe soon after the English victory at Crecy. The Black Death (apparently what is known to-day as the bubonic plague) had its immediate rise in the Orient. Following the routes of commerce it visited almost every part of western Europe; to England it seems to have come from Flanders with returning soldiers. In the autumn of 1348, the year after the fall of Calais, the plague appeared in southwestern England (Dorsetshire), whence it traveled eastward and northward the whole length of the island and across the sea to northern Europe. For more than a year the scourge remained upon the land. The mortality was frightful: in places half the population was stricken down. The hovels of the manorial villages were anything but sanitary habitations, and the death rate among the poor seems everywhere to have been abnormally high. When the Scots heard of the plague raging in the neighboring kingdom, they composed a new oath: "be the foul deth of Engeland." True to their old habits the men of the border proceeded at once to plunder their stricken neighbors; but "the fierce mortality overtook them and their ranks were thinned by sudden and terrible death."

New manorial problems. One result of the great visitation was that the manorial lord found large areas of his land lying untilled. Many of the tenants had died, some leaving no male heirs, others leaving no heirs of either sex, and the surviving tenants who escaped the plague were unable to cultivate the entire estate. Nor was it easy to recruit the force of cultivators by securing farmers from other villages, as the same condition prevailed throughout the country. It will be recalled that under the manorial system the land was for the most part cultivated by tenants who in return for their farms contributed a part of the year's increase and in addition assisted in the cultivation of the landlord's demesne. The amount of produce to be contributed and the number of days' labor due were fixed by ancient custom, which the landlord was often unable to change. But after the year of the pestilence, the produce that the lord was allowed to collect fell far short of the actual needs of his household; and it was only with difficulty that he was able to find labor sufficient to cultivate even a part of the manorial demesne.

New economic methods. Another factor in the rural situa-

tion was the rapid development of English commerce. The market having become an established institution in the more important towns, it had now become possible to sell certain forms of domestic produce as well as to purchase desirable products brought to the market from distant lands. At the same time the amount of money in circulation was constantly increasing and new economic methods were being applied to the business operations of the age. A century earlier (about 1250) the landlords had begun to find it profitable in rare instances to excuse their tenants from the ancient dues in labor and produce and to accept a money rent instead. In the course of the fourteenth century this practice was becoming increasingly common. For the manorial lord who could secure ready cash, either in the form of money rent or through the sale of surplus products, was not so dependent as formerly on the successive harvests on his own estates.

Dearth of labor in the boroughs. The rural problem was further complicated by a dearth of labor in the growing boroughs, where, owing to the pestilence, the population had also become materially reduced. Many of the villeins left their homes in the country and repaired to the towns, where vacant houses were plentiful and where industry was calling loudly for help. This sudden activity in the labor market inevitably brought a demand for higher wages on the part of those whose time was at their own disposal. The employers soon began to complain that their workmen would no longer serve at the old rates and asked the government for a statute fixing a maximum wage. While the pestilence was still raging, the king's council published an ordinance commanding the laborers to work for the customary wages. Two years later this ordinance was supplemented by an act of Parliament known as the Statute of Laborers. For some years this act seems to have been strictly applied and the Statute of Laborers was doubtless one of the chief grievances that led to the great revolt on the part of peasants and artisans thirty years later.

Low wages and high prices. In the country districts this statute affected especially a growing class of free agricultural laborers many of whom became outlaws in avoiding arrest under the terms of the new law. At the same time the act aroused the hostility of the journeymen of the towns who were likewise

forbidden to take higher wages than the fixed maximum; while an added grievance was furnished in the rising cost of food for which the statute provided not fixed but merely reasonable levels. The discontented elements soon came under the influence of a band of agitators led by John Ball, an erratic priest, whose economic ideas had a distinctly revolutionary character. John Ball taught that "from the beginning all men were created equal by nature" and that villeinage was the invention of evil men. He further taught that tithes should be paid by those only who were richer than the one who received the tithe; he also held that "tithes and offerings ought to be withheld if the parishioner were known to be a man of better life than his curate." He favored putting to death all lords, lawyers, and others who might prove dangerous to the community. For more than twenty years "the mad priest of Kent" continued to preach these and other heretical doctrines to the great annoyance of the authorities, who sought to restrain him with frequent prison sentences, but without success.

Discontent; the poll tax. Meanwhile the forces of discontent were finding new recruits among the tenant farmers who had long nursed a real grievance against the manorial lords. The transition from the older economy based on customary dues and compulsory labor to the newer form based on money rent and hired labor was, like all great changes, a slow and sometimes a very painful process. Many of the landlords still insisted on collecting the ancient dues in labor, kind, and money: a cock and two hens at Christmas; two shillings at Easter and Michaelmas; fees for permitting a villein's daughter to marry or for allowing his son to enter the clerical profession; compulsory harrowing, mowing, harvesting, wood-cutting, and similar forms of boon work. Though some of these dues were not heavy, they were all symbolic of bondage and were daily becoming more hateful.

While the lower classes were in this discontented mood, the government foolishly added a new grievance by requesting a grant of money for the renewal of the French war. This took the form of a poll tax which was levied on all, both men and women, of the age of fifteen or above. In the second levy (1379) the population was roughly classified according to rank and supposed abilities to pay, all being taxed accordingly.

John of Gaunt, the king's uncle and the wealthiest noble in the realm, was to pay ten marks (1600d.) while villeins and laborers were rated at 4d. The assessment of the following year was less explicit, but each was still to be "assessed and tallaged according to his condition," the limits being 240d. for a rich man and his wife and 4d. for a poor man and his wife. All except beggars paid something and the dues were rigorously collected.

The Great Revolt. 1381. The poll tax furnished the occasion for a wide-spread uprising on the part of the lower classes, the Great Revolt of 1381. The movement began at two different points, the old East Anglian counties and Kent, but finally spread into nearly every part of the kingdom. The Kentishmen found an aggressive leader in Wat Tyler, whose particular grievance was the poll tax. The revolt was a violent but almost entirely unorganized effort to secure greater economic freedom for the workingmen and the agricultural classes. In their eagerness to strike off the shackles of serfdom the rebels terrorized the insistent landlords, persecuted the royal officials who had shown too great zeal in collecting the poll tax, slew lawyers who had assisted in enforcing the old manorial customs, and burned manorial records that might be used as evidence of dues and debt.

The rioters finally decided to appeal in person to the king and the government. From Kent and Essex, from the southeast and the northeast, armies of discontented farmers marched upon London. John Ball, who had been released from Maidstone prison by the Kentishmen, shared in the leadership and sought to direct the movement toward the goal of revolution. At Blackheath just outside London he preached a famous sermon to an assembly of 20,000 rioters using as his text the old proverb

"When Adam dalfe and Eve span,
Who was thanne a gentilman?"

The men from Kent seized London Bridge and entered the City, where they found active sympathy among the laboring class, especially among the apprentices. For some days London was at the mercy of a riotous mob. John of Gaunt's palace was destroyed; the Temple and the Inns of Court where the lawyers had their schools and headquarters were burned down; several

of the king's ministers, among them the archbishop of Canterbury, who was also lord chancellor, were slain; and the Flemish weavers in the City were made to feel the wrath of the envious apprentices.

The parley at Mile End. June 14. Finding it advisable to treat with the rebels, the authorities arranged a parley at Mile End where the king heard the grievances of the villeins and promised immediate relief. On the strength of these promises a large number of the peasants deserted the enterprise and returned to their villages. The following day another conference was held at Smithfield with less satisfactory results: in an altercation with the lord mayor of London Wat Tyler was killed. With his death the movement collapsed.

At the conference at Mile End the king had promised faithfully to grant a general and complete pardon to all the insurgents, to abolish villeinage, and to promote a law fixing a maximum rent of four pence per acre. These promises, which could have little force even in those days without Parliamentary sanction, were promptly recalled. The men in power did not neglect to take a bloody revenge, and about one hundred of the rioters (John Ball among them) suffered death for their part in the uprising. For a time it looked as if the lot of the peasantry would be worse instead of better; but the landlords found it unprofitable to insist on the old servile customs, and villeinage gradually died out.

The new yeomanry. With the disappearance of villeinage a large class of English farmers attained a status which was substantially that of the older freemen. In social position the former villeins took their place alongside the small peasant landowners, the yeomen. There remained this difference, however, that the earlier yeoman was a freeholder, one who had complete ownership of the land that he occupied, or at least the right to occupy it for life, while the new tenants were generally copyholders. For, while the new freeman retained his right to occupy the farm that he had held and cultivated while he was still a villein, he did not acquire actual ownership. The freehold rights remained with the landlord, and these rights the tenant recognized by the payment of rents and other dues or fees. The amount of these payments could be determined only by reference to the records of the manor which

would show what dues were customary in the days of villeinage. The tenant might secure a copy of such records and hence the term copyhold came to be applied to lands held in this way.

Leaseholders. The new arrangement, though often difficult to carry out, ultimately proved advantageous to both landlord and tenant. The farmer no longer carried his surplus to the manorial barns but sold it in the nearest market, where the landlord could purchase according to his needs. Frequently, however, the new system left the landlord with considerable areas of surplus land for which he had no cultivators. Some of this he disposed of in the form of leaseholds: a farmer or a free laborer would undertake to cultivate a farm for a definite number of years, paying in return a definite sum in rent. The rent paid by the leaseholder was often higher than that paid by the copyholder. The latter paid money in place of the older customary service, or what was called "quit rent;" while the leaseholder's rent was based on the actual value of the land and was therefore an economic rent.

Enclosures. Another development was that the landlords decided to enclose their fields rather than leave them untilled or cultivate them with high-priced labor. By enclosure is usually meant the practice of surrounding a certain area of tilled land with a fence or a hedge and cultivating it as a single field or turning it into a pasture for sheep. This was an old practice in England which had grown steadily with the increase in the wool trade. Since it was found that a greater income could be derived from these enclosed pastures, or from enclosed fields, than from areas cultivated under the old acre-strip system, the landlords gladly enclosed their lands. So eager were many to try the new methods that they released or dismissed the farmers whose families had held and tilled the land from time past all memory. Unable to secure employment in the rural districts, many farmers were forced to turn to the cities in search of a livelihood. The process of enclosure was, therefore, accompanied by a steady growth in the English towns.

Rise of the middle class. The enclosure movement was further promoted by the necessities of a new social class. In the later middle ages society still recognized the importance of the two great estates, the nobility and the clergy. But with the

development of trade across the sea, the growth of domestic manufactures, and the reshaping of economic life, a new class had come into being, the so-called middle class, composed of those who lived off the profits derived from commercial activities. As these middle class families prospered and acquired wealth, they began to yearn for social recognition, which was almost impossible to secure unless one could show title deeds to large areas of land. In the period following the Black Death much land passed into the hands of these wealthy borough families. The new owners, who were good business men, soon discovered that the old system of farming was uneconomical and that the greater profits lay in sheep farming. Consequently they were eager to enclose their fields, and large areas were in this way withdrawn from cultivation.

Effects of enclosing land. It was, indeed, not till the following century that the practice of enclosing land became particularly burdensome, but then it became a problem of food as well as of employment. For with the increase in sheep farming came a corresponding decrease in the production of grain. Food became expensive: soon after the great plague "necessaries became so dear that what had previously been worth 1d was now worth 4d or 5d." Legislation to lower the cost of living had little effect. At the same time wages in the overcrowded cities ultimately sank to lower levels. It must not be thought, however, that the enclosure movement was wholly evil in its results. Sheep farming meant more wool, more manufactured cloth, greater demand for labor in the industrial centers, greater activity on the English wharves, and eventually a decided increase in the aggregate wealth of the nation. But during the period of adjustment the movement was the cause of much dissatisfaction and great distress.

Greater use of money. Among the many causes that helped to promote the change from villein service to free cultivation on the English manors, the most effective was the greater use of money in the economic arrangements of the time. The operation of this cause was not confined to the country; it was even more active in the urban settlements where the old social ideals were beginning to crumble before the influence of a new set of forces that resembled modern capitalism. Business in the fourteenth century was largely confined to the area of the town

where the business man lived and to its immediate neighborhood. Owing to the prevailing difficulties of transportation each town necessarily sought to be a self-sufficient economic unit, producing the major portion of its needed supplies. The policy of the town was directed, therefore, toward securing an adequate supply of necessities at a low price; this was accomplished by regulations forbidding or restricting the export of certain important commodities like meat and grain, or by other regulations fixing the price that might be charged for bread and ale. Moreover, since the right of self-government which the towns possessed in these matters had been acquired at a great expense, it seemed only fair to the townsmen that townsmen only should be allowed to share in the advantages of the trade in the town. Thus there developed in the towns a system of carefully regulated trade in which the interests of the local business men were highly protected by the exclusion of outsiders except under severe restriction. Traders that came from other towns were all regarded as foreigners, whether they were residents of England or some other country. In Bristol the London merchant had no more rights than the trader from Ghent.

Merchant guilds. To make sure that these policies would be carried out the business men of each town organized themselves into fraternities called guilds. In Anglo-Saxon times it was customary for groups of men to form themselves into brotherhoods for social, charitable, and religious purposes; and the merchant guilds of the later middle ages may have been formed in imitation of these older fraternities. The merchant guilds began to appear in England soon after the Norman conquest; by the middle of the twelfth century they had become established as an important factor in English commercial life.

Though organized primarily to secure the local trade to the merchants of the town concerned, the merchant guild also served certain other purposes of a less selfish character. One of these functions was to supervise the activities of the local market so as to make sure that illegal practices would not be allowed to go unpunished. Frequently traders would go out upon the highways or into the ports to buy up certain wares before they could reach the market; this was called *forestalling*. Or they might buy up the wares after they had reached the market to hold them for higher prices; this was called *regrating*.

A third expedient, known as *engrossing*, was to refuse to sell before the price had reached a certain high figure. All these practices were regarded as evil and contrary to law, as they tended to force prices above their natural levels. A further duty of the merchant gild was to look after the collection of proper debts and to watch over the rights and interests of its members when on trading ventures in other towns.

Craft gilds. It appears that in some localities the merchant gilds also undertook to supervise the industrial activities of the town; but later the various crafts found it expedient to organize their own fraternities. Thus the carpenters had their gild, the weavers theirs, the tanners theirs, and so on through all the trades or industrial occupations. Craft gilds began to appear in England early in the twelfth century, the oldest being the weavers' gild. The tendency to organize the crafts in this manner is quite evident in the reign of Edward I, and in the fourteenth century the industries of the country had very largely come into the control of these gilds. By that time the craft gilds had begun to form federations or general gilds, which in many places took over the functions of the older merchant gild.

The gild system had its advantages but also its disadvantages. The master workmen who composed the membership of the various gilds soon began to draw up regulations for the trade concerned: these covered such subjects as the materials to be used, weight and measure, hours of labor, and the like; and each member watched his fellows closely to make sure that the rules were observed. The buyer could then feel reasonably sure that the article bearing the stamp of the gild was what it was claimed to be, though it must be admitted that dishonesty in business was not wholly unknown in the middle ages. Under the gild system it became very difficult for any one to engage in business unless he was a member of the proper gild. The gilds were able to control prices to a large extent and usually fixed them with an eye to their own profit. It will be seen that in their small way these fraternities combined the characteristics of the modern trust and the labor union: they controlled the manufacture, the prices, and the labor supply; and they determined the conditions under which industry was to be carried on.

Membership in a gild was originally open to all who had

mastered the craft; but as time passed it came to be generally limited to the master workmen. These were the owners of shops; their work was done by journeymen, workmen who had mastered the trade and were employed as day laborers, and by apprentices, boys or young men who were learning the trade. It was the journeyman's ambition to become a master workman and have a shop of his own; but in the fourteenth century this was not so easily achieved. Membership in the gild had become expensive, and the masterpiece which every candidate had to produce often involved a considerable outlay. Consequently the journeyman class was every year becoming more numerous and something resembling a labor market was being created.

Borough government. Though primarily an economic institution, the gild very soon came to have an added interest as a part of the political system of the town. The men of the boroughs showed an early desire for self-government; but this was a privilege that ordinarily had to be sought at the royal court or at some feudal castle, and the favor was usually granted only in consideration of a liberal payment into the treasury of the lord or the king. The merchants were the class that could best afford to pay for this right, and so it came about that these men frequently secured charters permitting the borough to manage its own affairs and allowing the merchant gild to control the local trade. Such charters were granted as early as the reign of Henry I, and the privilege was sold quite freely after the accession of Richard I. The twelfth century was the great age of the merchant gild. In the reign of Edward III its importance was on the decline and the craft gilds were taking its place. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the government of the English boroughs came to a large extent into the control of the industrial gilds.

Beginnings of the factory system. With the changing conditions in English commercial life, two new classes began to appear, the antecedents of the modern manufacturer and the modern merchant. Early manufacture, aside from what was made in the shops of the master workmen, was quite largely domestic in character, and for a time it was limited almost wholly to woolen cloth. The "clothier" would buy the wool and give it out to his employees who were expected to weave

it in their own homes. If the clothier's business was large, he probably found it worth while to maintain a central workshop, which might in a measure resemble a modern factory. Such a clothier was Thomas Blanket who set up a number of looms in Bristol in 1340. The medieval merchant differed from the clothier and the master workman in having nothing to do with the making of his wares: his interest lay entirely in the purchase and sale of finished products. The development of these newer forms of industrial and commercial endeavor was further promoted by the general increase in the use of money which made competitive business a possibility.

"War profiteers." A considerable stimulus to industry and trade on a larger scale than that of a town area was given by the Hundred Years' War, through the extensive purchases and other mercantile transactions of the English government in the course of the war. Many merchants accumulated great fortunes from war contracts, particularly those who dealt in wine, wool, or provisions. These merchants were interested in the newer methods of carrying on business on a large scale; but they soon found that the regulation of trade by the town was adverse to their interests and induced the king to introduce national regulations. The first indications were that such development might proceed along lines of real freedom not only for English but also for alien traders. But the traditions of monopoly and protection against outsiders continued strong in the mercantile class; the merchants sought to extend the old conditions of the town area to the nation as a whole, and to enlarge the scope of their own operations while still preventing competition from men outside the area, which was now the entire country. By taking advantage of the financial needs of Edward III and his successor, Richard II, they forced the government to adopt their policy. The more important associations of merchants who were interested in this matter were the Vintners', the Drapers', and the Fishmongers' Companies of London; but another and even more important factor was the great association of the Merchants of the Staple, who had secured a monopoly of the export of wool in return for aid in financing the war in France.

Manufacture of woolen cloth. The victories of Sluys, Crecy and Poitiers meant much for the glory and prestige of the

English nation and dynasty, but these were frail rewards: for English success had been purchased at a fearful cost in blood and treasure. Nevertheless, the struggle was not without certain substantial advantages to the English people, though these were chiefly of an indirect character. It was during the reign of Edward III that the manufacture of woollen cloth on a large scale was finally placed on a solid and enduring basis. Weaving is an ancient art, and the native cloth makers of England



produced fabrics of the finer sort long before the days of Edward III. By the middle of the thirteenth century weavers' and fullers' gilds had been organized in several of the more important industrial centers while a dyers' gild appears in the records two or three decades later.

It seems evident, however, that the English craft had not kept pace with the growth of the woollen industry on the Continent, and that Edward III could very properly deplore "the decay of the art of weaving." An important feature of his policy for the revival and the promotion of English industry

was a broad invitation to alien weavers "of whatsoever country they be" to settle in his kingdom and to set up their looms under the promise of royal protection. The invitation was accompanied by a statute forbidding the importation of foreign cloth into England (1337); but owing to the financial necessities of the king this law was never consistently enforced. The Hundred Years' War, in which the Flemings were involved on the side of England, made it easy to induce Flemish weavers to settle in England, but other provinces in the Netherlands also contributed to this migration. There was nothing new in this movement, for Flemish artisans had begun to find homes in England as early as the closing decades of the eleventh century; but the migration in the days of Edward III involved larger numbers and led to greater consequences. English merchants now began to deal more extensively in cloth and to a less extent in raw wool. From these small beginnings in the later middle ages has grown the greatest system of manufactures in the entire world.

Medieval ideas of commerce. It was generally held in the middle ages that the wealth of a country consisted chiefly in gold and silver; and since a man who had ready money could purchase whatever he wished, it seemed evident to the statesmen of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the real purpose of foreign trade must be to bring the precious metals into the country. It was therefore held necessary to regulate commerce in such a way that only a part of the English products that went to foreign markets should be exchanged for foreign goods. The English merchant who sold his wool in Flanders was forbidden to take Flemish cloth in exchange for the full value of his wares; a part must be paid in gold or silver. This regulation was, of course, difficult to enforce, for the English people had developed a strong taste for Continental products. As a result of the Flemish trade the English were beginning to wear more expensive clothes; the old, coarse native cloth was giving way to the finer and more expensive fabrics of the Flemish looms.

Staple towns. As a part of their plan to regulate foreign trade so that it might be productive of the precious metals and bring revenue to the royal treasury, the English kings decreed that all the leading products of the land that were to

be sold abroad should be bought and sold in certain specified towns only; these were known as "staple towns." The term staple came from a German word *stapel*, meaning a heap, in this case a heap of wares; next it came to be applied to a warehouse; later to a market; and finally to the products that were bought and sold in these markets. A staple town had a market that was open practically throughout the year. The authorities of such a town could force all merchants who came that way to take their wares to the public market and expose them for sale. It is clear that if a certain line of trade could be limited to a small number of market towns the laws governing that trade could be quite easily enforced, and the collection of tariff dues would become a relatively easy matter.

In the thirteenth century it was customary to send all the chief exports of England to some important commercial locality on the Continent, usually to one of the Dutch towns; for a time Dordrecht in Holland had a monopoly of the English staples. Soon after the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War the location of the staple was moved to Bruges; but in 1363 the staple rights passed to the new English city of Calais. In 1291 Edward I had designated certain English towns which were also to have staple privileges. In 1353 there appear to have been ten such towns; among them were Newcastle, Norwich, Westminster, and Bristol. The five great staple articles were wool, woolfells, leather, lead, and tin. The merchants who dealt in these commodities were known as "merchants of the staple." Edward III gave them the monopoly of certain other products, such as butter, honey, and tallow, by adding these to the staple list; but this arrangement proved to be temporary only.

Hostility toward the papal curia. The Hundred Years' War was in some degree responsible for a new outbreak of hostile feeling toward the papacy, a feeling that spread and deepened as the war progressed. In 1305 the cardinal college elected a Gascon archbishop to the papal office, and for a period of seventy years the church was governed by French popes and French cardinals. During this period of the "Babylonian captivity" the capital of the Catholic world was located at Avignon in the Rhone valley. The Avignonese popes were suspected of being favorable to the French cause and consequently

could not be popular in England. Three specific controversies helped to intensify the feeling against the court at Avignon and led eventually to a series of anti-papal acts on the part of the king and Parliament. These were the subjects of the papal tribute, provisors, and appeals to the papal court.

A few years before the war began (1333) England had sent her last installment of the tribute that John had promised the pope in 1213. The pope made repeated efforts to collect the tribute as it fell due but without success. After thirty-three years of failure to pay, the English Parliament repudiated the tribute entirely, declaring that John had no right to bind the nation to any such payment. The repudiation was doubtless due in part to the financial embarrassments of the crown and in part to a reluctance to pay tribute to a foreign power, which, to make matters worse, was French.

The Statute of Provisors. In 1351 a Statute of Provisors was enacted to correct an evil that had become acute a hundred years before in the days of Henry III and Grosseteste. Eight years earlier Edward III had sent a formal protest against the appointment of aliens to English benefices, but to no purpose. In the Statute of Provisors Parliament outlawed the practice and provided severe penalties for all who should accept offices in the church as papal provisors. The act was no doubt dictated by a natural hostility to a French pope; but the English might fairly plead the impossibility of accepting French church officials from Avignon while the war with France was still in progress. It was commonly believed in England that "the riches carried abroad to the Roman court and to foreigners exceed the king's annual revenue; and from this same treasure, as it is believed, the king's enemies are in great part comforted." A peculiarly offensive appointment was the bestowal of the revenues of the deanery of York on the Cardinal Périgord, a French ecclesiastic, who was regarded "as the king's fiercest enemy at the papal court and the most hostile to his interests."

The Statute of Praemunire. 1353. Two years later Parliament petitioned the king to enact a Statute of Praemunire forbidding the king's subjects to take appeals to any foreign court. The act as published was general in its application; but the intent was clearly to put an end to the appellate jurisdiction enjoyed by the papacy. It would seem that disputes could be

settled more equitably in the country where they had arisen and where their merits were understood, than in distant Rome or Avignon. But the Statute of Praemunire did not grow out of any such consideration: its purpose was to reduce papal authority, and this it would have done very effectively had enforcement been practicable. The statutes of Provisors and Praemunire were re-enacted and strengthened at later times, but neither was strictly enforced. The crown could not do without papal assistance when vacancies had to be filled in the English hierarchy. As a rule the crown continued to dictate the choice of bishops to the cathedral chapter, but the bishop-elect had to have his appointment confirmed at the papal curia before he could be consecrated; and the king could not afford to risk the failure of confirmation by a too determined stand on the matters of provisors and appeals.

John Wycliffe. The general dissatisfaction with the economic situation in church and state was soon paralleled by revolutionary agitation on the religious side. In the decade following the great pestilence, John Wycliffe, an English priest and later professor of theology at Oxford, was maturing a set of heretical opinions of serious import. Wycliffe was one of the many Englishmen who disliked to render service to the French pope. He was largely influential in the movement which abolished the papal tribute in 1366: it was he who furnished the argument on which Parliament and the government based their action. Wycliffe had also come to doubt the validity of a large part of the medieval theological system: especially doubtful was his position on the subject of the Eucharist or Lord's Supper. It was the official belief of the church (as it still is) that, when the priest consecrated the bread and wine which were to be used in the sacrament, they became the body and blood of the Savior; this doctrine was known as transubstantiation. Wycliffe doubted and finally rejected this belief and all that the doctrine might imply. As transubstantiation was a fundamental tenet in the church, Wycliffe's position was distinctly revolutionary. Moreover, he discounted the value of ceremonies and refused to see any merit in pilgrimages, penances, indulgences, and similar practices which had long been sanctioned by the best opinion in the church.

For the churchmen Wycliffe had only slight respect; he

charged the entire hierarchy with wickedness and sin. He further held that the friars were of little service to the world, and that the ascetic life of monks and nuns was less holy than the active life. For an age that believed in ascetic ideals this was hard doctrine. Wycliffe also held peculiar views on the subject of social organization: he looked on all land from the feudal viewpoint as held from some higher lord in return for service. He believed that, whereas the Almighty is lord of everything, all who have property hold it directly from God. Since it was inconceivable that God should want a disobedient sinner as his tenant or vassal, it was clear to Wycliffe that only the righteous were entitled to hold land. Applying the same rule to the church, he reached the conclusion that the more wealthy ecclesiastical foundations should be disendowed. With such doctrines neither the higher churchmen nor the secular nobility could have any patience. Early in 1377 Wycliffe was summoned to appear before the bishops in London to answer for his attacks on the wealth and the character of the church officials. The trial broke up in a riot. The following year he was tried once more, this time on order from the papal curia; but the London mob intervened and the daring reformer escaped with an admonition to cease from heretical preaching.

Inefficiency and corruption among the clergy. The English church was actually in a bad way. The Black Death had naturally caused a great mortality among the churchmen. The monks, whose abodes were not always clean and sanitary, the friars, who traveled widely through the infected districts, and the village priests who ministered to the dying in their parishes fell ready victims to the fell disease. Like everything else that was desirable or necessary, clerical services in the years that followed came to be quite expensive. "Whereas when there was an abundance of priests before the pestilence a chaplain could be had for 4, 5, or 11 marks with his board; at this time there was scarcely one willing to accept a vicarage at £20 or 20 marks. Within a little time, however, vast numbers of men whose wives had died in the pestilence flocked to take orders, many of whom were illiterate, and as it were mere laymen, save so far as they could read a little, although without understanding."

To take up the work of the church in parishes that were vacant or provided with indifferent service, Wycliffe, a few years

before his death, sent out a number of itinerant preachers, known in history as the "poor priests." These seem to have imitated the hated friars in placing emphasis on what was perhaps a real poverty; they "wore for the most part russet garments, showing outwardly, as it were, the simplicity of their hearts." The authorities did not look kindly on the poor priests, but for some years they seem to have continued preaching without much molestation.

The Great Schism. In the church at large the situation was, if possible, even worse than in England. In 1378, the year of Wycliffe's second trial before the English bishops, began the Great Schism, a period of nearly forty years with two popes contending for the government of the church, one at Avignon, the other at Rome. It is therefore not surprising that the decree against the militant English theologian proved unavailing; for no one could now be sure where the supreme authority really resided. The events of 1378 naturally exerted a profound influence on Wycliffe's religious thought: he now repudiated the papal headship altogether; it was also during the early years of the Schism that he began to teach extreme doctrines on the subject of transubstantiation.

Wycliffe condemned for heresy. 1382. For some years after the Great Revolt the English people were in the grip of a strong reactionary movement which also extended to the church. Wycliffe and his followers were now regarded as dangerous agitators and were being attacked from all sides. In the year following the Great Revolt Wycliffe's writings were taken up and examined at a synod called for that purpose by the archbishop of Canterbury. This body finally found the great agitator guilty of heresy or erroneous belief on twenty-four important points; his works were ordered to be burned; he was dismissed from his chair at Oxford and was forced to retire to his parish at Lutterworth where he died two years later. The last years of his life were spent largely in preparing or planning an English translation of the Bible; but it is not likely that this work was circulated very widely until some time after Wycliffe's death.

The Lollards. Wycliffe's party, the Lollards as they came to be called, survived for some time, and the movement that he initiated did not wholly die out in England before it was merged in the Protestant revolt one hundred and fifty years later. But

in the next reign persecution became more severe and the strength of Lollardy was broken. In the wider field of European history Wycliffe is important as the intellectual father of John Huss, the Bohemian reformer. In the year following the uprising of the peasantry, Anne, a Bohemian princess, came to England as the bride of the young king, Richard II. Apparently her attendants came under Lollard influence while at the English court, for when they returned to Bohemia after the wedding, they seem to have given currency to Wycliffe's opinions in Prague, where the new heresy struck root and was further developed by John Huss toward the close of the century.

The problem of national finance. While these developments were going forward in English society, a series of important changes were taking place in the English government. These were caused in part by conditions due to the war and in part by the deeper social changes. The most serious problems of the medieval kings, especially in times of war, was how to provide adequate funds for the undertakings of the government. It was generally held in the middle ages that the king should "live of his own," which meant that the customary revenues that came to him from his demesne lands, from his feudal tenants, from fines, and from tariff dues and the like were really all that the king had a right to collect; with these he was supposed to carry on the government as best he could. But foreign warfare soon brought the royal treasury to the verge of bankruptcy. There was nothing then for the king to do but to summon Parliament, and this body was called year after year to provide money for the royal war chest and for other needs. In a period of fifty years Parliament met forty-eight times. The result was that in this way the principle of Parliamentary control of the national purse came to be established for all time.

Parliamentary control of national finance. In 1340 (the year of the victory at Sluys) Parliament granted the king "the ninth sheaf, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lamb," a ninth of all the wares belonging to the citizens and burgesses, and a fifteenth of the goods belonging to foreign merchants. This tax was to be valid for two years. In return for this Edward III agreed to accept, as a new principle of government, the condition that no new taxes should be levied without Parliamentary consent. This was followed a few years later by the demand that Parlia

ment should also be allowed to appropriate the funds for definite purposes to which alone they might be applied. The king agreed to this also. During the same period Parliament began to examine the accounts of the government to determine how the money was actually spent, and whether it had been used as Parliament had directed. The Commons, as the chief contributors to the royal treasury, also held that all money bills should originate in their house; but this principle was not formally accepted by the king until early in the next century (1407). These four principles — that Parliament should control taxation, examine the accounts, and make definite appropriations, and that all financial legislation should originate in the house that is most nearly representative of the people — have passed into practically all the constitutional systems of the world, including the American. It is quite probable that Parliamentary control of the national purse would have become established in any event, for Parliament during the inefficient reign of Edward II had begun to show a keen interest in local grievances and royal misgovernment; but there can be little doubt that the exigencies of the French war hastened the process and forced the subject to an earlier issue. At one time Edward III's financial needs were so pressing that he had to mortgage his own royal person to the Dutch bankers; but at the first opportunity the king broke faith by mounting his horse and galloping away from his insistent creditors.

Tariff duties. It was in this period, too, that England first developed a regular system of tariff duties. In the middle ages the freedom to carry on trade in a large way seems to have been regarded, not as a right, but as a privilege that ought to be paid for. Merchants, and especially alien merchants, had consequently long been subject to certain local dues, collected sometimes by the municipal authorities of the port or the market town where the wares were unloaded or offered for sale, and sometimes by lords or other important men who levied tolls on the trade in their localities or for the use of roads and routes that had come into their control. In the thirteenth century the central government began to "regulate" and to take over the customary local dues, which now became a tax payable to the king. The levy of these "ancient customs" led to frequent disputes, for the king sometimes charged "evil tolls," or more

than the custom allowed. In 1303 the alien merchants, in return for the privileges of the *Carta Mercatoria*, agreed to pay a tax additional to the legal dues; this new tax came to be known as the "new," or "petty custom."

The first general levy of customs dues throughout the kingdom came in 1347, the year after the battle of Crecy, when a tax of two shillings on every tun of wine and six pence on every pound's value of other imported merchandise was collected with the reluctant consent of Parliament. This enlargement of the ancient customs was henceforth known as tunnage and poundage. The financial necessities of Edward III led to further levies by that warlike monarch without the intervention of Parliament: the result was much complaint on the part of the merchants and consequent disputes between the government and Parliament. The outcome was that while the king was allowed to collect the ancient dues as of old, any enlargement of these dues could be made only by Parliamentary sanction. At first tunnage and poundage was granted to the king for a fixed number of years; but in the next century it became customary to make the grant once for all to continue till the close of the reign.

Legislation. The conditions that enabled Parliament to secure control of the national purse were also favorable to the growth of Parliamentary power in the field of legislation. In the middle ages (and even in later centuries) the king was seriously regarded as the source of law. If the laws needed amendment the king on the advice of his council would issue an ordinance, or order in council, covering the subject in question. These ordinances were regarded as temporary enactments which might be withdrawn at the king's pleasure. Parliament had no right to make or even to suggest laws; but it had the right of petition and might request the king to make new laws on specified subjects. The king was free to grant or to refuse these petitions, and he sometimes did refuse; but as the years passed and the expenses growing out of the great war mounted higher, he found it increasingly difficult to refuse; for Parliament very frequently agreed to grant money only on the condition that some petition for the redress of particular grievances should be given a favorable answer.

Laws enacted on the request of Parliament were called statutes; they were regarded as more permanent and less under

the control of the king. The statutes were drawn up by the king's judges and the final draft was not always satisfactory to Parliament. In the following century this body found it advisable, therefore, to draw up its petitions in the form of statutes called bills. After the bill had been agreed to it was sent to the king with the request that it be made into a statute without essential changes. If the king agreed, the bill became law.

Parliament and the administration. In the same period Parliament made an attempt to secure a measure of control over the royal administration. The demand that the king's accounts should be open to inspection was a part of this plan. During the closing years of Edward III's reign there was much discontent in the land: the people were displeased with the clergy, with the government, and particularly displeased with the heavy taxation that accompanied the war with France. This discontent broke out openly in the "Good Parliament" of 1376, the presiding officer of the House of Commons leading the opposition to the government. Edward III, though not aged, was in feeble health; his intellect was much impaired; and he was controlled by wicked and incompetent favorites. As "the king can do no wrong," his administration could be reached only through his chief officials. Two of his ministers were formally accused of corruption and embezzlement by the Commons and sent to the House of Lords for trial. Both were convicted; but as the government continued in the old hands little improvement resulted. This was the first known instance of impeachment, a device by which Parliament was able to keep some control of the administrative forces.

The two houses of Parliament. Some time in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, perhaps in 1343, Parliament assumed its present form as an organization divided into two separate houses. As stated in an earlier chapter, Parliament was originally a meeting of the king's council held in the presence of barons, ecclesiastics, knights, and burgesses, who in some way or other had been summoned to assist the council or to give such information as the council might need, particularly as to the extent of financial support that the king might expect from his subjects. After having heard the king's needs, wishes, or proposals detailed in what may be called a joint session, each group would withdraw for deliberation apart from the

others, except that the barons, who regarded themselves as the king's constitutional advisers, continued in session with the members of the council. In all cases the conclusions were reported and recorded in a joint session which alone was regarded as the real Parliament. It seems that in 1343, or thereabouts, the king thought it expedient to reduce the number of deliberating bodies and accordingly ordered the prelates to sit and consult with the nobles, and the shire knights to meet and deliberate with the burgesses. The representatives of the lower clergy preferred to report their decisions to Convocation and were permitted to do so; consequently they lost their place in Parliament. After a time the members of the council also ceased to attend the Parliamentary sessions and the upper house became definitely a house of peers and spiritual lords. But even after this grouping into the two historic houses, Parliament long remained a single body, the joint sessions being the only official sessions.

Justices of the peace. The same generation that saw these changes in the central government saw another important development in the government of the English shires. The ancient shire courts of the middle ages were more or less democratic bodies: they were composed almost entirely of farmers from the various towns or hundreds, who served as suitors, or jurors, and otherwise assisted in the work of local government. But during the fourteenth century the king, in his effort to maintain order in the rural districts, began to depend on a set of new officials, the justices of the peace. These were originally intended merely to supplement the existing courts; but in time they took over the functions of the older bodies to a large extent. Though peace officials of a somewhat similar character had been appointed earlier in the century, the office of justice of the peace may be said to date from 1361, the year following the truce of Bretigny. The second half of the fourteenth century was a period of much disorder, caused in part by the long agony of the Hundred Years' War and in part by the Black Death and the disturbed conditions that followed in its wake. This social disorder gave the new keepers of the peace plenty to do, and their authority grew as their activities increased.

The justices of the peace were appointed by the king and were chosen from the wealthier class among the land owners,

the landed gentry, or squires, as they were later called. Each county could have as many justices as the king cared to appoint. In 1362, the justices of the county were ordered to meet in general session four times each year; these meetings were the "quarter sessions" which are still held. At these sessions a great variety of business came to be transacted: disputes were settled; criminal offences were tried and punished; taxes were assessed; the public funds were appropriated; appointments were made; and many other administrative functions were carried out. The authority of the quarter sessions was gradually enlarged, and after the passing of two hundred years the government of the counties had come almost entirely into their hands.

"Vision of Piers Plowman." The changing conditions of the time with its varying aspects of light and shade are clearly reflected in the literature of the period. Wycliffe painted the religious scene, showing the inefficiency of the clergy and the growing indifference of the multitude toward the claims of the church. Several other writers who flourished in the age of Wycliffe are of real importance as illustrating not only the literary and linguistic situation but also the social, economic, and moral life of the fourteenth century. The earliest of these is the *Vision Concerning Piers Ploughman*, the first installment of which appeared about 1362. This vision is a lengthy poem describing the evil and wrong-doing of the time, the distressing misery of the poor, and the vain ostentation of the rich. It seems to have been the work of several hands; but one of these melancholy singers appears to have been William Langland, a poet who lived among the Malvern Hills near the Welsh border. He is thought to have been in some way associated with the religious profession, and apparently earned a cheerless living by singing at funerals. It is worth noting that Langland places the scene of his poem in a region which was supposedly not touched by the movement that culminated in 1381; perhaps we may infer from this that the troubles of the peasantry were not limited to the east and the southeast, though it is likely that in this border country conditions changed more slowly than in the regions nearer the capital.

Geoffrey Chaucer. Geoffrey Chaucer lived under more favorable circumstances than William Langland and gives us a far more agreeable picture of contemporary society. Chaucer was

a soldier, a diplomat, an official in the customs service, and a poet. He was of the citizen class (his father was a London wine merchant), but he enjoyed the friendship of the great, even of royalty. Especially was he favored by John of Gaunt, whose third wife was the sister of Dame Chaucer. When John's son Henry ascended the throne as Henry IV, one of his first acts was to increase Chaucer's pension; but the poet did not enjoy this favor long, for he died the following year (1400).

Chaucer was born about 1340, the year of the battle of Sluys. He served for a brief period in the French war, but his military career was unimportant, except for the fact that it took him to French soil, where he found opportunity to study French thought and literary methods. His earlier poems show distinct traces of French influence; he was particularly attracted to the famous series of poems known as the *Roman de la Rose*, a part of which he translated into English verse. In 1372 Chaucer was sent to Genoa on a diplomatic mission and remained in Italy for about a year. This was an event of the first importance for the literary history of England, for on his journey the young Englishman came into contact with the great intellectual movement known as the Italian Renaissance. It has been thought that Chaucer may have met the aged leaders of this movement, the austere Petrarch and his jovial friend Boccaccio; but he surely became acquainted with their writings, their ideals, and their literary materials. These ideals were finding their way into northern Europe through various channels; and among the promoters of the new literary movement on English soil Chaucer holds the highest place.

The "Canterbury Tales." About 1350 Boccaccio wrote the *Decameron*, a series of one hundred short stories which he pretended had been told by ten Florentines who had fled into the country to escape the peril of the Black Death. It seems probable that this work suggested to Chaucer the form of the *Canterbury Tales*, also a collection of short stories, told this time in English verse by the members of a company of jolly pilgrims who were on a journey from Southwark (across the Thames from London) to the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket in Canterbury. In this work Chaucer not only employs Boccaccio's general plan, but he also reproduces some of the stories told in the *Decameron*. From these tales and especially from Chaucer's *Prologue*, we get

an admirable picture of life among the more prosperous classes of the English commonalty. Most of the lay members of the company Chaucer describes as excellent people, though some of them have their evident weaknesses. It is significant, however, that the clerical members do not all find favor in the poet's eyes. The prioress dressed in a very worldly fashion. The monk, too, liked fine clothes and "a fat swan loved he best of any roost;" he also delighted in horses and in the chase, but for monastic rules he cared very little. The friar heard confessions sweetly and gave pleasant absolution; "he knew the taverns well in every town," and was the best beggar of his order. The pardoner had a sack brimful of pardons "hot from Rome." But the "poor parson" was a man after Chaucer's own heart. He was patient, diligent, and devout, "riche in holy thought and work," heedless of "pompe and reverence," and always faithful to the teachings of the Gospel. For

" Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he folwed it him-selve."

There was also an Oxford scholar in the company who had the poet's sympathy. He was, if anything, poorer than the humble parson. But this was because he was not sufficiently worldly to get an office in the church. The *Prologue* was written some years after the death of John Wycliffe. It is clear that the English people were much displeased with the official leaders in the church; but conditions were not yet ripe for a revolt from the Roman see.

Passing of the old literary forms. The vast stream of English literature begins with a small group of Old English poems, a few lines of which may go back to the fourth century, even to a time before the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. The Old English sang almost invariably in a form of verse in which alliteration is the predominant characteristic, and for a thousand years this form controlled poetic expression in the English language. William Langland and his associates used this same alliterative form. In the opening lines of *Piers Ploughman* Langland tells us that

" I was weary forwandered and went me to rest
Under a broad bank by a burn's side."

But this is the last important work written according to the laws of alliteration. Chaucer discarded the old form and adopted the newer style of rhyming couplets after the manner developed by contemporary poets in France. He was therefore the first great modern versifier in the English language and in this respect his works ushered in a new age in English literature. But for the student of history the considerations of literary form and method have a slight interest only; to him the value of Chaucer's writings lies in the insight that they give into the life and thought of Merry England at the gray dawn of modern English history.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The crown and the baronage. When the barons of England in the fateful year 1215 mustered their forces to coerce King John, they gave the signal for a great conflict which for more than two centuries disturbed the peace of the English monarchy. The parties to this conflict were the king and the baronage, the king struggling to maintain his position as the supreme power in the state, and the barons on their side striving to gain control of the crown and through the crown to govern the kingdom. In the course of the fourteenth century the leaders of the aristocracy sought and found a series of opportunities to promote the baronial ambition. Edward II was sluggish and incompetent. Edward III was willing to barter away the realities of power for the doubtful glory of victories in France. Toward the close of his long career the mind of the soldier-king gave way, and the reign closed in chaos. And after his death the crown passed to a child, Richard II, who was barely ten years old. So far as one can discover, there was no statesman in England who had strength enough to cope with the baronial chiefs in the earlier years of the new reign.

In the fourteenth century the English peerage comprised about eighty families, among whom ten or twelve counted heavily in the affairs of the realm. Scattered through the northern counties from Lincoln to the border were the lands of the Percies and the Nevilles, two mighty clans that dominated the political life of the north country. At the coronation of Richard II the chief of the Percies was made earl of Northumberland, and later in the same reign the barony of the Nevilles was transformed into the earldom of Westmoreland. The Staffords and the Mowbrays had vast possessions in the upper Midlands, the former in Staffordshire and the latter farther to the east. Richard II converted the Mowbray lands into the earldom of Nottingham

and later added the higher title of duke of Norfolk to the honors of the Mowbray family. Along the western border were the lands of the Talbots who were strong in Shropshire and some time later became earls of Shrewsbury; the Mortimers, who from their stronghold at Ludlow controlled large areas in Wales and England; and the Beauchamps, who were powerful in Worcestershire and held the earldom of Warwick. The Montagus had numerous manors in Somerset and elsewhere in the southwest; a Montagu had been a strong partisan of Edward III and had received his reward in the earldom of Salisbury. Two other families of great wealth and influence in southern England were the Fitzalans of Sussex, whose lands made up the ancient earldom of Arundel, and the Courtenays, who were lords and earls in Devonshire.

If these and the other prominent barons could have united their strength and their resources in opposition to the crown, it is likely that they might have succeeded in their effort to reduce the power of the sovereign. But, fortunately for the king, they were rarely able to act together in a common cause for any great length of time. Selfish, proud, and confident in their strength, they found it difficult to follow the directions of a leader. A baronial party existed, therefore, in a limited sense only. Most of the time the peerage was broken up into groups whose rivalry occasionally took the form of hostile aggression. It is said that in a Parliament held in 1399 twenty baronial gauntlets were thrown upon the floor of the House of Lords at one time.

John of Gaunt. During the minority of Richard II the government was directed by a standing council chosen by the House of Lords and composed of barons, knights, and bishops. With a somewhat changing membership this body supervised the affairs of the kingdom for a decade. Outside this council the most potent influence was that of John of Gaunt, the oldest surviving uncle of the young king. This influence was due in part to the fact that John was the ranking prince in the monarchy, and in part to the more significant fact that he was the wealthiest baron within the limits of England. In 1359 he had married Blanche, the daughter and heiress of the duke of Lancaster, on whose death two years later he inherited the ducal title in the right of his wife. To the Lancastrian estates which

were already vast, the duke was able from time to time to add other desirable territorial possessions, until he was finally lord of several hundred manors and more than thirty castles.

Social and political discontent. John of Gaunt did not long remain an important factor in the king's government. The earlier years of Richard's reign were a period of much turmoil: the perplexities caused by the Great Schism in the church were beginning to be felt; the Lollard movement was becoming formidable; Wycliffe was maturing his heretical opinions; the war with France was proving disastrous to English ambitions on the Continent; the poll tax was creating deep dissatisfaction, and the working classes were preparing to strike, as they did in 1381. For these conditions the masses held John of Gaunt in great part responsible. The revolt of 1381 and the succeeding events drove him from the field of English politics and the baronial chieftains resumed the leadership of the English state.

Richard II. 1377-1399. After his uncle's retirement the young king began to take a larger part in the government; but his measures were not successful and he soon became very unpopular. As he grew older he began to display a desire to rule as actual king; he also showed an inclination to follow the advice of upstart favorites, as Edward II had done, with much the same results. The aristocracy, fearing that the substance of power would soon be transferred from themselves to these hated favorites, rebelled and for some time continued to control the kingdom. In 1388 a Parliament, since known as the Merciless Parliament, condemned to death four of the king's closest advisers, two of whom were actually caught and hanged. Several other men of lesser rank were hunted down and executed. The proceedings in this Parliament were directed by five lords, called in history the "lords appellant," because they "appealed" or accused the king's ministers. The chief of these lords was the king's youngest uncle, Thomas, whom the king had created duke of Gloucester only three years before. Associated with the turbulent duke were the earls of Warwick, Nottingham, and Arundel, combining the strength of the Beauchamps, the Mowbrays, and the Fitzalans. The fifth member of the group was the king's cousin Henry, the oldest son of John of Gaunt, who, though he had barely reached his majority, was already counted among the leaders in the baronial camp.

Personal rule of Richard II. A few months later King Richard regained the power of which his uncle Thomas had deprived him, and for ten years he was the actual as well as the legitimate ruler of England. At first he showed a self-control and an intelligent appreciation of his duties which approached real statesmanship; and the country had eight years of government according to the customs and principles of the English constitution. In making important appointments the king was careful to consult the wishes of the baronage; in his legislation he sought to carry out the wishes of Parliament. His policies were in general directed toward maintaining order at home and securing peace abroad. In these purposes he was, however, not wholly successful. In 1394 he took a large army into Ireland where a local rebellion was in progress, but in the end he accomplished little. Two years later he negotiated a truce with the French government in the hope of bringing the interminable war with that country to a conclusion. But a permanent settlement was not reached; soon after Richard's death hostilities were resumed.

Fate of the Lords Appellant. All through this period King Richard seems to have been awaiting an opportunity to take revenge on the lords who had chained his hands in the Merciless Parliament and had sent his friends to the scaffold. In 1397 he showed his colors: he was apparently determined to establish an absolutistic régime. Believing that some of the lords appellant were plotting against him, he ordered three of them to be arrested. His uncle of Gloucester was murdered in prison; a subservient Parliament sent the earl of Warwick into exile, and the earl of Arundel to the block. Arundel's brother, the archbishop of Canterbury, was banished. In these proceedings Henry of Lancaster supported the king against his former associates of the Merciless Parliament. But a few months later King Richard found a pretext for sending his ambitious cousin into exile, and Henry retired to France.

An attempt at absolute monarchy. 1397-1399. During the two years that followed the destruction of the baronial opposition England experienced a period of absolute monarchy. A Parliament called to legalize the king's purposes granted Richard II permission to collect certain tariff revenues for life, and in this way made him practically independent of the national will. This same Parliament next delegated all its authority in

matters of legislation to a group of eighteen lords and commoners chosen from among the supporters of the king. Not satisfied with the revenues that he could legally collect, Richard II resorted to forced loans and other financial expedients that were distinctly illegal. In February, 1399, John of Gaunt died. Though the king had promised his cousin that he should not be disturbed in his inheritance, he now proceeded to break his promise and took immediate possession of the Lancastrian estates.

The revolution of 1399. Henry IV. 1399-1413. When Henry of Lancaster learned of his father's death, he hastened to England. At the moment Richard was out of the country; the affairs of the English Pale in Ireland were again in a bad way, and the king had set out to rectify matters in person. Meanwhile, Englishmen were gathering in support of the returned exile, who asserted that he had come only to demand his titles and his lawful patrimony. Richard II hurried back to his kingdom but found the leaders of the baronage in arms against him. At Flint in northern Wales he encountered Henry of Lancaster's host and was forced to surrender.

With a scrupulous care for legal forms that is characteristic of the English people, the rebels called a Parliament in the captive king's name, and before this body was laid King Richard's abdication, a document that was evidently drawn up by his enemies and in which he surrendered all his regal rights. The abdication was accepted, but to make the matter doubly sure Parliament proceeded formally to depose the king. When this had been done, Henry of Lancaster stepped forward to the vacant throne, and in a brief speech delivered in the English language laid claim to the kingship as a descendant of Henry III. The question was now put to the estates assembled in Parliament what they thought of the duke's claim. And "the said estates and the whole people without any delay or difficulty unanimously consented that the Duke should reign over them."

The real significance of all these events lies in the part played by Parliament. In deposing Richard and approving Henry's claim (which had no good basis), Parliament reaffirmed an ancient principle that the great council of the nation has the ultimate authority to determine who shall sit on the English

throne. It was circumstances that dictated the choice: Henry of Lancaster was the leader of the uprising; he was the wealthiest baron and the most powerful noble in the kingdom. No other choice could have seemed practicable.

Murder of Richard II. It was apparently the new king's intention to let his deposed cousin die a natural death in prison; but before many months a conspiracy was uncovered looking toward the restoration of Richard II. The outcome was that the unfortunate Richard, like his equally unlucky and indiscreet ancestor, Edward II, lost his life. Henry IV gave out the story that his prisoner had died of voluntary starvation (an early instance of a hunger strike) and ordered a thousand masses to be said for the welfare of his soul.

The Mortimers and the Percies. More dangerous than the movement to restore the deposed monarch was a widespread interest in the hereditary rights of the Mortimer family, the senior line of which was related by marriage to the royal house. In 1368 the earl of March, who ranked as chief of the Mortimers, had married a daughter of Lionel, an older brother of John of Gaunt. Richard II had recognized the Mortimer line as next in succession to the throne; but in 1399, Edmund, the heir presumptive, was a child only seven years old. The Mortimers, who held much land and had many castles, were able to muster a considerable force of tenants and retainers. A nationalistic uprising in Wales also promised to be of advantage to the Mortimers, for the Welsh rebels, though they at first fought against their ancient enemies of the March, before long ceased their attacks and entered into alliance with them. The Percies, who had actively assisted King Henry in 1399, had also become displeased with the new régime and joined the partisans of Mortimer. But while on the march toward the Welsh border where the dissatisfied barons were mustering, the Percies were intercepted by the Lancastrian levies at Shrewsbury where a bloody battle was fought. The king was victorious and since the Mortimers were now deprived of their allies, the conspiracy collapsed.

Two years later the Percies and their many retainers were again in arms, this time supported by a number of prominent lords, among whom Archbishop Scrope of the province of York was the most important. Again King Henry succeeded

in crushing the revolt and Archbishop Scrope was beheaded. The earl of Northumberland escaped across the border but returned in 1408 and attempted a rising for the third time. The movement again failed; the earl was killed, and the land finally had peace. The following year the Welsh rebellion was also crushed, though its leader, Owen Glendower, remained at large and kept up the fight for an independent Wales till his death in 1415.

James Stuart. Owen Glendower had planned a series of alliances to include not only dissatisfied baronial houses like the Percies and the Mortimers but also the kings of France and Scotland and even the reigning pope. Circumstances did not prove favorable and the plan failed. There were two popes in Owen's day and the Welsh patriot made the mistake of allying himself with the schismatic pope who continued the Avignon line. From France he received some assistance; but that country was torn with factional strife, and the French alliance proved a disappointment. The Scots were anxious enough to make trouble for Henry IV, but fortune once more was with the English king. In 1406 the king of Scotland sent his young son James, a lad of twelve years, to France ostensibly to be educated; but the ship on which he sailed was seized by the English and the prince was taken to London. While James was still on his journey his father died and the captive prince was duly proclaimed king of Scotland. But Henry IV would not permit him to return to his kingdom, and James I remained a hostage in England for eighteen years.

Archbishop Arundel and the Lollards. Richard II had been accused of inclinations toward Lollardy, and it may be that his apparent indifference to the welfare of the church was one reason why the bishops and abbots acquiesced in the revolution of 1399. To the churchmen Henry IV appeared as a zealous defender of ecclesiastical rights. The leader of the Lancastrian faction in the church and one of the ablest statesmen of the time was Archbishop Arundel, the restless prelate who had been sent into exile in 1397. The archbishop had returned to England in the following of Henry of Lancaster. In the Parliament that gave the crown to Henry, Arundel was active in Lancaster's behalf and with his own hand led the usurper to the vacant throne. The archbishop thus had a claim on the gratitude of

the king and expected active assistance in a projected campaign against the enemies of the church.

The church regarded heresy as treason against God and consequently as a crime that merited the most severe punishment. Soon after the year 1000 it became customary on the Continent to punish heretics with burning; but in England the fires were not lit before 1401. In that year Convocation, acting on the suggestion of Arundel, requested the king to suppress Lollardy and the Commons seconded this request with a petition of their own. Though Henry IV disappointed many of his early supporters, he continued loyal to his friends in the hierarchy: he gave the royal assent to a terrible statute for the burning of heretics, or more specifically for the burning of the followers of John Wycliffe. The Lollards were to be seized, tried in the courts of the church, and, if found guilty, they were to be burned under the direction of the sheriff of the county or the mayor of the town.

Even before this statute had received the royal sanction, Archbishop Arundel had proceeded to test the temper of Lollardy. The first victim was William Sawtre, a Lollard priest who held heretical views on the subject of the Eucharist. On the whole the new law was not strictly enforced; many were imprisoned and punished in various ways, but only two Lollards went to the stake in the reign of Henry IV. Under his successor, the somewhat fanatical Henry V, the persecution flared up again, and a number of heretics yielded their lives at the stake or on the block. For two hundred years there were occasional burnings for heresy in England, the last case falling in the reign of James I, early in the seventeenth century.

Henry V. 1413-1422. The last five years of Henry IV's reign were uneventful. A natural caution emphasized by a consciousness that an important fraction of the English nation regarded him as a usurper and a criminal kept the king from embarking upon any serious undertakings. During the last eight years of his life he was also afflicted with a complication of serious and painful diseases. In 1413 he suddenly died and his oldest son Henry ruled in his stead.

Henry V was not remarkable for intelligent statesmanship and cannot be ranked among the great rulers of England; but he was virile and energetic and possessed certain attrac-

tive personal traits which endeared him to his subjects. In the troubles with Owen Glendower he had proved himself a real soldier and a resourceful military leader. As a prince he had not been a model son: it seems that he was unduly anxious to succeed his invalid father; and Henry IV, who had deprived his predecessor of his throne and even of his life, was much shocked when his "madcap" son suggested abdication. But when the crown was finally his, the young king cast aside the frivolities of earlier days and took up the duties of kingship with unusual energy.

Anarchy in France. The reign of Henry V is notable chiefly for the renewal of the war with France which had not been active in a military sense for twenty years or more. Across the Channel the situation was one of misery and confusion. On the throne of France sat Charles VI, an insane king; and the chiefs among the nobility were fighting for the right to govern in his name. Two factions stood prominently forth: the Burgundians under the leadership of the duke of Burgundy, who was somewhat distantly related to the royal house; and the Armagnacs, so called from their leader, the count of Armagnac, a prominent noble from the Pyrenees country. The strength of the Burgundian party lay in the north and east, while the faction of the Armagnacs was to be found chiefly in the region south of the Loire.

In 1407 this factional rivalry blazed up into civil war which continued intermittently for twenty-five years. As the English kings still held three important cities in France, Bayonne, Bordeaux, and Calais, they could not remain wholly without interest in the struggle between the French parties. Henry IV was anxious to avoid foreign wars and only in the closing years of his reign did he make any serious attempt to interfere in the affairs of France. In 1411 his son Henry, who the year before had been placed in command at Calais, had placed what forces he had to spare at the disposal of the Burgundian party. The Armagnacs now approached the English king with an offer to restore to him the old duchy of Aquitaine, if he would assist them against their Burgundian enemies. Henry IV accepted the offer and sent an armed force into France; but the contending parties agreed to a temporary truce and the English returned home.

Revival of the Hundred Years' War. 1415. The temptation to make a direct attack on this disrupted country was too strong for Henry V. With a calm assurance that is almost astonishing he revived the ancient claim to the French throne. It will be remembered that the rights of Edward III were at best doubtful and had been wholly surrendered in the negotiations at Bretigny. It is true that this treaty was never carried out and that Edward III resumed the title of king of France nine years later; but if any right to the French throne still remained it belonged to the Mortimers, whose rights of inheritance as the descendants of Edward III's third son were prior to those of the Lancastrians who represented a younger line. The English attack on France in 1415 was, therefore, scarcely better than piracy. The French war had, however, always been popular with the ruling classes in England; one of the reasons for the unpopularity of Richard II was that he failed to press his supposed claim to the French throne.

Henry V had disliked his father's open support of the Armagnacs and at once reverted to his own policy of an alliance with the Burgundian party. Aside from personal preference in the matter there was another consideration of real moment: the duke of Burgundy was also count of Flanders and the English were impressed with the necessity of free access to the Flemish markets, which could be secured only through friendship with the ruling count.

The war in Normandy. With a large army Henry V crossed the Channel in the summer of 1415 and landed near Harfleur. But like his warlike ancestor he found that fighting in Normandy had its difficulties; and after a few weeks he left the Norman coast and hastened toward his own city of Calais. On the way he encountered a strong French army at Agincourt, a few miles from the field of Crecy, and once more the forces of France suffered a crushing defeat. It has been asserted that Henry V was prompted to attack the French by a desire to gain personal popularity among his subjects and permanence for the Lancastrian dynasty; if he did, he succeeded beyond his wildest hopes. On his return to London soon after the battle of Agincourt, he shared the idolatry of his subjects to a greater extent than any of his predecessors for centuries. A single victory had made the wild prince a hero.

Two years after the campaign of Agincourt Henry V was again in France with an army and proceeded to reduce the strongholds of Normandy. In this he had considerable success, though his conquests were not extensive. The campaign, consisting chiefly of prolonged sieges, was tedious and costly; and the English king was finally convinced that he must treat for peace. Negotiations were entered upon with both of the French factions but led to no results. In 1419 it even seemed probable that the contending parties might compose their differences and unite against the invader.

Murder of the duke of Burgundy. A conference had finally been arranged for between Duke John of Burgundy and the dauphin of France, who was the nominal head of the Armagnac faction. The two worthies met on a bridge at Montereau (about 45 miles southeast of Paris); while the conference was in progress Duke John the Fearless was treacherously murdered. The dauphin, who was only a weak-minded boy of sixteen, was probably not responsible for the crime; but the treachery of his partisans had disastrous results for his cause and his faction. John the Fearless, though friendly toward Henry V, had never committed himself openly and irrevocably to the English cause. But his successor, Philip the Good, now came forward with an offer of an alliance on Henry's own terms, which the English king gladly accepted.

The treaty of Troyes. 1420. The outcome of the renewed negotiations was a treaty finally confirmed at Troyes in May, 1420. According to this agreement King Henry was to marry Katherine, the daughter of the French king, and to inherit the French crown after the death of his father-in-law. On the French side the treaty of Troyes was accepted and sworn to by the queen, the princess Katherine, Duke Philip of Burgundy, and others of the Burgundian faction; the Armagnacs had no share in it. Two years later the young English hero and the witless old king both died; but Henry died first. Consequently the treaty of Troyes was never carried out as intended.

Henry VI. 1422-1471. Henry VI, the new king of England, was an infant less than a year old; for twenty years the nation was ruled by a council of which the little king's uncles, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, were for

some time the chief members. The situation was at best one of grave difficulties, and the insistence of the English statesmen on placing the infant on the French throne complicated matters still further. Bedford, who was by far the abler and wiser of the two uncles, found it necessary to spend most of his time in France, the selfish and intriguing Humphrey being left at home to govern England.

Burgundian power in the Netherlands. During the same period the dukes of Burgundy, by means that look anything but honorable, were coming into possession of the small but wealthy provinces of the Netherlands. This control began in 1384 when Philip the Bold on the death of his father-in-law, the count of Flanders, inherited the counties of Flanders and Artois. His grandson, Philip the Good, continued the policy of appropriation in the Low Countries with considerable success. The duke, who controlled the chief weaving district of Europe and founded the order of the Golden Fleece, could not be indifferent to the claims of the English wool trade. Bedford, therefore, found it easy to secure the support of the Burgundian faction; and for more than a decade there was close alliance between England and Burgundy.

Causes of the English failure in France. Soon after the accession of Henry VI the war in France was renewed and for seven years the English advance southward into central France continued. In the end the attempt to reduce the French kingdom was a failure, an outcome for which several reasons may be assigned. First of all, England did not possess the resources necessary to conquer a country that was far richer and more populous than itself; without the active support of the Burgundian faction the attempt would have been absurdly hopeless. The second difficulty was that a coolness gradually developed between the English regents and the duke of Burgundy. Philip the Good's purposes were essentially selfish; and soon he began to fear English interference with his ambitions in the Netherlands. A few weeks after the death of Henry V, Duke Humphrey had married Jacqueline, the heiress of Holland and Hainault, who was a cousin of Philip of Burgundy, and whose lands the "good duke" coveted. The marriage was of extremely doubtful legality, as the bride had one husband already. Two years later (1424) Duke Humphrey crossed the Channel

with an army to secure Jacqueline's territories. The expedition was not successful, and so great a stir did the Burgundians raise about Humphrey's operations that his marriage to the Dutch princess was practically annulled. Nine years later the duke of Bedford committed a like mistake in marrying a young Dutch princess of the Luxemburg family. As Bedford's former wife, who was a sister of Philip the Good, had been dead a few months only, the duke of Burgundy was not pleased with the new union; he was also displeased to learn that the Luxemburg family had entered into a matrimonial alliance without consulting himself.

Joan of Arc. A third and perhaps the chief cause of the English failure was the wave of patriotic fervor that swept over France as the result of the appearance among the French soldiers of a remarkable woman known in history as the Maid of Orleans. Joan of Arc was a young girl from the eastern border of the kingdom, who believed that heaven had sent her for the deliverance of her country. So long had she brooded over the miseries of France that her thoughts and purposes seemed to become real; and she believed that she had heard the voices of the saints, whose effigies she had seen in the village church, speaking and urging her to go to the rescue of her native land. In 1429 she set out and found her way to the dauphin's court at Chinon. She informed the sluggish prince that the saints had entrusted her with a double errand: to relieve Orleans, which was just then narrowly besieged by the British, and to lead the dauphin to Rheims to be crowned king of France. Reluctantly and after some delay the dauphin allowed her to join the army and proceed to the relief of Orleans. It is likely that the English would have been obliged to raise the siege in any event, as their numbers were not sufficient for the undertaking; but the aggressive attacks of the French under the Maid's inspiration clearly hastened the outcome. The siege was raised, the English advance was checked, and the French discovered that their enemies were not invincible.

Two months later the French forces, with the Maid at their head, had fought their way to the old coronation city of Rheims, where the dauphin was duly crowned and consecrated as Charles VII. The ceremony at Rheims changed the situation completely: after seven years the nation once more had a properly

consecrated king, and many of the Burgundians began to fear the consequences of opposing the Lord's anointed.

The martyrdom of the Maid. 1431. On the urgent request of the French king, Joan of Arc continued to assist in leading the royal forces; but less than a year after the joyous scene at Rheims she was captured by Burgundian soldiers and her career in the field came to a sudden close. Soon afterwards her captors sold the heroic Maid to the English for 10,000 francs. After a year of imprisonment she was tried as a witch by a court of ecclesiastics belonging to the Burgundian party. It was clear to these holy men that a young girl could not do what Joan had done unless she was in league with the powers of evil. After a long and distressing trial Joan of Arc was condemned as a heretic and burned at the stake in Rouen. At the time of her death she was probably nineteen years old. Her public career had comprised but little more than two years, one year with the French army and another in the prison at Rouen. She had been neither general nor soldier: she took no part in the active fighting and directed no movements, though she often gave the officers excellent advice. Her task was to inspire the French soldiers with a faith in themselves and their cause and with a fervid love for the fatherland. And since her day the flame of patriotism has never burned low in "beautiful France."

The Burgundian defection. 1435. Later in the same year Bedford brought the English king, now ten years old, to France and had him crowned, not in Rheims by a French archbishop, but in Paris by an English cardinal. But it was now too late to stem the adverse tide. It was a little more than a year after King Henry's coronation that Bedford committed the imprudence of his Dutch marriage. Philip the Good began to tire of a war that had ceased to promise victory. After a fruitless effort to negotiate a general peace, the duke of Burgundy made a separate peace with Charles VII at Arras in 1435. Bedford had died a few months earlier, and no capable English leader was ready to take his place. But English pride would not permit a retreat, and so the hopeless war continued.

End of the Hundred Years' War. 1453. At the same time there was a powerful party in England that was anxious to end the war. This party was led by the Beauforts, sons and grandsons of John of Gaunt by his third wife, Catherine Swynford.

Finally, nine years after Bedford's death the Beaufort connection which had come into control of the English government was able to arrange a truce with the king of France (1444). Among the provisions was an agreement on Henry's part to marry Margaret of Anjou, a French princess fourteen years of age, whose family was conspicuous chiefly for its poverty. As the marriage was purchased by the cession of the county of Maine, the arrangement was unsatisfactory to the majority of the nation and the truce was exceedingly unpopular. Soon the war flared up again, first on the Norman frontier and later in Gascony. Rouen was taken by the French in 1449, and the following year they drove the English out of Normandy. Charles VII next turned his attention to Gascony and after a brief campaign came into possession of Bayonne and Bordeaux. The last battle of the Hundred Years' War was fought in 1453 at Castillon some twenty miles east of Bordeaux and ended with the complete defeat of the English. Calais alone remained of the English possessions in France.

The Wars of the Roses. 1455-1471. Two years after the defeat at Castillon began a series of civil wars which continued with periods of relative quiet for sixteen years. These wars are usually regarded as a struggle between two rival dynasties; but in reality they were the last phase of the age-long efforts on the part of certain baronial groups to control the English crown. Later writers, believing that the so-called Yorkist faction had adopted the white rose and their opponents of the house of Lancaster the red rose as party emblems, called these duels the Wars of the Roses. It seems, however, that the red rose was first used as a dynastic emblem by the Tudors.

The withdrawal from France was a terrible blow to English pride, which could not forget Crecy and Agincourt. Queen Margaret and her advisers were exceedingly unpopular. Henry VI was a pious, gentle, and amiable man, but he was feeble in intellect and weak in will. In 1453, the year of the ignominious retreat from France, his mind gave way and for some months he was hopelessly insane. It will be remembered that his grandfather was the insane king Charles VI of France, and the mental weakness was probably inherited.

The war for the regency. Under the circumstances some sort of a regency was necessary. Queen Margaret, who was strong

and spirited, though not always discreet and tactful, claimed the right to govern in her husband's name; but in this she was opposed by a large and powerful faction of the nobility. At the head of the opposition stood Richard, duke of York, a descendant of Lionel and Edmund, the third and fifth sons of Edward III. As chief of the Mortimer family Duke Richard had wide possessions on the Welsh border, whence he drew the larger part of his military following. At first he pretended to be fighting for better government only — England should not be ruled by a French princess and an insane king; but soon he set his heart on the crown itself.

The war between Queen Margaret and the followers of Duke Richard began in 1455 with a skirmish at St. Albans and closed five years later with the battle of Wakefield where the Yorkist pretender was slain. His young son Edward, the earl of March, who succeeded to his father's land and dignities, now came forward and claimed the crown. The Wars of the Roses differed from ordinary civil wars in this, that they were fought chiefly by the nobles and their hired bands of retainers; the masses took no great interest in the struggle except when forced to take sides in self-defense. In 1461 Queen Margaret came into southern England with a strong force of wild, undisciplined men, largely recruited from the northern border, who could not resist the temptation to pillage the country on their march, as they were in the habit of doing in their raids into Scotland. This campaign ruined the Lancastrian cause: in their wrath the populous district of the south accepted young Edward. Margaret's army retired northward but suffered a disastrous defeat at Towton. The queen fled to Scotland with her helpless husband, while the victor returned to London and received the crown.

Edward IV. 1461-1483. Edward IV was not yet twenty years old when the battle of Towton gave him control of the English kingdom. He was a tall, handsome, and clever man, a brave and daring soldier, and an able commander on the field of battle. As a king he showed an intelligent appreciation of the problems of government; but he was not energetic and his achievements were consequently not so great as they otherwise might have been. King Edward was faithful to his friends and did not forget those to whom he owed his advancement.

Nor did he forget those who had opposed him: his enemies found him cruel and treacherous. Unlike most of his predecessors he showed unusual thrift in matters of finance; when he died he left a surplus in the royal treasury instead of the usual deficit.

Duke Richard had married into the Neville family and nearly all the more prominent Nevilles were promptly rewarded. The young earl of Warwick, who headed the southern branch of the family, was made lord high admiral and lord lieutenant of Ireland. His younger brothers were remembered with titles, lands and offices. For three years the "Kingmaker" virtually controlled the ruler and the kingdom. But the young king was developing in strength and self reliance, and after three or four years Warwick's influence rapidly waned.

The Woodville influence. In 1464 that "pestilent, indomitable woman," Queen Margaret, appeared in the north with an army, but was decisively defeated at Hexham. The following year her unfortunate husband, who was in hiding near the border, fell into Edward's power and was taken to London where he remained a prisoner for five years. In the campaign against Margaret, Edward had no part; he was in the south preparing to marry Elizabeth Grey, commonly known as Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of an English knight who had followed the banner of Lancaster. The new queen had sons, brothers, and other relatives, all of whom were properly endowed with lands or otherwise honored. The Yorkist nobles were much displeased with the king's marriage. Warwick's displeasure was particularly keen, for at that very time he was negotiating at the French court for a suitable princess to be queen of England.

Continental problems. The king of France was Louis XI, a cruel and treacherous but crafty and capable man, who was going forward successfully with the work of strengthening the royal power in France. One of the chief difficulties that he had to overcome was the ambition of the dukes of Burgundy to build up an independent state on the eastern border of the French kingdom. On the question of what attitude England should assume toward her neighbor across the narrow seas, King Edward and Warwick came into real disagreement. Warwick believed that the king should seek to reach a good understanding with France, while Edward IV favored the older policy of an

alliance with the dukes of Burgundy. This policy was based on the fact that the Burgundian duke still controlled the Netherlands and was therefore in position to interfere with English trade in those dominions. Charles the Bold, the reigning duke, saw clearly the advantage of a more complete understanding with the English: in 1468 he married Edward's sister Margaret and the English government now stood committed to the Burgundian cause.

Warwick's last plot. Louis XI was naturally somewhat disturbed by these signs of friendship on the part of the old enemies of his dynasty. The wily monarch at once set himself the task to ruin the English king. The Nevilles, who were gradually being forced out of the English government, were cherishing thoughts of rebellion. King Edward's own brother, the young duke of Clarence, had also become dissatisfied with the situation at the English court and was ready for treason in any form. In 1469 Clarence married Warwick's daughter and the King-maker was soon actively promoting a plot to place his worthless son-in-law on the English throne in place of the ungrateful Edward. Throughout the summer of that year there was much turmoil in England, but in the end the king overcame his enemies and the plotters fled to France. At the court of the French king Warwick encountered his old enemy, Queen Margaret, with whom he was able to make peace through the skilful mediation of Louis XI. In the war that followed the initial advantage was with the plotters from France. The west joined the rebels, the north country was disaffected, and King Edward was forced to flee to the Netherlands. Warwick took Henry VI out of the Tower and made him the subject of a public ceremony at St. Paul's, where the helpless king sat through it all "subdued and silent like a crowned calf." For a few months the King-maker controlled England. But the following spring Edward returned and succeeded in entering London where he found a loyal reception. In April his forces gained a victory at Barnet, where the earl of Warwick ended his restless career. Three weeks later the king's forces annihilated Margaret's army at Tewkesbury. The Wars of the Roses had come to an end (1471).

Among those who were "taken and slain" at Tewkesbury was the young Prince Edward, Henry and Margaret's son. Later

in the same year Henry VI "died in the Tower." Margaret was taken prisoner and did not regain her liberty till she was ransomed by Louis XI four years later. The Lancastrian family was almost destroyed. After the slaughter at Tewkesbury there was no leader about whom the Lancastrian party could gather. The most promising was Henry Tudor, whose mother was a descendant of John of Gaunt; but Henry was only fifteen years old and for the moment was safe as an exile in Brittany.

King and Parliament. The fifteenth century, the age of Lancaster and York, is known in political history as the age of Parliamentary rule. Circumstances forced the kings of both dynasties to be deferential to Parliament and to consult that body at frequent intervals. Realizing that his title to the crown was defective, Henry IV at the outset sought and secured the support of two powerful forces: the spiritual lords and the House of Commons. It was in Henry's reign that the Commons were finally allowed their old claim that all money bills should originate in the lower house. When Henry V revived the French war, Parliamentary support, especially in the form of subsidies, at once became necessary. The long minority of Henry VI, the weakness of that unfortunate monarch, and the financial necessities of protracted warfare continued the need for frequent Parliamentary sessions. Edward IV was in a position somewhat similar to that of Henry IV: his hereditary claim was stronger, but he was, nevertheless, a usurper, and he realized that he could scarcely maintain his position without Parliamentary support. Throughout the century, therefore, the representatives of the nation met frequently and were consulted on all important matters. Consequently the ultimate power and the final word were with the houses of Parliament. But as this body gained in strength and authority, it lost its popular favor; and when the Tudors in the following century developed a type of government somewhat resembling absolute monarchy the nation welcomed the change.

Decline of Parliamentary prestige. The chief reason for the decline of Parliamentary prestige was that Parliament had gradually ceased to be representative of the nation and had become the instrument of some momentarily successful faction. The latter fact appears especially in the numerous bills of attainder that disgrace Parliamentary history during the strife

between Margaret and the Yorkist lords. A bill of attainder is "a criminal condemnation by legislative act:" an act of Parliament that deprives a subject of his life and his family of what property they might expect to inherit from him. In such cases there need be no trial: Parliament has unlimited power, — it can even take life. After a campaign the successful faction would call a new Parliament and complete its revenge upon the vanquished by attainting the leaders and sending them to the block. The first Parliament of Edward IV (1461) passed a bill of attainder including the names of 153 persons among whom were fourteen lords of the Lancastrian party. Some of these were already dead and some had sought refuge in other lands; but even though the persons of those attainted could not always be secured, their estates were promptly seized and added to the domains of the crown.

The House of Lords. When Edward III allowed the members of Parliament to deliberate in two separate bodies, he probably did not intend to create two houses in the modern sense; but before long each of these groups had developed its own organization, its own body of customs, and its own particular functions. Two classes composed the upper house: the lords temporal and the lords spiritual. The latter group was composed of bishops and mitred abbots; that is, the abbots of the larger and more important monasteries. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the number of spiritual lords was about 45. In 1327, the first year of Edward III, 86 temporal lords were summoned to Parliament, but in the course of the following century the number showed a steady decrease, till in 1422 it had fallen to 23. Several important names were added to the English peerage by royal patent during the following two reigns; but even with these additions a Parliament summoned in 1485 could muster only 29 secular lords.

The causes for this decline were various: but to a large extent it may be ascribed to accidents of warfare and to the habit of treason, a habit that was quite common among the greater lords in the later middle ages. The normal punishment for treason was death and forfeiture; and the history of some of the most illustrious baronial houses in England closed either on the battlefields of St. Albans or Tewkesbury, or on the block after the battles of Towton or Wakefield.

Warwick the Kingmaker. Another important cause for this decline was the failure of heirs male, in which case the lands and the baronial title would both be likely to pass by inheritance to some other member of the peerage. A good illustration of this concentration of wealth and influence is furnished by the career of the earl of Warwick. Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury and Warwick, was of the famous Neville family which had long ruled the tenantry in some of the northern counties. From his father, who had married a daughter of the last earl of Salisbury (of the Montagu line), he had inherited the earldom of Salisbury. By marriage to the heiress of the wealthy Beauchamp family he had come into possession of the Beauchamp estates in the Severn valley to which was joined the important earldom of Warwick. When the Wars of the Roses opened, Earl Richard was easily the most powerful peer of the kingdom. He drew revenues from more than one hundred and fifty manors and had retainers in fifteen castles.

Warwick's career also illustrates the selfishness and inconstancy of the English aristocracy in the fifteenth century. His shifting rôle as kingmaker, first as a devoted partisan of the Yorkist line and finally in the service of his old enemy Queen Margaret, has been traced earlier in this chapter. His death in one of the last battles of the long struggle between Lancaster and York meant something more than the passing of a troublesome chieftain: it may be taken to symbolize the passing of an old order which had outlived its usefulness in English life. Warwick has therefore properly been called "the last of the barons."

Titles within the peerage. In Norman times and later all the lords were known as barons; only occasionally did the king grant the ancient and higher title of earl. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries new titles began to appear: first the duke and later the marquis took their places above the earl; in 1440 the last of these new dignities, that of the viscount, appeared as an honor next below that of the earl. The barons remained as the lowest class in the peerage. Still lower stood the knights who were also counted as nobles but did not have seats in the House of Lords. Nor did rank and title within the peerage have any real significance except on social occasions, when the lords held places according to rank. In the House of

Lords the vote of a baron counted and still counts the same as that of a duke.

Local influence of the peers. The title of a lord usually includes some geographical name: he is duke of Norfolk, marquis of Salisbury, earl of Chester, or whatever the designation may happen to be. This usually means that the lord's estates or other forms of wealth are located in the geographical area from which he derives the title. This fact is extremely significant; it gives the lord an influence in that region which often in the past has closely resembled legal authority; consequently, power within the peerage has often been measured by wealth and other material resources. This fact does not wholly exclude the need for certain outstanding qualities of leadership; nevertheless, a Talbot or a Mowbray, even though endowed with moderate abilities only, was, because of his wide domain, in position to speak with emphasis in the councils of the kingdom.

The spiritual lords. Though the temporal peers were usually in actual minority in the House of Lords, they were, nevertheless, the controlling element in that body. The bishops and abbots were nearly always chosen on the king's nomination; but quite frequently the king would find his candidates among the younger sons of the great noble families. As a rule the churchmen who had aristocratic connections would remain faithful to the family interest and would follow the lead of the family chief, who in nearly every case would have a seat in the House of Lords.

The constitution of the fifteenth century. While it is true that the government of England in the fifteenth century was in a large measure under the control of Parliament, it would be a mistake to assume that the nation had developed a form of constitutional government except in a qualified sense. In a state governed according to modern ideas the most important factor is that division of the legislature that most directly represents the popular will. The British constitution, as it is understood to-day, recognizes the House of Commons as the central fact in the state. But that was not the case in the fifteenth century; in those days the lower house was often wholly subservient to the aristocracy. It is clear that in counties where families like the Percies or the Mortimers had centered their strength, a free election of members to Parliament would not

always be possible. In certain shires it might even happen that members would be chosen without even the formality of an election; in such cases the sheriff as returning officer would give the necessary credentials to the nominee of the most powerful baron in the shire, and these appear to have been accepted at Westminster without question.

The franchise in shire and borough. But even when elections were actually held without interference on the part of lords or sheriffs, the knights who were chosen could scarcely be regarded as representing the people of the shire, inasmuch as only a small class of landed proprietors had access to the polls. In 1430 a law was made which limited the right to vote for members of Parliament to freeholders whose lands were worth at least forty shillings in annual rent. But the majority of the farmers were not freeholders; they were copyholders, leaseholders, or tenants-at-will. No copyholder or other tenant was allowed to vote at Parliamentary elections, no matter how large his income might be. In this way the membership chosen for the counties came under the control of the landed gentry. A like condition was beginning to appear in the Parliamentary boroughs: the right to select the burgesses was passing into the hands of a small group of favored electors, who frequently accepted the nominee of some neighboring lord or land owner. The number of boroughs possessing the privilege of representation at Westminster varied from time to time: in the reign of Edward IV there were 111 such boroughs. In the fifteenth century about three hundred men ordinarily had seats in the House of Commons, while approximately seventy-five were regularly summoned to the House of Lords.

The Great Schism in the church. While the barons were fighting for crowns in France and England, vast changes were being prepared in Europe, changes which were to affect England along with the rest of the world. A movement that interested all western Christendom was an effort to modify the constitution of the Catholic church. In 1378 the Great Schism had begun and for thirty years two rival popes, one at Rome and one at Avignon, claimed the loyalty of the Catholic world. In this conflict England and Germany supported the Roman pope, while Scotland, France, and Spain adhered to Avignon. In 1409 a church council called by the Avignon cardinals and certain

other cardinals who had seceded from Rome assembled at Pisa to heal the schism. This body took the position that, inasmuch as the two reigning popes had destroyed the unity of the church, they were both heretics. The council therefore deposed them and elected a third in their stead. But the deposed rulers refused to accept the decision of the council and for some years three popes claimed exclusive right to govern the church.

The Council of Constance. 1415. In 1415, the year of Agincourt, another world-council, held at Constance on the southern border of Germany, finally succeeded in ending the schism and once more unified the church under a single pope residing in the old Roman city. In this council the English representatives played a leading part. Opposed as they were to Avignon and everything else that was French, they naturally cast their influence into the balance on the side favoring the Roman prelate; they also urged important reforms in the discipline of the church which, they felt, could be carried through by councils only. This implied a purpose to change the constitution of the church from an absolute to a limited monarchy by giving it a controlling legislative body like the Parliament of England and the Estates General of France. Thus a new struggle was initiated which endured for nearly half a century. The popes resisted the attempt and the movement failed: Parliaments were losing ground everywhere, even in England. The world was beginning to look on a strong monarchy as the safer and more efficient form of government.

The Renaissance. Of more permanent importance was the Renaissance movement which reached its height in the fifteenth century. In Italy the men of the "new learning" were exploring the treasures of the Greek and Roman past. They were studying the wonderful artistic achievements of the Periclean and the Augustan age in literature, sculpture, and other forms of art. In England during the earlier half of the fifteenth century the movement found its clearest expression in a strong interest in schools and libraries. Some of the men whom we think of chiefly in connection with war and politics were vitally interested in the promotion of scholarship. In 1440, the young king, Henry VI, founded a college for boys at Eton just across the Thames from his palace at Windsor. Eton College is still one of the important schools in England. The following year

he founded King's College at Cambridge. Henry VI was also interested in popular education and established a number of grammar schools. The king's personal interest in education was not unique: during his lifetime five new colleges were founded in England, three at Oxford and two at Cambridge. Two other colleges were established at Cambridge later in the fifteenth century. Excepting King's College, these were all founded by wealthy ecclesiastics.

Duke Humphrey as a patron of letters. The new intellectual movement was hampered everywhere by a lack of books. Writing materials, especially parchment, were scarce and expensive. Books were written entirely by hand. Copyists, at least skilful ones, were few, and their work was naturally slow. Consequently, books were not plentiful and could be procured at great cost only. Among the men who did most to improve this situation, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the unstatesmanlike and intriguing politician, holds a high and honored place. Duke Humphrey seems to have been the only prominent Englishman of his time who appreciated the ideals of the Italian humanists. He was himself a student of the ancient classics, and corresponded with several of the more prominent Italian scholars who were studying and translating the writings of antiquity. Realizing the need of better libraries, he sought books wherever they could be procured, especially in Italy. The great church councils of the period were usually held on Italian soil; and a Norman bishop, who went to Italy as the representative of Henry VI at one of these assemblies, also acted as Humphrey's agent in the purchase of books. Many of the books that the duke procured in this way or directly from his humanist friends were presented to the University of Oxford: in 1439 and the following years he remembered Oxford with 279 volumes, a princely gift for those days. Earlier gifts from the duke's library bring the total up to an even higher number.

The invention of printing. Soon the want was helped by the invention of printing. The first printed materials left the press of the German inventor John Gutenberg shortly after 1450, a few years after Duke Humphrey's death. The new invention was of immense importance, for almost any number of copies could be produced from the same forms, and the cost of a printed book was only one-eighth of what was charged for one

written by hand. Gutenberg's establishment was at Mainz on the middle Rhine; soon the knowledge of his wonderful invention spread to the neighboring lands and found its way across the mountains to Italy. Two decades later the first printing press was set up in England and books began to be printed in the English language.

Expansion of foreign trade. In spite of the great waste of wealth and energy in foreign and civil warfare, the fifteenth century saw a notable expansion of English commerce. The trading vessels of the Netherlands and the North German cities were coming to England as of old; and now the Venetians also came to compete for the northern trade. The Italian galleys which came every year from the Adriatic to the ports of London and Southampton were welcome guests, for they brought the products of the Orient — silks and cottons, spices and perfumes, pearls and precious stones — which formerly had come to England in the ships of the Hanseatic merchants. The growth of foreign commerce called for more available capital and German and Italian banking houses established themselves in the chief trading centers of England. The presence of so many foreigners created a great deal of ill feeling among the native traders, and the persons as well as the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants in London were often in serious danger.

Early navigation acts. From the earlier years of the fifteenth century one can trace clearly the marvelous growth of English commerce carried in English ships owned by English traders. In the year of the Great Revolt (1381), Parliament asked for a statute forbidding English merchants to ship their wares in foreign ships. This was the first navigation act; it was reaffirmed nine years later. The original act seems to have been suggested by the fishmongers of London who hoped to increase their own profits through legal restrictions on foreign trade into English ports; it was therefore not intended primarily to promote domestic ship-building; ultimately, however, it led to this result and thus achieved a greater purpose. For a long time English trade, in exports as well as in imports, had been largely dependent on Flemish merchants and Hanseatic ship-owners; this dependence was rapidly approaching its end. Early in the fifteenth century the merchants of London, Bristol, Yarmouth, Lynn and Scarborough were sending their ships to the shores

of Iceland and northern Norway to trade in fish and other food products. Soon the English merchants were trading freely even on the Baltic shores, where several hundred English ships were seen every year, to the great disgust of the Hanseatic merchants who had earlier enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Baltic trade. In this same period English merchant adventurers extended their operations to the south and southeast; they had for some time carried on an important trade on the coast of Portugal, and by the middle of the century their ships might occasionally be seen even in the farther ports of the Mediterranean lands.

The woolen industry. The earlier dependence on the looms of Flanders was also becoming a thing of the past. In the fifteenth century the English wool-growers were still selling a great deal of raw wool to the weavers across the narrow seas; but this form of export was steadily declining in favor of a new trade in crude and partly finished cloth—that is, cloth that had not yet been dyed, fulled, or sheared. Most of this cloth was finished in the work-shops of Flanders and later distributed throughout Europe by Dutch merchants. The weaving industry which had developed considerable strength in the course of the fourteenth century throughout the eastern counties, particularly in Yorkshire and the old East Anglian wool district, was now spreading to almost every part of the land. With the prosperity of this trade the civil wars did not materially interfere. The leading families concerned in these wars, the Lancastrians, the Yorkists, the Nevilles, the Mortimers, and the Percies, had their estates and mustered their retainers chiefly in the north and near the Welsh border. In the old wool district no great battle was fought and no great army collected in the interest of either dynasty.

The Merchant Adventurers. When the fifteenth century began, England stood ready to enter the markets of the Continent with her first important manufactured product. As no individual trader could hope to hold his own against the Hansards and the Flemings, the English merchants found it expedient to organize themselves into associations of Merchant Adventurers, the purpose of which was to sell English cloth abroad. To secure an official standing and protection from the English government these associations found it advisable to apply for charters, and the first document of this sort was granted by Henry IV in 1404.

The merchant adventurers differed from the merchants of the staple in that they did not deal in raw materials and were not bound to any particular Continental towns. There were such organizations in various English towns, but the most important company had its headquarters in London and was made up largely of London mercers. The merchant adventurers carried their wares to any town that would admit them and promised a favorable market. Their operations were gradually extended all along the coasts of western and southern Europe as far as Venice. In the methods and the organization of these adventurers can be found the germs of the great English trading companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some of which had a long and interesting history extending over two or three hundred years.

Growth of the English towns. The growth of foreign commerce is reflected in the growing prosperity of the English towns. Some of the more important commercial centers of the present day were scarcely more than villages in the later middle ages; the period of their growth and prosperity began in the fourteenth century. As the towns grew in size and wealth they also improved in beauty and comfort. Wealthy merchants built palatial homes. Churches that had long stood unfinished were hurried to completion. In some of the larger towns pavements were laid in the streets and the medieval engineers began to experiment with drains and sewers.

Progress of the fifteenth century. The fifteenth century is the dreariest age in the political history of England. From 1415 to 1471 the story is one of fruitless and calamitous warfare, first with France as a continuation of the Hundred Years' War and finally among the English barons themselves in the hideous carnage of the Wars of the Roses. For nearly sixty years the blood and treasure of the nation were lavishly spent to satisfy morbid ambition. Otherwise, too, the period is barren of true greatness. English intellect, though active as in the century before, produced nothing of enduring qualities: no great literary genius appeared to carry forward the work of William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer. Moral standards were low. The ideals of the middle ages were passing away; those of the modern time had not yet taken on a definite form. Under the surface, however, the forces of the newer civilization were actively at work.

The process of enclosing arable lands was going steadily forward with its double result of more efficient farming and increased production of wool and cloth. Among the scholars of the time the impulse of the Renaissance was finding expression in various ways, especially in a growing desire for books. The time was coming when the king of England should no longer find it necessary to borrow books from the libraries of his friends. Trade was developing as never before. Towns were growing larger. Great industrial centers were beginning to appear on the British map. The middle class was rising to greater importance in the English state. While the barons were absent fighting in France or enjoying the dangerous pastime of civil war, the merchants and the manufacturers were invading the places of power and were preparing to seize a larger share in the government. At the same time they stood ready to dispute the ancient right of the clergy to a monopoly of culture and education. The middle ages had come to an end.

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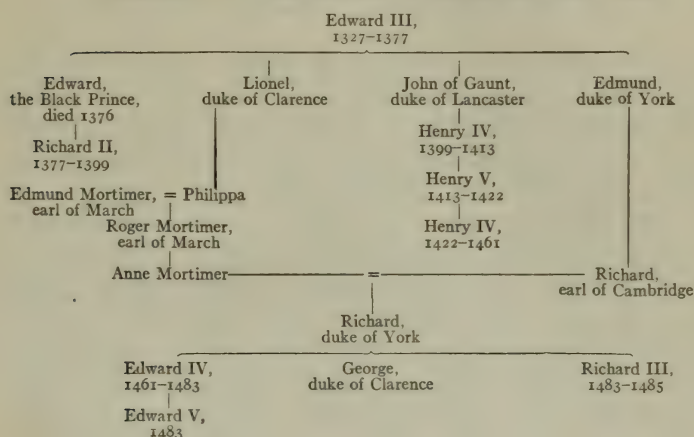
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GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK



CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN ENGLAND

The aristocracy in the Wars of the Roses. In the civil wars of the fifteenth century the greater part of the baronage appears to have fought on the side of Henry and Margaret. Though some of the more powerful families, like the Nevilles and the Fitzalans, mustered their retainers under the banner of the white rose, the aristocratic houses were, on the whole, inclined to favor the cause of the Lancastrian dynasty. The same appears to be true of the landed gentry, a class which, though ranking far below the baronage in wealth and privilege, had now come to be an influential factor in the politics of the English kingdom. It would scarcely be correct to say that the knights and the squires were all on the side of Lancaster, for this class, too, was somewhat divided, with a considerable minority fighting for the supposed rights of Edward IV. It seems clear, however, that the power of the Yorkist dynasty was not based wholly or even largely on aristocratic support. That Edward IV was able to maintain himself on the throne of England was due in large measure to his popularity with the mercantile interests in the English boroughs, or with the so-called middle class.

Importance of the middle class. The middle class derived its name from the fact that it had found a place for itself somewhat above the servile masses who toiled on the land, but decidedly below the privileged orders who owned the soil and governed the church and the state. Properly speaking it was composed of a considerable number of wealthy merchants and master workmen; but closely associated with these were a large number of workingmen who were employed in shops and warehouses or otherwise labored in the interest of the mercantile classes. It may therefore be said that the middle class included practically the entire population of the English boroughs; for the towns derived their wealth from commercial enterprises, with-

out which no community could hope to develop into anything more than a large village.

London in the fifteenth century. The urban population in the fifteenth century was not large. London with about 50,000 inhabitants was then as now the most important town in the kingdom. Next to London in wealth, population, and commercial importance was the borough of Bristol with a population of approximately 15,000. The ancient city of York counted, perhaps, almost as many inhabitants as Bristol, but it was not so strong in commercial resources. It is estimated that Norwich in the east and Coventry in the Midlands had each about 10,000 inhabitants. Of the many remaining English towns very few had a population greater than 5000.

The boroughs in the civil war. One would scarcely have a right to affirm that the entire population of the boroughs was ranged on the side of the Yorkist pretenders, for the townsmen, like the barons and the gentry, were much divided in their sympathies. At the same time it seems clear that the middle class was on the whole more favorable to Edward IV than to the opposing dynasty. This was due in part to the fact that Henry and Margaret had failed to maintain order in the land. The merchants wanted greater security for trade and property, the assurance of safe travel on the highways, and larger opportunities for commerce beyond the sea. The general situation in the country is well described by Edward IV in a proclamation issued soon after his coronation in which he notes "the lamentable state and ruin of this realm of England, the oppression of the people, the manslaughter, extortion, perjury, and robbers among them, the very decay of merchandise, wherein rested the prosperity of the subjects." These evils the young king promised "to remoeve and sette apart."

Edward's appeal to the middle class. It was only natural that the partisans of Edward IV should push his dynastic claims into the foreground; at the same time they thought it expedient that the first public suggestion looking toward a change of dynasty should come from the lower orders. A few days after the Yorkist prince had entered London, a mass meeting of soldiers and citizens held outside the walls of the city heard and apparently approved Edward's claim to the royal title. Assured of support from the wealthy merchants of the capital,

the young pretender rode to Westminster and seized the symbols of government. After his enthronement the citizens were asked once more whether they accepted him as king; and they "all with one voice cried yea, yea!"

With the older nobility the new king never became very popular. The baronial clans in the age of the Roses were not partial to law and order. Moreover, Edward IV was inclined at times to ignore the lords in favor of counsellors drawn from the middle class. This was keenly resented by the peers who held firmly to the ancient doctrine that the lords are the constitutional advisers of the English king.

A strong government. The first ten years of Edward's reign were a period of turmoil and misgovernment. The new king was young and inexperienced; his authority was questioned in many parts of England; and the barons appeared to rule the land as before. But after the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury the situation was wholly different. The Lancastrian dynasty had perished. The power of the Nevilles was broken. Rid of his rivals and his dangerous friends, Edward IV was in position to give the land what it sorely needed: peace and a strong government.

The constitutional system that prevailed in England under the Lancastrian kings has been called a limited monarchy; but it should be distinctly understood that the king in the fifteenth century did not share his power with the chosen representatives of the nation; he shared it with a relatively small aristocratic class which dominated Parliament and controlled its membership. Gathered around the king stood the great families of the peerage, some of which rivaled even the dynasty itself in wealth and power and influence. But after seventeen years of civil strife the baronage was too weak to control the policies of the sovereign and the king rose to a power that was almost absolute. Limited monarchy ceased to be a fact because the elements that had earlier limited the authority of the royal office were no longer able to control the councils of the nation. Parliament did not disappear, but it declined materially in importance. The middle class were not yet ready to play a leading part in opposition to the kingship; on the contrary, this class in the fifteenth century believed that its welfare could be secured only through a close alliance with the monarchy.

In his emphasis on the prerogatives of the royal office Edward IV was essentially a modern king. The administrative system that was later called Tudor absolutism had its beginning in the Yorkist period. Like his successors of the Tudor line Edward IV observed carefully the forms of the English constitution; but the substance of power remained in the royal council chamber. The fact that the Yorkist king was not so successful as later kings in controlling his subjects was due, not so much to a difference in purpose or policy, as to a lazy personal temperament and to a lack of efficient judicial machinery. For nearly all the larger lines of policy that characterized the government of the following generation can be traced through the reign of Edward IV.

1. Restoration of order. The first great need was to restore order throughout the kingdom. To accomplish this the king sought in various ways to strengthen the judicial administration and even experimented with special tribunals. His efforts in this direction do not, however, seem to have been very fruitful. An Italian traveler who wrote in this reign asserts that "there is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as England, insomuch that few venture to go alone in the country except in the middle of the day and fewer still in the towns at night, and least of all in London."

2. King Edward's foreign policy. In his foreign policy Edward IV sought peace and close friendship with the neighbors of England, especially with the Netherlands. Only once did he call on the English people to prepare for war. It was not easy to forget the fact that the uprisings of 1470 and 1471 had been planned at the court of Louis XI. Several years passed before he could feel safe in moving against his old enemy, but in 1474 he laid his plans before Parliament and received a grant of money to be used for war on French soil. The following year a force of nearly 15,000 men was landed at Calais, and Edward proceeded to invade France. But actual war did not materialize. Charles the Bold, who was to assist his English ally, had become involved in a conflict with the Swiss. Edward soon found himself in a rather difficult situation; but Louis XI did not care to fight and offered him a large sum of money to return to England. The greedy king

accepted the offer and there was peace between the two neighbors for nearly fifteen years.

3. Decline of Parliament. Edward IV was not a believer in frequent sessions of Parliament. When he summoned the houses it was usually for some specific purpose and the sessions were always brief. Sometimes the need was a larger revenue; sometimes the king wished authority to deal with his enemies. A Parliament summoned in 1461 passed bills of attainder depriving more than one hundred persons of life or property or both. Among these were Henry VI, his queen and his young son. Much property was confiscated as a result of these acts, but very few were actually sent to the scaffold. In 1478 a Parliament was summoned to consider the case of the king's brother George, "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence." Clarence had deserted Warwick in 1470 and had fought for his brother Edward on the fields of Barnet and Tewkesbury. But after some years the king's suspicions were again aroused. Clarence was duly condemned and executed. Tradition reports that he was drowned in a butt of wine.

4. New financial methods. An important feature of the new royal policy was an effort to carry on the king's government with the lowest possible expense, to lighten the burden of general taxation, and to find and exploit sources of revenue that Parliament could not control. A fruitful source of income in the earlier decades of King Edward's reign was a great series of confiscations which the king was able to carry through in a period when treason and rebellion were almost yearly occurrences. After the downfall of the Lancastrians in 1471 this source was of less importance. Parliamentary grants were neither large nor frequent during the Yorkist reigns, for Edward IV soon discovered that in the matter of granting revenue the members of Parliament were less generous than in voting for bills of attainder. The Parliament of 1474 was exceptional in this respect, as it voted a considerable sum to the royal needs but for a specific and popular purpose: the renewal of the war with France. On the pretext that the grant was insufficient, the king proceeded to exact gifts from the wealthy, which were euphemistically called benevolences. These gifts were not always joyfully given; but to refuse was to incur the wrath of a king whose methods were often ruthless to the point of

cruelty. The peace with France brought Edward an indemnity and the promise of a pension which Louis XI actually paid for six years. The English king also tried commercial speculation and was not above lending money to his subjects at usurious rates. These were doubtful expedients, but fortunately Edward IV did not engage very actively in foreign warfare and had therefore no need of extraordinary sums.

Edward V. In April, 1483, Edward IV suddenly died and the royal title passed to his oldest son, who for two short months was known as Edward V, king of England. Since the new ruler was only twelve years of age, it was clear that a regent had to be appointed to direct the government during the minority. The two leading candidates for the regent's office were the king's mother, Elizabeth Woodville, and his energetic uncle, Richard of Gloucester. There was much opposition among the barons to the queen-mother's candidacy, and Richard allowed her no opportunity to assert her claims. A month after his brother's death he seized the person of the young king and took control of the government. A little later he also secured possession of Edward's younger brother Richard, a boy of nine years. He was now ready to seize the crown itself, though he was careful first to secure the reluctant approval of a carefully packed Parliament. The two princes are believed to have been secretly murdered in the Tower a few weeks later.

Richard III. 1483-1485. Richard III bore the crown of England for two uneasy years. Unlike his brother Edward, who stood like Saul among his subjects, King Richard is said to have been ugly, short, and misshapen. He was therefore lacking in some of the qualities that are usually found in a popular ruler. He soon realized that his usurpation had to be bolstered up with crime and tyranny. But the nation was tired of bloodshed, and before long a combination of the Lancastrian remnant and a group of discontented Yorkists was formed to dethrone the usurper. There were still many descendants of Edward III's numerous sons, but unfortunately for the conspirators they were nearly all women and children; while leadership against a vigorous and resourceful king like Richard III could be safely trusted to none but a strong man seasoned by long experience.

The revolution of 1485. Such a leader was found in Henry

Tudor, otherwise known as earl of Richmond. Henry was the son of Edmund Tudor, a Welsh nobleman, and Margaret Beaufort, a great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt. Henry of Richmond was still in exile, but he promptly responded to the call. In the summer of 1485 he landed in southwestern Wales and with constantly growing forces marched northeastward into central England. Meantime, King Richard had collected an army and brought the pretender to bay at Bosworth. In the battle of Bosworth Field Henry Tudor had the smaller army; but some of the barons on the king's side refused to fight and Richard was defeated and slain. The victor was at once proclaimed king, though according to English law he had no right whatever to the throne. The defect in his title was soon remedied, however, by a formal act of Parliament recognizing the validity of his kingship. Early in the following year he married Elizabeth, the oldest daughter of Edward IV, whose hereditary claims to the throne were beyond question. The dynasties of Lancaster and York were thus united and the danger of further civil war was averted.

The battle of Bosworth is usually represented as the final struggle between two rival dynasties, those of York and Lancaster, but this is true to a limited extent only. In the series of plots that culminated in the Tudor uprising dynastic considerations played a relatively small part. The revolution of 1485 was a movement in which the middle class joined a fragment of the baronage to dethrone an unpopular king. Henry Tudor drew his support from many sources: French adventurers, professional soldiers, English refugees, disaffected churchmen, and rebellious lords rallied about his standard; but without the cordial acquiescence and positive support of the middle class, the movement could scarcely have attained success.

Henry VII. 1485-1509. When he seized the English throne Henry Tudor was twenty-nine years old; he had been carefully schooled, he was highly experienced, and he understood the world much better than most men of his age. Most of his lessons had been learned in exile; still, they were important for the future of England. Personally the first Tudor king was not a lovable man: he had no endearing qualities; he was cold, suspicious, and grasping. For the business at hand, however, he possessed evident abilities. In dealing with his

subjects he proceeded firmly but cautiously. Unlike his predecessors of the Yorkist line he was not cruel; he was averse to needless executions and was always willing to show mercy, especially if the royal clemency was likely to bring a financial reward.

Like Edward IV Henry Tudor regarded the royal office from a decidedly modern point of view and tried to govern according to modern ideas. In selecting the men who were to assist him in the work of administration, he found it necessary to give due regard to the claims of the aristocracy; and his chief officials were therefore chosen from the peerage or from the clerical order; but he also made large use of men drawn from the middle class on whom he could depend for support against the unruly aristocrats. He had none of the medieval passion for warfare. His policy aimed at order and quiet in his own kingdom and peace with the nations of the neighborhood. On the whole the new reign was popular, for it promised to continue the policies outlined in the later years of Edward IV.

Plots and pretenders. A fragment of the Yorkist party had survived the slaughter at Bosworth and continued hostile to the new king. Risings and intrigues appeared a few months after Henry's accession and continued for more than ten years. Margaret of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Bold and a sister of Edward IV and Richard III, was exceedingly hostile toward the Tudor dynasty; and the English plotters found her court in the Netherlands a safe rendezvous and a convenient rallying point. Two pretenders were put forward, each claiming to be a Yorkist prince. Lambert Simnel, an Oxford boy who claimed to be Edward, earl of Warwick, a nephew of the kings Edward and Richard, appeared as early as 1487. As Edward was the son of the unfortunate Clarence he was the heir to whatever rights remained to the house of York. King Henry knew that Simnel was a fraud as he had the young prince himself safe in the Tower. The pretender was caught and finally relegated to a subordinate place in the royal kitchen.

More dangerous was Perkin Warbeck, a youthful Dutchman, who tried to impersonate Richard, the younger son of Edward IV, one of the two princes whom Richard III had imprisoned in the Tower and who probably perished there. Warbeck's attempt was also a failure. Defeated in battle he fled to

sanctuary. Later he fell into Henry's power and was sent to the Tower. The king intended to be lenient with him; but when the restless Dutchman tried to escape from the Tower, Henry thought it necessary to be severe for once and Warbeck was hanged (1499).

Livery and maintenance. Interest in the fallen dynasty was not the only cause of opposition to Henry VII. The Tudors believed in a strong and efficient government; they insisted upon order and due respect for law throughout the kingdom. As the more conspicuous offenders were lawless members of the nobility, who wished to continue as uncontrolled as they had been during the age of the Roses, the king's efforts had to be directed largely against men of great power and influence. Early in the reign, steps were taken to enforce certain old statutes against livery and maintenance. The wealthier lords were in the habit of keeping large bands of armed retainers at their castles or within easy call: these wore their lord's uniform (livery) and they could always count on the lord's pledge to "maintain" or support them even in the public courts; this was known as maintenance. The ordinary citizen was often, therefore, at the mercy of the magnates, who still regarded themselves as members of a privileged class. This condition Henry VII was determined to remedy. By his efforts in this direction he alienated some of the more prominent noble families. But at the same time he drew the middle and lower classes closer to the Tudor throne, and this union of interest between the monarch and the masses proved a source of real strength to the new dynasty.

Importance of the justices of the peace. To secure peace and order in the kingdom the Tudors relied chiefly on the justices of the peace. As before, the justices were police officials as well as judges, and each justice in his locality was held responsible for the enforcement of the law. Henry VII and his successors also understood thoroughly how useful the courts of quarter session might become to the monarchy, and they did much to develop them. Soon these courts were fixing wages and prices, binding apprentices, appointing local officials, and performing a multitude of other administrative duties. As there was no limit to the king's power to appoint justices, he was usually able to keep a friendly majority in charge of the local govern-

ment in every shire. Nevertheless, the country squires who held these offices were usually faithful to the interests of their respective counties, and the justice of the peace never became a mere tool of the king's government.

The Star Chamber court. In dealing with the disorderly elements among the higher nobility the judges of the quarter sessions were often helpless. To meet this difficulty the king revived and reorganized an old judicial organ, the Star Chamber court. The king's council had always possessed a certain measure of judicial authority and had tried offenders in the Star Chamber long before the Tudors began to govern England. But this activity had been occasional only and the Star Chamber was not an effective tribunal before 1487, when Parliament authorized the king to establish a court of judges chosen from the Privy Council to relieve the Council of its more difficult judicial duties. The particular function of these judges was to seek out offenders among the barons, to summon them to trial, and to punish those whom they found guilty. As the new Star Chamber assumed the parts of both accuser and judge, and was not hampered by the employment of juries, it proved very efficient for the king's purpose. The activities of the new tribunal were gradually extended. In 1495 it was given jurisdiction over "heinous riots," perjury, and appeals in criminal cases. Still later such unrelated subjects as usury, enclosures, and quarrels between merchants trading beyond the sea came within its competence. Half a century later it seems to have declined somewhat in importance and efficiency and its functions were ultimately merged with those of the king's council. The Star Chamber of the seventeenth century was scarcely a separate tribunal, but seems to have been the Privy Council sitting as a court for the transaction of judicial business.

The Privy Council. During the middle ages the English king had always had the assistance of a body of councillors; but their share in the administration was not always well defined. Such a body was the Curia Regis of Norman times, which, in addition to its ordinary function of giving the king good counsel, had extensive duties as a judicial tribunal and a committee on finance. In the reign of Edward I the royal council came to be known as the "ordinary council," and its importance as an administrative organ was becoming more evident.

It was regarded as a great honor to have a seat among the councillors, and the temptation to reward a faithful henchman with a place at the council board was often too strong to resist. As a consequence the number of councillors grew too large to insure secrecy and efficient work. It became customary, therefore, in the fifteenth century, especially in the days of Henry VI and Margaret, to ignore the "ordinary council" as much as possible, and to consult merely a few select members, which body was then known by the name of "Privy Council." When Henry VII began his reign, the Privy Council was a comparatively new creation; but the shrewd king realized its great possibilities and entrusted a large part of the administration to this body, or to its various courts or committees. Especially were new forms of business, such as control of Irish affairs and colonial matters, likely to come under the authority of the Privy Council. Under the Tudors and their successors the Stuarts, the activities of the Council were extended continuously, until it finally threatened to supersede Parliament itself. As the members were chosen by the king, the importance of this body when directed by a strong king is evident. The Privy Council still enjoys a nominal existence; but nearly all its functions have passed to the Cabinet, which in a certain sense may be regarded as a committee of the Privy Council.

Henry VII and Parliament. The increase in the authority that was wielded by the organs of his Majesty's government was paralleled by an evident decline in the prestige of Parliament. It will be remembered that all the kings of the fifteenth century had recognized the supremacy of Parliament, but that this body had suffered in popular estimation, since it had become an instrument of factions seeking revenge. After the first few years of his reign, Henry VII rarely summoned Parliament; and when he did it was usually for the purpose of providing his treasury with necessary funds. King Henry recognized the right of the Commons to control taxation and was not backward in asking for subsidies; but he did not assume that Parliamentary taxes were the only source of the royal income. Like his predecessor Edward IV, he discovered various expedients for increasing his revenues, some of which, though not authorized by law, were not expressly forbidden and for a time served the purpose quite well.

Tudor finances. The collection of benevolences, which, it will be recalled, was a favorite and quite fruitful expedient in the Yorkist period, was employed to eke out the royal funds in 1491, but was probably not used very generally at any other time. The gifts were to be considered wholly voluntary; but the king warned his wealthy subjects that "by their open gifts he would measure and search their benevolent hearts and loving minds toward him, so that he that gave most should be judged to be the most loving friend, and he that gave little should be esteemed according to his gifts." The recent law against livery and maintenance was another source of revenue; the barons who kept larger establishments than the laws allowed were heavily fined. The feeble Yorkist uprisings also brought money into the royal treasury, for King Henry was careful to confiscate the lands of the nobles who supported the pretenders. Moreover, the new government found it possible to recall many of the grants that had been made by the Yorkist kings. By these and other methods large areas were added to the crown lands and the royal rents very soon began to show a notable increase.

The king's most striking achievement in the realm of finance was his success in capitalizing the foreign relations of his country. On the pretext of impending war with France (1489), he summoned Parliament and requested funds which were cheerfully granted; the old animosity toward France was not yet dead in the popular breast. After some show of hostilities and extensive negotiations, Henry, by the treaty of Etaples, concluded peace with the French on the basis of a money indemnity which that kingdom was glad to pay. When his son Arthur was married to Catherine of Aragon the bride brought a large dowry to the English court. Again, when Henry's daughter Margaret was married to the king of Scotland, the question of a dowry came up, but this time the royal miser insisted on a cash payment on the part of the bridegroom.

Taxes and feudal dues. It would be a mistake to think that the English people wholly escaped taxation even in those years of comparative peace. Aside from Parliamentary grants like the one referred to above, Henry VII enjoyed a continuous revenue from tunnage and poundage which Parliament, in the year of his accession, gave him permission to collect as long as he

should hold the kingship. Moreover, there were certain feudal dues which also resembled taxes, and these were collected to the last penny. Thus the money chest of Henry Tudor was fed from many sources. It is said that the royal treasure on the day of the king's death amounted to £100,000, an enormous sum for those times. As his wealth grew the statesmanship of Henry VII grew steadily more economical; but when he was dead and his son Henry VIII ruled in his stead, the contents of the royal strong-box rapidly disappeared.

The Tudor foreign policy. In 1485 Europe was on the eve of vast political changes. France had been quite thoroughly unified. In Spain the foundations of a new monarchy had been laid by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragón to Isabella of Castile. The Netherlands had become a political unity in the possession of the Burgundian dynasty, though no longer associated with the duchy of Burgundy; on the death of Charles the Bold the duchy had been seized by Louis XI and incorporated into the French monarchy. The ruler of the Dutch provinces was a young woman whose choice of husband might, and did, determine the fate of these wealthy lands. In all these developments Henry VII showed a keen interest, especially as they might concern the fate of England's ancient enemy beyond the Channel. In his policy toward the Continental states the king was guided largely by dynastic considerations. Henry VII had no taste for serious adventures beyond the seas, but he was anxious to take advantage of any situation that might induce his neighbors on the Continent to recognize him as the king of England; for in this way only could the plotting of English refugees in favor of Yorkist pretenders be effectively stopped.

France and Spain. The old duchy of Brittany, which for centuries had maintained a semi-independent existence as a feudal dependency of the French king, was now on the point of being absorbed into the French kingdom. In 1488 the last duke of Brittany died, leaving the duchy to his young daughter Anne. The French government, which had been at war with the duchess' father, continued the war and threatened to conquer the country. England was opposed to any strengthening of her old rival, and more particularly to the acquisition of Brittany by the French dynasty, as this would mean a great

extension of France along the Channel coast. To prevent this Henry sought the alliance of Spain and prepared for war. He did not enter upon active hostilities, however, and after three years of strained relations with the French, he concluded the peace of Etaples, as noted above. The venture was, nevertheless, important: it brought the desired recognition, for the French king promised not to harbor English rebels; it brought a considerable money indemnity; finally it brought about an alliance with Spain cemented by the fateful betrothal of Henry's oldest son Arthur to the Spanish Princess Catherine.

The Scottish marriage. 1503. The French troubles were followed by a difficulty with Scotland. The pretender, Perkin Warbeck, found help at the Scottish court, which was still in chronic opposition to England. As war was expensive, an economical king like Henry could not be expected to push the quarrel. Negotiations were begun which finally ended in a treaty and the marriage of Henry's daughter Margaret to the Scottish king, James IV, a marriage which ultimately led to the union of the two kingdoms one hundred years later, when Queen Margaret's great-grandson mounted the English throne as James I.

England and the Netherlands. With the Netherlands, which, though practically independent, were still theoretically parts of France and the Empire, the relationship continued close. English wool was more than ever a necessity to European commerce and industry, especially in the case of the Flemings. Henry appreciated this fact and used it to drive hard bargains. In 1496 the "great treaty" (*Intercursus Magnus*) was negotiated, a treaty of commerce, the purpose of which was to encourage trade between England and the Netherlands. Ten years later Archduke Philip, the ruler of the Low Countries, was shipwrecked in the Channel and was forced to seek refuge on English soil. Henry treated his royal guest so generously that Philip consented to a new treaty, in which the Flemings yielded so much that they named it the "evil treaty."

England and Denmark. Earlier treaties of the same import had been made with Denmark and the Italian cities, and in this way English products were able to find more favorable markets on the shores of the Baltic and the Mediterranean. The Danish trade in the fifteenth century was largely in the hands of the

Hanseatic towns which held valuable privileges from the Danish crown. For a number of years English traders and fishermen had traded and fished on the coast of Iceland; especially were the merchants of Bristol and Scarborough interested in the Iceland trade. This activity had been outlawed in the days of Edward IV and had degenerated into a form of piracy. But in 1489 Henry VII sent an embassy to Copenhagen which succeeded in securing permission for English merchants to trade in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland on extremely favorable terms. As the Flemish treaties were largely in the interest of the merchants of the staple, the agreement with Denmark was to the particular advantage of the merchant adventurers, who still dealt chiefly in manufactured cloth, but were also allowed to trade in other commodities.

The Hanseatic League. At the same time King Henry narrowed the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants in England. During the troubled reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV the Hansards had seized nearly all the English trade with the countries across the North Sea; and in the ports of England they had privileges which enabled them to compete successfully even with native merchants. The merchant adventurers were particularly hostile toward the Hansards, and in 1493 they led an attack on the Hanseatic settlement in the Steelyard which soon grew into a serious riot. By slow but continuous pressure Henry VII forced the Germans out of their privileged position in English ports; he secured for his subjects the right to trade in the northern lands, where Hanseatic influences had long been dominant; he even secured trading rights for the merchant adventurers in Danzig and Riga, but these did not prove to be of immediate importance.

A navigation act. Measures were also taken to confine English trade, as far as possible, to English vessels. In the first year of the new reign Parliament passed a navigation act, forbidding the importation of wine and certain other products from Gascony except in vessels owned and manned by subjects of the English king. Similar methods were followed later in the reign and a tremendous impulse was given to English ship building. Thus, while his brother monarchs were dreaming of territorial acquisitions and were fighting for outlying posses-

sions, especially in Italy, Henry VII was laying the foundation of the future economic greatness of England.

Geographical discoveries. It was during Henry Tudor's reign that European navigators made the great discoveries of new routes and new worlds which were to afford such vast fields for the commercial and colonizing energies of England. For these achievements the honor belongs in greatest measure to the Portuguese who first found the sea route to the Orient. In 1415, the year of Henry V's victory at Agincourt, the Portuguese attacked and forced the surrender of Ceuta, a Moorish stronghold just across the strait from Gibraltar. Among those who shared in this expedition was Prince Henry, a younger son of the Portuguese king, who is commonly known as Henry the Navigator. Prince Henry developed a keen interest in Africa which he maintained till the end of his days. In 1418 he established himself at Sagres near Cape St. Vincent, and began sending out exploring expeditions along the Atlantic coast of Africa, each sailing a little farther to the south than the preceding one, until when he died (in 1460) the bleak shores of the Sahara had been passed and the Portuguese flag had been carried around Cape Verde to the limits of Upper Guinea. Among other new forms of wealth that were now brought to Portugal were native blacks; and thus about the year 1441 began the European trade in negro slaves. In 1488 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. Ten years later a little Portuguese fleet commanded by Vasco da Gama struck boldly across the ocean from the coast of East Africa to India and ultimately anchored in the harbor of Calicut. The sea route to India had been found. Soon Portuguese merchants, soldiers, and adventurers were laying the foundations of a vast colonial and commercial empire which was to include all the newly discovered shores from Morocco to southern India. For a century the sea-borne trade of southern Asia centered in the port of Lisbon.

Voyages to the New World. Portuguese navigators also sailed out into the Atlantic and about 1435 rediscovered the Azores, a group of islands lying nearly one thousand miles westward from Lisbon. Forty years later the king of Portugal, fearing that Africa would prove a continuous land barrier between the east and the west, requested the king of Denmark-

Norway to send out an expedition westward to test the new theory that India might be reached by sailing in that direction. An expedition was actually sent out and seems to have reached the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland about 1476. The adventure was directed by John Scolvus, a Norwegian pilot who is otherwise unknown to history. A few years later, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese map-maker, who for some years had resided in Lisbon, requested authority to lead an expedition westward beyond the Azores; but the Portuguese king, whose interest in the venture along the African coast was reviving, refused to fit out the necessary ships. Eventually Columbus was sent out by the queen of Castile and succeeded in finding the West Indies. Spain thus acquired a fertile field for surplus energies in the islands of the Caribbean Sea and the neighboring mainland to the west and southwest.

John Cabot. 1497. In these ventures England, too, had a part. About the year 1484, John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, came to England and eventually settled in Bristol, where he resided till his death some twenty years later. In 1497 Cabot asked and received the appointment as admiral of a fleet composed of five ships which the merchants of Bristol fitted out for a journey into the Atlantic. The expedition reached the coast of North America, perhaps in the region of southern Labrador. There was much excitement in Bristol after John Cabot's return. "Vast honor is paid to him; he dresses in silk and the English run after him like mad people," wrote a Venetian from London later in the same year. In his private account book the close-fisted king records that he gave "to hym that founde the new Isle, 10 pounds." It was the discovery of John Cabot that gave England her claim to North American soil. But more important for the time was the fact that the expedition also discovered the fishing grounds about Newfoundland. A few years later fishing craft were coming by the hundreds from Portugal, from Brittany, and from England to fish for cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

Industrial development. Henry VII realized fully that to encourage shipping and commerce would be futile unless active measures were also taken to stimulate industry. To this end he induced Parliament to levy a heavy tax on all wool purchased for export. A later act forbade the sale of English wool to

foreign traders until several months after the shearing season. Laws were also passed forbidding the export of certain kinds of unfinished cloth. While the king was thus trying to secure advantages for his own subjects against foreign traders, he was at the same time endeavoring to remove local restrictions and to promote free trade within the limits of his kingdom. He also believed in greater freedom within the industries themselves. An important step in this direction was an act which reduced materially the power of the craft gilds by placing them within the jurisdiction of the national courts.

Henry VIII and Thomas Wolsey. On the death of Henry Tudor (1509), his son Henry VIII succeeded to the kingship; but the new sovereign took no great interest in the details of government during the first half of his reign, and for nearly twenty years English affairs were directed according to the ideas of a brilliant churchman and politician, Thomas Wolsey. Wolsey sprang from the middle class — he was the son of an Ipswich tradesman. He was educated for a clerical career, and rapid promotion soon brought him in succession several rich benefices, including three English bishoprics, the archbishopric of York and the high office of cardinal. His hand was even stretched out after the papal office, but in this ambition he failed. On the political side he held the office of lord chancellor, which placed him next in rank only to the primate among the king's subjects; in the church he wielded a power superior even to that of the primate, for Wolsey was the pope's official representative in the kingdom, thus holding a higher commission than that held by his Grace of Canterbury. His position was emphasized by a court and a retinue of servants which were almost royal in magnificence. With a love of splendor Wolsey united an extraordinary capacity for work and unusual industry in attending to administrative details. The king himself was a totally different person. As time amply proved, Henry VIII possessed a wonderful insight into matters of state and unusual abilities both as a politician and a statesman; but these did not appear until he was roused to action by a great conflict with the head of the church. For the first four years of his reign he had no chief minister; but when he discovered Wolsey's genius (in 1511) he gave his confidence and a large measure of authority to him and devoted himself to the arts of a gentleman of

leisure. A fine, handsome, athletic prince, skilled in archery, successful in the chase, and a leader in all kinds of manly sport, Henry VIII soon developed a remarkable popularity which he never entirely lost.

The "balance of power." Wolsey's great strength lay in diplomacy. It was he who first gave practical form to the policy of "balance of power." This meant that the kings of Europe ought not to allow a single state or ruler to become so powerful as to dominate European politics, but should strive, by forming alliances or otherwise, to build up several powers of approximately equal strength. In the earlier decades of the sixteenth century, three great nations laid claim to leadership in European affairs: France, Spain, and Germany. The strength of the German empire was largely imaginary; but a decade after Henry's accession it took on new importance through its union with Spain in the person of the newly elected emperor, Charles V. The strife between the jealous kings of France and Spain found a favorable field in Italy, where each tried to gain a foothold or to extend his territories. The king of Spain was also king of Naples and Sicily, his territory comprising at least one-third of the Italian peninsula. He further wished to add certain parts of the Po valley, particularly the duchy of Milan, to which the French king also laid claim. Italian troubles naturally involved the pope and Venice, as leading powers in the peninsula; England was interested as the supposed ally of Spain. However, it was Wolsey's plan not to commit England too completely, but rather to throw her influence to the weaker side in the conflict in order to prevent any nation from becoming too powerful and thus destroy the European balance.

Scotland. The attention of Henry and Wolsey was, however, soon drawn to affairs nearer home. In spite of the marriage between King James and the princess Margaret, the relations between England and Scotland continued strained. The French alliance, now two centuries old, had become a habit which the Scots found it difficult to overcome. While Henry was absent at Calais directing operations in a futile war against France, his brother-in-law, James IV, invaded the north of England with a strong force. Lord Howard (the earl of Surrey) was sent against him and on Flodden Field inflicted a defeat on the Scots which crippled their military power for years to come.



On the morning after the battle the body of King James was found on the field with three bishops and thirteen Scottish earls lying around him. For some years Queen Margaret was in chief control of the government at Edinburgh. After Flodden there was peace between England and Scotland for nearly thirty years, except on the border, where private raids continued as of old.

Intellectual progress. The period of Cardinal Wolsey's brilliant administration saw the culmination of the intellectual movement that may be called the English Renaissance. The Renaissance did not develop so rapidly north of the Alps as it did in the Italian cities. Its various interests came slowly and singly across the Channel during a period of more than a hundred years. The importance of Chaucer's enthusiasm for modern English and of Duke Humphrey's activities as a collector of manuscripts has been discussed in earlier chapters. On the whole, intellectual progress in England in the fifteenth century showed little vigor till toward the close of the Yorkist period when two events of real importance came into the record: these were the introduction of Greek into the school at Canterbury and the establishing of a printing press at Westminster.

The Caxton press. The new art of printing, which for some years was centered at Mainz, soon found its way down the course of the Rhine river and before long presses were set up in the Netherlands. There lived at the time in Bruges an English merchant adventurer with a literary turn of mind, the famous William Caxton, who gave to the English people their first printed book. Caxton was at work on the translation of a volume in French dealing with the history of Troy when the merits of the new invention were brought forcibly to his attention; and he determined to issue his edition in printed form. This came from the press in Bruges in 1474 or the following year. In 1476 Caxton removed his press to Westminster and the book famine in England began to be relieved. Books for which a copyist might receive one hundred pounds could be printed for ten or twelve pounds. The royal family took a benevolent interest in the new craft, and it is reported that Edward IV made Caxton a present of twenty pounds.

The study of Greek. The introduction of Greek as a subject for study in schools may be traced to the efforts of William

Selling, a Canterbury monk, who studied in Italy during the reign of Edward IV. After his return to Canterbury he made the library of the monastery his particular care; he also taught in the monastery school. Some of his pupils went to Oxford and brought with them their enthusiasm for the Greek language which Selling had taught them. One of these, William Grocyn, later held a lectureship in Greek at Oxford. Another pioneer in this field was Thomas Linacre, a Canterbury student with leanings toward scientific study. John Colet, a young English theologian, also gave efficient assistance. After some years at Oxford, Colet was appointed dean of Saint Paul's, London, where he established a boys' school of a new type, with classical study as an important part of the course of instruction. Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet are to be remembered as the pioneers in a movement which has exerted a strong and profound influence on the intellectual growth of modern England.

The study of classical Greek brought these so-called "humanists" face to face with the greatest literary artists of the ancient world; it also took them into a literary atmosphere where reason was regarded as the only safe guide. Not only did the humanists feel free to think and speculate on all manner of themes,—they held it a duty to do so. This new-found freedom led to much criticism and doubt, and it finally helped to produce a revolt from the most venerable and powerful of all institutions, the medieval church.

Thomas More. Associated with these Oxford men was Thomas More, who rose to a high place in the legal profession and became Cardinal Wolsey's successor in the chancellor's office. The great Dutch scholar Erasmus, who for a brief period taught Greek at Oxford, came to be a close friend of the young lawyer, and this friendship was responsible for More's continued interest in the Greek language, the study of which he had earlier begun at Oxford under Linacre's direction. Two years after Flodden, Thomas More began to write his famous *Utopia*, a work that shows clearly the influence of classical studies and testifies to a close reading of Plato's *Republic*.

In the *Utopia* More outlined the social and political conditions existing in the land of Nowhere which was supposedly located on the "island" visited by the Cabots. The interest of the book lies chiefly in the fact that it brings before us the

great problems that called for solution in the Tudor period. In spite of the keen interest that Henry VII and his advisers had shown in the commercial and the industrial activities of the nation, economic conditions were not satisfactory. England was steadily growing in wealth; but in this prosperity the masses were not permitted to share. Prices were fixed arbitrarily by the merchants who enjoyed practical monopolies, and the cost of living was deemed unreasonably high. At the same time the workingmen were protesting against the laws that fixed maximum wages. Thomas More, as the lone social reformer of the age, worked out solutions for those problems which he embodied in his famous work.

The purpose of humanism. The great purpose of the Oxford reformers was not social but educational: they wished to change radically the methods and subjects of university study. Instead of law and theology they would emphasize literature, more particularly classical literature. This would necessitate the study of the Greek language, and Latin would be viewed as the gateway to the treasures of the ancient literature and not, as in the middle ages, as an aid to theological study. The plans of the reformers met with violent opposition from the friends of the "old learning." If the classics and the other human studies were to take the place of theology, there would soon be a class of educated men who were not churchmen, and the church would lose its monopoly of education. The king would no longer be compelled to choose his chief ministers from among the clergy, and the church would lose much of its influence in the state. The fears of the theologians were well founded: since the time of Wolsey the chief offices of the state have almost without exception been filled by laymen. Cardinal Wolsey was to some extent in sympathy with the humanists and had great plans looking toward larger and better facilities for teaching and study. How far he was willing to go in this direction cannot be known, for he had scarcely more than begun to carry out his humanistic plans when he was drawn into currents which he could not control and which hurried him and his plans to swift destruction.

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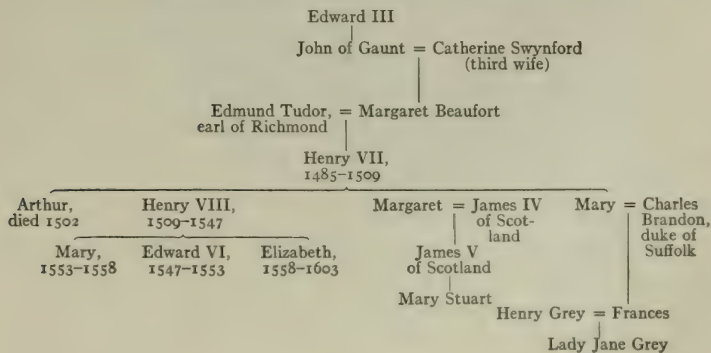
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GENEALOGY OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY



CHAPTER X

THE REVOLT FROM ROME

Great movements of the early modern period. The sixteenth century was an age of great and varied activities extending into many fields. The new popular movements that had begun to take form and to gather strength in the fourteenth and more particularly in the fifteenth century, — in trade and commerce, in learning and education, in social and political life, — were even more evident in the earlier years of the reign of Henry VIII. What form these movements might have taken under the strong and shrewd leadership of the Tudor dynasty cannot be known, for very soon English interests and English energy were drawn into a new field, the Protestant revolt against papal authority.

The higher officials of the church. At the close of the middle ages the English church was divided geographically (as it had been since the seventh century) into two provinces, the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. Of these the province of Canterbury was by far the larger and the more important. His Grace of Canterbury in addition to his exalted position as archbishop enjoyed (and still enjoys) the higher title of "primate of all England," which gives him a vague measure of authority in ecclesiastical affairs everywhere in the kingdom. The dignity carries with it the first and highest place in the English peerage and a rank next to the members of the royal family. Though first of all he is bishop of the diocese of Canterbury, he does not usually reside in the cathedral city; for several centuries his official residence has been at Lambeth Palace just across the Thames from Westminster.

The kingdom was again divided into twenty-one dioceses, eighteen belonging to the province of Canterbury and the remaining three to the province of York. Every diocese has its own bishop, whose duties are varied and quite extensive. In the middle ages he alone (or someone authorized by him)

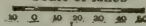
AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.
Showing the dioceses
and some of the leading monasteries.

Note: The Cathedrals at Wells and Coventry were titular only.

LEGEND

- ⚡ Seat of an archbishop
 ⚡ Seat of a bishop
 = Monastery

Scale of Miles





could confirm the children, consecrate new churches, and administer the sacrament of ordination. In addition to a general oversight of the church in spiritual matters, the bishop had important duties on the temporal side: he had the management of extensive endowments attached to his office from which he derived his income; furthermore, he sat in the House of Lords as a spiritual peer and was frequently called upon to assist the king in other official capacities. The bishop also had certain judicial functions in matters affecting the church, but in actual practice suits and cases involving the rules of the church were usually heard and decided by other officials, notably the archdeacon, whose office was usually filled by a lawyer who had mastered the intricacies of canon law.

For purposes of administration each particular diocese was divided into deaneries, each comprising from twenty to forty parishes. The dean assisted the bishop in superintending church affairs in his district. By the close of the middle ages his functions had in part been taken over by the "bishop's eye," the archdeacon; but the bishop still found the rural dean useful in dealing with local problems and affairs of minor importance.

The secular and the regular clergy. The smallest local area that the church would normally recognize was the parish. The diocese and the parish were the most important geographical units in the church, and the priest and the bishop were its two most indispensable officials. Ordinarily each village had its own priest and was reckoned as a parish. But there were many priests who did not have regular parishes: some were connected with monasteries, some assisted in the local church, others were in private chapels called chantries. There was, moreover, a large number of men in lower orders, who had been set apart for the service of the church but had not yet been promoted to the priesthood.

In addition to the parish, or secular, clergy the church recognized a "regular" clergy made up of men and women who belonged to the so-called religious orders, and whose lives were wholly devoted to the profession of religion according to the rules of the order in which they were enrolled. The monastic corporations represented in England included not only the older orders, among which the Benedictine was the chief, but also the newer reformed orders whose rules were much more

rigid than those of Saint Benedict. The mendicant friars (Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites), the Knights of Saint John, and various orders of regular canons also had establishments in England. Some of the monastic institutions were large and wealthy. St. Albans, which was probably the largest monastery in England, had about one hundred inmates, servants not counted. St. Edmundsbury and Glastonbury were also foundations of great size and wealth; it is said that the buildings of the latter at one time covered sixty acres of ground. In the earlier Tudor period there were about 600 religious houses in England giving shelter to 8,000 or more men and women who had taken the vows of the monastic profession.

Relationship of the English church to the Roman see. Whether one regards the English church as that part of the Roman Catholic church which was in England or as the national church of England united with other national churches under the leadership of Rome, it will be agreed that the bonds which united the English establishment to the Roman church were both real and effective. (1) There was a strong sentimental bond, a general feeling of respect for the pope as the head of all Christendom and the chief of the clerical order. (2) There was the papal claim to a spiritual leadership in the church, to which the English had assented since the days of Saint Augustine and which assent was reaffirmed whenever a new bishop sought confirmation at the Roman court or whenever an archbishop sought and received the pallium. (3) Furthermore, the papal curia acted as the supreme court in Christendom in ecclesiastical affairs, and in this capacity heard appeals from the church courts in England as well as from similar courts in other lands. (4) It had long been agreed that the pope, and the pope alone, had the power of dispensing with certain laws of the church in individual cases; and in the middle ages this dispensing power was one of real importance. (5) The papal court also had a measure of financial authority in England, having the right to collect certain ecclesiastical dues owed by the faithful and by the higher officials in the church. (6) Finally the pope had long followed the custom of sending representatives (legates) to the Christian lands that accepted his supremacy, or to assign the legatine functions to a resident prelate, whose duty should be to watch over the interests of the Roman court. At the time

of the Lutheran revolt the legate in England was Thomas Wolsey who was also cardinal, lord chancellor of England, and archbishop of York. The effect of the Protestant revolt in England was to cut these bonds and to repudiate entirely all papal authority in the national church.

Decline of the influence of the church. For more than nine centuries the medieval church had been the most potent single influence in the lives of the English people; but by the close of the middle ages its wonderful strength had weakened on every side. Various causes had combined to achieve this result. The frequent interference on the part of popes and bishops in the affairs of state had come to be resented by the governing classes, especially after the rise of the newer national consciousness. The residence at Avignon during the Babylonian captivity had deprived the papacy for the time of its universal character and had given it a provincial appearance; in England it was regarded as the tool of a faction. The scandal of the Great Schism and the controversy between the popes and the church councils in the first half of the fifteenth century had further lessened the respect for Rome in the minds of thoughtful men. Then followed a series of "Renaissance" popes, whose ideals were often low, whose morals were in some cases questionable, and whose policies were not wholly acceptable to the church at large. When one of these, the ease-loving Medicean, Leo X, sent out his officials to preach the doctrine of indulgence with a view to securing funds for the building of St. Peter's Church in Rome, the Germans rose in protest under the vigorous leadership of Martin Luther.

Grievances against the clergy. For several centuries England had at intervals offered protest and even resistance to the demands of the papal office: one needs only to recall the opposition of Grosseteste to the provisor system, the resistance of Edward I to the edict of Boniface VIII, the statutes of provisors and *praemunire*, and the agitation of John Wycliffe. But in 1517, when Luther threw down the gauntlet to the Roman power, England had no particular grievance that would justify revolt from the authority of the Roman see. Against the clerical order in their own country, however, the English people felt that they had many real grievances; for the churchmen, like other Englishmen of the Tudor period, were eager for

money; with almost every important religious act or ceremony some fee was associated; and these dues were often collected by priests (and other churchmen) whose lives were not suggestive of holiness or even of ordinary piety.

As all these religious acts were the expressions of some important religious doctrine, the custom of associating their actual performance with a fee did much to discredit the beliefs themselves. Before the Reformation movement closed, several of the more important of these dogmas had been rejected by the English church.

1. According to the laws of the church it was the duty of every adult Catholic to seek the confessional at least once every year, there to receive forgiveness for all the sins confessed. When the confessor extended this forgiveness (absolution) he would order the penitent to perform some specific act which would in part atone for the temporal consequences of the sin; for sins also have their punishment in this world. This was called penance and might consist in fasting, pilgrimages, or some work that would call for sacrifice or self-denial, at the same time showing real sorrow for sin. But in Tudor times there were many easy-going priests who would allow the wealthy to pay money, in the form of alms or for kindred purposes, as an equivalent for the prescribed act of penance; to many honest Christians this seemed to be no penance whatever.

2. The laws of the church with respect to fasting and other matters pertaining to personal conduct were also made a source of revenue. It was possible for one who did not enjoy a fish diet in Lent, or who wished to marry a cousin, to have the law set aside in his particular case. The power to grant such a privilege belonged to the pope as ruler of the entire church. Papal dispensations were always expensive.

3. A common and popular form of penance was a pilgrimage to some holy place, like the shrine of Saint Thomas at Canterbury, or the holy places on the Continent. To the pilgrimage itself there was little objection; but every pilgrim felt it his duty to bring some gift to the shrine that he visited. Thus there was a steady stream of gold and silver flowing toward certain favored centers in the church, and to this fact the average Englishman had strong objections.

4. The demands of papal taxation had long been a national

grievance. In one way or another a great deal of English gold found its way to Rome. The two most prominent forms of taxation were Peter's pence and annates or first fruits. The Peter's penny was a tribute, originally a silver penny, from every family in England except the very poorest. The annates had some resemblance to feudal relief and were due from certain church officials before they could enter upon the duties of their offices. No bishop-elect, for instance, could be consecrated before his election had been confirmed by the pope, and for the bulls of confirmation he paid into the papal treasury all the income from his office for the first year. It is estimated that the English tribute in the form of annates amounted to about £3000 each year.

5. The granting of indulgences was another important source of revenue for the Roman treasury. It was believed that very few Christians escaped the pains of purgatory after death; but it was also held that the living could help and bring relief to the souls undergoing purgation by having masses and prayers said for their souls and by securing indulgences for them. An indulgence is the remission, in whole or in part, of the temporal punishment due to sin after the sin itself has been forgiven. By temporal punishment is understood punishment that lasts for a time only, either in the form of trials and sufferings on this earth or in purgatory. Indulgences were not sold but were frequently granted in recognition of some meritorious act, such as building a church, endowing a hospital, or organizing a crusade against the infidel. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it frequently happened that the officials who were sent out to preach indulgence placed too much emphasis on the money side of the transaction and too little on the more important consideration of spiritual repentance. In this way false notions as to the efficacy of indulgences became current among the faithful, and the transaction came to look very much like an outright sale. But the church had never sanctioned such dealings, and in 1567 Pius V canceled all grants of indulgence involving fees or other monetary considerations.

6. It was also felt quite generally that too many fines for slight or even trivial offenses were assessed in the church courts and that the parish priests were often ruthless in collecting fees from the very poor. The fact that many of the high of-

ficials of the church lived in ease and luxury and that the monks and friars spent their days in apparent idleness did much to strengthen the growing dissatisfaction with the church. There was, moreover, much open criticism of the lives of the English clergy which for a century past had been anything but ideal. In this respect, however, the clergy was nearly representative of the entire nation: it seems likely that personal morals in England in high and low places stood on a lower plane in the fifteenth century than at any other time in the history of Britain since the adoption of Christianity.

The Cambridge reformers. The English revolt from Rome, like the parallel movement in Germany, had its beginnings in popular agitation. How far a movement of this character could have succeeded without support from the government cannot be known, but it had a real importance, for when Henry VIII took up the fight in 1529, much had already been done to prepare the nation for the events that swiftly followed.

The Lutheran teachings found their readiest acceptance at the University of Cambridge, where Thomas Bilney, a young devout priest, was the first conspicuous adherent to the new movement. Bilney preached vigorously against pilgrimages, the evil conduct of the clergy, the reverence shown to images, and the invocation of the saints; but in the essential teachings of the church he continued to be an orthodox believer. He is chiefly important for having won a number of Cambridge men to his views, among whom was the famous Hugh Latimer, one of the most effective preachers of the day. Nicholas Ridley, another great Protestant leader, got his impressions of Lutheranism during the same year, as did Thomas Cranmer, who a decade later became the first Protestant archbishop and in a sense the builder of the Anglican church. All these men found death at the stake, Bilney in 1531 after having twice renounced his heretical beliefs, the others twenty-five years afterwards in the days of Mary Tudor. The order for Bilney's execution was secured from the lord chancellor, the gentle and tolerant Thomas More, who himself suffered death for conscience a few years later.

William Tyndale. The most aggressive opponent of the church in the earlier years of the Reformation movement in Great Britain was William Tyndale, a young churchman from Gloucestershire, who did more than any one else to prepare the

English mind for secession from Rome. Tyndale was deeply interested in religious subjects and was an enthusiastic student of the Greek language. Soon after Martin Luther had begun his German translation of the New Testament, Tyndale formed a resolution to turn the Bible into English. He first attempted to interest the bishop of London in his plans, but failing in this he found it advisable to withdraw to the Continent and completed his translations there. Tyndale provided the various Biblical books with notes and prefaces in which he developed the views of the German reformers. He also wrote a number of controversial tracts which found their way into every part of England and were widely read.

Tyndale's version of the New Testament came from the press in 1525, the same year that saw the beginning of anti-clerical preaching at Cambridge by Bilney and his associates. Copies were smuggled into England the following year. The new version met with immediate hostility from the rulers of the English church, not so much because it was a translation of the Scriptures as because it was unauthorized and was provided with "prefaces and other pestilent glosses." Tyndale's writings were very effective: in 1525 a strong popular current was moving in the direction of church reform. For a period of four years the English people read and discussed the writings of the English exile and learned the watchwords of Protestantism. But thus far no great leader had appeared, and no means had been found to give the movement a definite form. Tyndale himself was hunted from city to city, and after ten years of labor for reform he was imprisoned in the Netherlands and finally executed on the order of Charles V.

Henry VIII among the reformers. Then it happened that in 1529 and the following years a series of events occurred which gave the new movement both energy, leadership, and direction. Henry VIII, who had thus far shown no sympathy for Luther and Tyndale, found it expedient to follow the lead of the German princes and abolish papal authority in England. During the decade of 1531 to 1540 a double current runs through the history of the English church: on the surface appear the signs of Parliamentary activity in a series of notable statutes chiefly directed at the government of the church; underneath the surface the popular movement was running with constantly growing

force in the direction of reform in doctrine and worship. For a time the two movements followed the same course: the reformers assisted the government by developing public sentiment in favor of change; at the same time the government was proving useful to the reformers as an effective means of translating their ideas into law.

Henry's quarrel with the church, unlike that of Martin Luther, did not grow out of any differences as to morals or doctrine: it was a question of authority, of power, of supremacy in the English church. Henry VIII had, indeed, always claimed supremacy for the crown in ecclesiastical as well as in secular affairs. But before 1527 this claim had no particular importance: it was scarcely more than a theoretical assertion. In that year, however, a difficulty arose which altered the situation completely: the occasion was the king's divorce.

The king's marriage. The death of Henry's older brother Arthur (in 1502) had left the young Princess Catherine a widow after a marriage of a few months only. Catherine's status at the English court now became an interesting problem. The kings of Spain and England both had good reasons for wishing to continue the family alliance. Catherine's dowry had been paid in part only. Henry VII was afraid that if Catherine returned to Aragon the remainder would never be paid, while Ferdinand who had already paid 100,000 crowns had well-founded fears that the money would never be refunded. The Spanish government also feared that the English king would enter into closer relations with the French court, a move which would seriously disturb the balance of power in Europe.

After more than a year of diplomatic haggling it was agreed that the Princess Catherine should marry her brother-in-law Henry, an active and intelligent young prince who had reached the age of twelve years. Since the laws of the church forbade a union of this sort, it was necessary to secure a dispensation from the pope; and on the urgent request of Queen Isabella, who lay on her death bed, Julius II formally agreed to issue the license. There seems to have been some expressions of doubt at the time as to the validity of a dispensation in this case, since marriage with a sister-in-law was thought to be forbidden by the Mosaic law. The obstacle that Pope Julius had promised to remove might, therefore, be considered a divine

ordinance; and the church had never claimed authority to dispense with divine law. But these doubts did not prevent the marriage, and the legality of the dispensation was not seriously questioned before 1527, when Catherine had been Henry's wife and queen for eighteen years.

Anne Boleyn. Five years before this, Anne Boleyn, a young girl of sixteen summers, had come to court and had attracted the king's attention. Henry's interest soon grew into infatuation and he determined to marry the dark-eyed maiden. But before he could do this he would have to get his marriage to Catherine declared null and void. What Henry wanted was, therefore, not a divorce but a papal decree to the effect that his supposed marriage had always been illegal and that he was consequently not a married man. Wolsey was ordered to secure such a decree and proceeded to the task, though with some natural show of reluctance.

Clement VII and Henry's demand. Clement VII was pope at the time. He was a weak man and would probably not have scrupled to grant Henry's request had he been free to do so. The European situation was such, however, that it seemed equally dangerous to grant and to refuse. Germany was in revolt against the Roman see, and Lutheran ideas were spreading into the Scandinavian North. Charles V, Catherine's nephew, who was king of Spain and German emperor, had ambitions to extend his authority on the Italian peninsula where he already had extensive dominions. Henry VIII and Francis I, the king of France, were allied against him. Consequently, Charles was the pope's enemy, while Henry VIII might be counted among his active friends. The year that brought Henry's urgent request to Rome also brought Charles's forces to the papal city; Rome was sacked by the imperial (German) troops and Clement was made a prisoner. Situated as he was, the pope naturally found it difficult to choose between Charles and Henry, for a prisoner is not wholly a free agent. If he should refuse to grant the petition of the English king, England might be lost to the Roman church. On the other hand, to annul Catherine's marriage would offend Charles, who was the nearer and more dangerous enemy. There was, therefore, nothing to do but to delay the decision and in this Clement succeeded for two years.

In 1528 Stephen Gardiner, Wolsey's secretary, who was now in charge of the king's business at the papal court, had induced Clement to permit Henry's case to be heard and tried by a legatine court in England. Cardinal Campeggio, an old Italian lawyer, was appointed presiding judge of this court with Cardinal Wolsey as his chief associate. A year passed before the new judicial machinery was set in motion; and after the court had actually been organized it proceeded at a pace that seems to have been purposely slow. To Henry and Anne Boleyn the legatine tribunal proved a grievous disappointment. Before it could conclude its hearings the pope had made peace with Charles V. And suddenly England learned that Clement had revoked the powers of the legates and had ordered the entire case to be transferred to Rome.

The fall of Wolsey. As this practically amounted to a decision in the queen's favor, the impatient husband became furious and his wrath struck Wolsey, the minister and diplomat who had failed to secure what the king's heart so keenly desired. A few months after the new orders had come from Rome the cardinal was deprived of his secular offices and ordered to return to his cathedral at York. For a year the worldly statesman strove to act the part of a devoted and efficient churchman; but his old habits still controlled him and he was tempted to enter into secret communication with the king of France. The correspondence was discovered and Wolsey was summoned to London to answer to the charge of high treason. Overtaken by illness on the way, he sought refuge with the monks of Leicester Abbey where he died (1530).

The new ministers. After Wolsey's retirement the powers that he had wielded in various official capacities were distributed among several counsellors and ministers. The chief guidance of the state Henry took into his own hands, and the lover of pleasure and adulation was soon transformed into a strong and effective political leader. Stephen Gardiner became the king's secretary and confidential agent. The chancellorship was given to Thomas More, the high-minded English lawyer who has been referred to above as a leading humanist and the author of *Utopia*. In matters relating to the English church King Henry very soon began to listen to the advice of Thomas Cranmer, the Cambridge scholar, who sympathized strongly with the anti-

clerical movement. A little later in the reign the king discovered another agent in Thomas Cromwell, a strong, ruthless, worldly-minded layman, who assisted Henry on the administrative side of the church government. Of these four all but Thomas More were in agreement with Henry VIII in hostility to Roman control of the Anglican church.

The king's challenge. The transfer of the legatine court to Rome was a denial of national sovereignty which the English people were quick to resent. The thought, that their much admired ruler should have to appear in person or by attorney as a litigant before a foreign law court, was one that the governing classes refused to entertain for a moment. Nearly two centuries earlier all appeals to the papal court had been forbidden by the statutes of *praemunire*, and these had never been repealed. The present case was clearly a violation of the spirit of this legislation, the purpose of which was to secure a final decision of all suits in English courts. Henry's reply to the papal command was an order for Parliamentary elections. There is no evidence that any attempt was made by the king's government to influence the electorate; at the moment compulsion or persuasion was unnecessary, as the indignation of the ruling classes was sure to lead to the choice of anti-clerical members. When the new Parliament met, it was found that on matters affecting the church the majority of the Commons were in hearty accord with the king and willing to follow his lead.

The challenge was well-timed. In attacking the papal claims to authority and supremacy in the year 1529, Henry displayed no extraordinary courage, — only vigor, shrewdness, and decision. The cause of Rome was losing everywhere in the Teutonic lands. Three years earlier the Germans had accepted the principle that every prince had a right to determine the religion of his own lands and subjects. Two years before, Sweden had seceded from Rome and had established a national church. Denmark was rapidly moving away from Catholicism; in 1527 the Danish government had recognized Lutheranism as on an equal footing with Catholicism. The outlook was dark for Clement VII and the Roman see. With papal authority crumbling north of the Alps, it seemed quite likely that a vigorous threat to repudiate Roman authority in the English church would force the lawyers of the curia to decide speedily according to the king's request.

The Reformation Parliament. The Reformation Parliament was perhaps the most important legislative body that England had thus far seen. It legislated for seven years and in a series of bold enactments carried through a successful revolution which has mightily affected the later history of the state as well as the church. Most of its work was done during the two strenuous years 1533-1534. It was the statutes of these two years that destroyed the authority of the Holy See in England and placed the Anglican church on a national, anti-Roman basis.

An appeal to the universities. Soon after the temper of the new Parliament had become evident, two suggestions came to the king on both of which he proceeded to act. Thomas Cranmer proposed that, since the validity of Henry's marriage to Catherine was really a matter of canon law, it might properly be referred for settlement to the universities where canon law was taught. Two questions were accordingly formulated and submitted to the theological faculties of the various European universities: (1) Was Henry's marriage to Catherine in itself a permissible union before the pope granted the dispensation? (2) Can a papal dispensation set aside a divine law? It is believed that both Henry VIII and Charles V made successful attempts to bribe the learned theologians; at any rate the decisions show much disagreement. Oxford and Cambridge supported Henry's contention that he had never been legally married, as did Paris, Bologna, and other universities in France and Italy, while those of Spain and Germany held that the marriage was unquestionably legal. The same year a letter signed by the peers of England, lords, bishops, and abbots, was sent to Rome, in which they argued strongly against the validity of the king's marriage and urged the pope to annul the same without further delay.

Submission of the clergy. 1531. The other suggestion came from Thomas Cromwell and went to the root of the whole difficulty. The real trouble, he declared, lay with the papal supremacy: if this were abolished the king's suit might be tried and definitely settled in the English courts. There was no doubt, argued Cromwell, that within the boundaries of the English kingdom the king had ultimate authority in all matters both secular and religious. If the pope exercised any control in the English church, it was merely because Henry permitted him

to do so; but this permission the king could withdraw at any time.

To become the recognized head of the church the king must first of all secure the unqualified allegiance of the higher churchmen, particularly the bishops. The English prelates, in submitting to the authority of Wolsey as the pope's legate, had technically violated the Statute of Praemunire, an act nearly two centuries old and long ago fallen into disuse. This law was now dug up and the clergy threatened with its penalties. Realizing the danger of their situation, the bishops, assembled in solemn Convocation, confessed that they had violated the law, craved the king's pardon, and voted a heavy contribution to the royal treasury, £100,000 for Canterbury and £18,000 for York. The Canterbury Convocation acknowledged the king to be the "singular protector, the only supreme lord, and, so far as the law of Christ allows, even the supreme head" of the Anglican church. The gift was represented as wholly spontaneous and given in recognition of Henry's great services to the church, especially certain earlier writings against the Lutheran heresies. The following year this "submission" was given practical force by a promise on the part of Convocation to draw up and enact no canons, or laws, for the church and to hold no more sessions except when expressly permitted by the king. The rulers of the church thus meekly resigned their authority in the church at large and rendered impossible any form of united resistance to the king's will.

Archbishop Cranmer. 1533. Later in the same year the death of the aged Archbishop Warham further strengthened the king's control of the national church. Incidentally it also provided an opportunity for a final decision in the king's suit against Catherine in an English court. Though the pope seemed unwilling still to accede to Henry's request, perhaps his authority might be used indirectly to promote the desired result. On the king's command Thomas Cranmer, who at the time was absent on the Continent in the interest of the king's "affair," was elected archbishop of Canterbury. The desperate situation of the papacy is shown by the fact that the Roman curia promptly confirmed the election of a man who was strongly suspected of holding heretical opinions, and sent the necessary bulls of confirmation (eleven, all told) in spite of the fact that Parliament

the year before by a "Conditional Act of Annates" had reduced the fee for such confirmation from the first year's income from the office (10,000 marks in this case) to five percent of the same.

The Act of Appeals. April 7, 1533. With the appointment of Cranmer the revolt began. The head of the English church now joined with the head of the English state in an effort to destroy every vestige of Roman authority in the kingdom. The bulls confirming Cranmer's appointment had scarcely reached England when Parliament passed an Act of Appeals forbidding appeals to the Roman curia and providing that all English suits should be terminated in English courts. Four days later the new archbishop, who was honestly convinced that Henry's marriage was illegal, humbly requested permission to take up the king's "great cause of matrimony, because so much bruit exists among the common people on the subject." The king graciously consenting, a court was organized, which after a hearing of two weeks declared unanimously in Henry's favor. About four months earlier Henry and Anne had been privately married; this marriage was now confirmed.

English opinion on the king's suit. Every authority in the kingdom that might be expected to speak on the matter of the king's "great cause of matrimony" had now spoken, and all to the same effect. The English universities had upheld Cranmer's view as to the ineffectiveness of the papal dispensation. The peers of England in a petition to the Roman curia had argued strongly against the validity of the king's marriage to Catherine. In 1533 both Convocations concurred in Cranmer's opinion, Bishop Fisher alone showing real opposition. Parliament in passing the Act of Appeals provided a legal basis for the archbishop's court. Still, it would not be correct to say that the governing classes were a unit in favor of Henry's contention. Many Englishmen gave their votes with reluctance and only because they believed with the aged and timid Warham that "the anger of a prince is death."

On the other hand, the persecuted queen had very few devoted partisans. She was not famous for tact and no doubt alienated some support by giving the court to understand that she regarded herself in a certain sense as King Ferdinand's special representative in England. A few weeks after her marriage to Henry she wrote to her father in these terms: "The

news from here is that those kingdoms of Your Highness [England and Ireland] are in great peace and entertain much love toward the king, my lord, and to me." Among the common people the queen's cause had a certain popularity, due in part to sympathy for a woman who was grievously wronged, but in greater part, it is believed, to a fear that the formal annulment of the king's marriage would lead to war with Charles V, to heavy taxation, and to the destruction of the trade with the Netherlands on which English prosperity still in great measure depended.

Anti-papal legislation. The following year Parliament continued the work of secession by enacting four statutes of wide import and far-reaching consequences: (1) an Ecclesiastical Appointments Act which deprived the papacy of all control over the selection of English prelates; (2) the so-called Statutory Submission of the Clergy which completely subordinated the church to the state; (3) an act forbidding papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's pence, by which the last traces of papal taxation in England were swept away; (4) an Act of Supremacy which declared the king to be "the only supreme head on earth of the English church." These four statutes with the earlier Act of Appeals cut practically every bond that had hitherto joined the English church to the Roman see. Parliament also passed an Act of Succession which, though it had no direct ecclesiastical bearing, served to give emphasis to the work that was just being completed. Excepting the Act of Supremacy, which came toward the close of the year, all these statutes received the royal assent in March, 1534.

Ecclesiastical appointments. The Ecclesiastical Appointments Act, also called the Second Act of Annates, abolished what remained of the custom of contributing the first fruits to the Roman see and gave the crown a more complete control of episcopal appointments. The cathedral chapters, whose right to elect bishops had been theoretically recognized for at least four hundred years, were allowed to retain this privilege; but they were now expressly forbidden to elect without a license from the king (*congé d'élire*). The law further provided that this license should be accompanied by another document called a "letter missive" containing the name of the candidate whom the chapter was instructed to choose. If the chapter delayed more than twelve

days in making the selection formal, the king might proceed with the appointment and the defaulting chapter became subject to penalties. The action of the chapter was thus reduced to a mere formality.

The Statutory Submission of the Clergy. By the Statutory Submission of the Clergy the promises made by the clerical order in Convocation two years earlier were enacted into law and thus became irrevocable. This statute still remains an important part of the constitution of the English church. The archbishop still summons Convocation, but only when permitted or ordered to do so by the crown. When assembled the membership may deliberate on any subject whatever, but can enact no canon or take any other action that would bind the church, except when expressly authorized to do so by the government. Any form of independent action on the part of the church has consequently become impossible.

The same act further contained an important amendment to the Act of Appeals of the year before. The amended statute allowed an appeal from the archbishop's court to a special tribunal of Delegates, as they came to be called, which derived its authority from the chancery court. Though essentially a secular tribunal, this court was not necessarily under the king's influence. The court of delegates continued to act in ecclesiastical causes till 1832 when it was abolished and its functions were transferred to the Privy Council. The following year a new tribunal was established, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which hears appeals in ecclesiastical disputes and also acts as a sort of supreme court for the British Empire.

Papal taxation abolished. The statute that abolished Peter's pence also did away with the granting of indulgences and with the practice of securing papal dispensations. But dispensations were not wholly abolished: under certain conditions they might be granted by the archbishop of Canterbury. On the occasion of his third marriage, Henry, being distantly related to the new queen, found it necessary to secure a special license from Archbishop Cranmer under the terms of this act. On the whole, however, it may be stated that dispensations in the mediæval sense have never been granted in England since the separation from Rome.

The royal supremacy and the Act of Succession. The su-

premacv of the crown was virtually asserted in all these laws, but more specifically in the Act of Supremacy which assigned to the king all the power and authority formerly exercised by the bishop of Rome. In this statute Henry was declared the head of the English church on the spiritual as well as on the secular side. As such he was to enjoy complete authority to visit churches, to remove abuses, to correct errors, and to uproot heresies. The bishops accepted the new order, renounced the pope, and took the required oaths to the king as supreme lord of the church. By Christmas, 1534, the revolt from Rome was completed.

On March 23 of the same year Clement VII, after seven years of delay, had finally published his decision in Henry's suit, affirming that his marriage to Catherine was legal and valid in every respect. On the same day Parliament was discussing a bill of totally different import, an Act of Succession, which was passed a few days later. This confirmed the decision of Cranmer's court and declared the infant Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter, heiress apparent to the English throne. An oath was required of all to support the provisions of the new statute. In a few cases only was the oath refused. But there were Englishmen who, though willing to accept the Princess Elizabeth, were unwilling to swear that they believed Catherine's marriage to have been illegal. Among these were the former lord chancellor, Thomas More, and the aged Bishop Fisher of Rochester. Both were sent to the Tower; a year later they were both beheaded.

An English Catholic Church. When the year 1534 closed there were at least three churches in Europe that claimed to maintain Catholic standards. The English church had taken a place alongside the Greek Orthodox church, both repudiating the supremacy of the Roman bishop, though holding firmly to the essentials of Catholic faith and worship. So far as doctrine and ritual were concerned scarcely any changes had been made; the worship in the English churches continued as before in the Latin language and according to the customary forms. All the church officials retained their respective offices. The pope had indeed been repudiated, but a new pope had been created in the person of the English king.

The "lord vicegerent" and the problem of the monasteries. To carry out the many duties of his new office the pope-king

needed an efficient assistant; such a one he found in Thomas Cromwell, whom he appointed, a few months after the Act of Supremacy was passed, to exercise authority as "lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes." Cromwell's office being administrative, he was not concerned with spiritual matters, and consequently did not encroach on the enlarged sphere of Archbishop Cranmer. Thomas Cromwell was a man of extensive learning and possessed considerable abilities of a practical sort. He understood the king's purposes and suited his actions accordingly. The first important move of the new vicegerent was to inspect the English monasteries. Henry and Cromwell saw clearly that these institutions were a menace to the new régime. Though the abbots and priors seemed tractable and obedient, it was not likely that they approved of the violent acts which had terminated papal authority. It was feared that their influence with the people of the country surrounding the monasteries might lead to widespread unrest, perhaps to rebellion. In addition there was the fact that these institutions possessed numerous and extensive estates which the English aristocracy had long viewed with covetous eyes.

The suppression of the monasteries. The visitations began in 1535 and continued for several months with the result that sufficient evidence of corruption was found, it was asserted, to warrant drastic action. Accordingly, Parliament in the spring of 1536 suppressed the smaller houses, 376 in number, and gave all their possessions to the king. The larger monasteries, those having an annual income of £200 or more, were permitted to continue their existence a few years longer. But the suppression of the smaller houses seems to have produced a panic in the English monastic world. One after another the larger monasteries surrendered their possessions and disbanded. The Pilgrimage of Grace, an uprising in the northern counties in behalf of the monasteries and the old order generally (1536), was also a serious factor in the movement for dissolution, in that it gave Henry and Cromwell a pretext for renewing the persecution of the monastic foundations. In 1539 Parliament added the possessions of all such disbanded houses to the domain of the crown. The following year monasticism disappeared from England. Nearly six hundred institutions harboring more than 8,000 monks and nuns had ceased to exist.

Thus large sums were added to the income of the unthrifty king, but it was not long before the greater part of this wealth had passed into other hands. The spoils were disposed of in various ways. They were used to endow university professorships, to establish schools and to build colleges, to improve fortifications, especially along the Channel shore, to pension homeless monks and nuns, and to finance a new aristocracy. The suppression of the greater abbeys reduced materially the membership of the House of Lords, since the abbot's office now became extinct; but the places of the mitred abbots were taken by members of a new nobility of Henry's own creation to whom he transferred large areas of monastic lands, for the most of which he exacted a satisfactory price. In this way Henry was able to tighten his control of the House of Lords.

It is impossible to approve either the purposes or the methods of Henry and Cromwell; at the same time it is possible to be too sympathetic toward the monastic system of the sixteenth century. Its old usefulness in the field of culture was passing away; modern civilization has provided agencies that perform the social service of the convents and monasteries far more effectively than most of these institutions were ever able to perform them. Nor does there seem to have been either spirit or energy left in the religious houses. Many of the younger monks appear to have lost faith in the ascetic life and were anxious to be released from their vows. Moreover, Protestant ideas had struck root in some of the monasteries, and in such houses the dissension on religious matters was so great that the abbots were glad to dissolve the communities. A few of the chiefs heroically refused to stifle their consciences and found death in martyrdom; but the vast majority meekly submitted. It seems that those who suffered death were executed, some for refusing to accept the principle of the Act of Supremacy, others for refusing to deny the legality of the king's marriage to Catherine, and still others for suggesting resistance to Cromwell's methods in dealing with the monastic establishments.

The English Bible in the churches. In the suppression of the monasteries England took a second long step in the direction of Protestantism. A third was taken during the same period when the king authorized the use of the English Bible in the churches. In 1537 the so-called Matthew's Bible appeared in the English

book stalls, the king having graciously permitted the sale and distribution of the work. The new Bible was virtually the old version prepared by Tyndale, who had suffered martyrdom the year before. In 1538 the authorities commanded that a Bible of the largest size obtainable be placed in every parish church. Cranmer was evidently anxious to have the Bible read not only by the clergy but also by those of the parishioners who might wish to use the book in the church building. The king agreed, it seems, chiefly because he thought the Bible might prove useful in his conflict with the papacy.

Agitation for doctrinal reform. The Six Articles. 1539. At this point the two currents of reform, the constitutional and the doctrinal, came into open collision. The agitation begun by Bilney and Tyndale had continued with increasing strength and success. At first the questions in debate were of secondary importance: the use of relics, the efficacy of pilgrimages, the worth of the monastic life, and the doctrine of purgatory. But soon the nature of the Eucharist came up for discussion, and here was a dogma upon which a large part of the Catholic doctrinal system rested. It was furthermore a question of wide interest, as it involved the doctrine of the mass and the entire system of public worship. In abolishing the papal supremacy, in dissolving the monasteries, and in permitting the reading of the Scriptures in the churches, Henry had acted in harmony with the doctrinal reformers. But he would go no further. In 1539 he informed Parliament that differences in doctrinal opinions ought to be endured no longer and asked for a statute covering the questions in dispute. The outcome was the passage of the so-called Six Articles Act, "an act to abolish diversity of opinions," drawn up according to royal instructions by Stephen Gardiner. In these articles the Catholic position on the Eucharist, clerical celibacy, and auricular confession was stated and affirmed. The practice of saying private masses for the souls of the departed was approved. The demand of the reformers for communion in both kinds, the wine and the wafer, was refused as not being necessary to salvation, and the church was authorized to continue the older practice of giving only the host to the laity. It was further enacted that the monks, friars, and nuns, whose religious homes were now practically all closed, should continue the celibate life according to their earlier vows.

All who denied the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist were to be burned; for a second violation of any of the other five articles the penalty prescribed was death. The Six Articles were law during the remainder of Henry's reign, but they were never strictly enforced.

The effect of the revolt on the international situation. The interest of the English king in the Six Articles was political rather than doctrinal. He had piloted the state through a great revolution with astonishing success; but he soon discovered that it might be difficult to maintain the new establishment. The separation from Rome left England without a single friend of real consequence in all Europe. Francis I had supported Henry VIII all through his long conflict with Clement VII, but when Parliament renounced the authority of the Roman bishop, Francis renounced his friendship for the English king. James V of Scotland was in alliance with France and was a zealous believer in the old order. The events of the English revolt had intensified the hostility of Charles V without gaining the friendship of the Lutheran princes in Germany. Paul III, a man of strength and vigor who ascended the papal throne in 1534, was anxious to unite the Catholic forces in a war on the great English heretic. But for some time Charles and Francis continued as hostile rivals in Italy and elsewhere, and so long as this hostility existed Henry VIII was in no real danger.

Henry's third marriage: Jane Seymour. 1536. Early in 1536 Queen Catherine died. "God be praised," exclaimed Henry when he heard the news, "we are free from all suspicion of war." Four months later her rival, Anne Boleyn, was brought to trial under charges of gross misconduct and sent to the scaffold. After ten days the king took a third wife, Jane Seymour, who the following year bore him a son, the king's first legitimate male offspring. Twelve days later the young mother died and Henry now remained unmarried for two whole years.

Henry VIII excommunicated. These events in the royal household were not without influence on the international situation. After the death of Catherine and the execution of Anne Boleyn, Charles V lost interest in hostile designs on England. But in 1538 he made up his quarrel with Francis I and England was threatened with invasion. The pope, Paul III, who had been instrumental in bringing Francis and the emperor together,

now published a bull formally excommunicating the heretic king of England and forbidding the faithful to render him any form of obedience. The situation began to look perilous to the English court.

Cromwell and the German Protestants. Anne of Cleves. To meet the new danger two policies were proposed, both of which were adopted. The conservative leaders at court urged the king to reaffirm the Catholic doctrine on the more important questions in dispute and in that way give notice to Christendom that England was still faithful to Catholic standards. The result was the Six Articles Act referred to above, which, though vigorously opposed by Cranmer and the men of the "new learning," was finally accepted. Thomas Cromwell also opposed this act on the ground that it was reactionary. He had long urged the king to enter into an alliance with the Protestant princes in Germany, a policy which would unavoidably force the English kingdom farther along the road toward Protestantism. When it began to appear that the Six Articles Act was not likely to disarm opposition on the Continent, Cromwell renewed the suggestion of a Protestant alliance, which might be further strengthened by the marriage of the English sovereign to some German Protestant princess. For this honor Cromwell selected Anne of Cleves, a daughter of the duke of Cleves, who ruled over a tiny state in the lower Rhine country not far from the Dutch frontier. An alliance with Cleves could bring no strength to Henry's cause, but as Anne's older sister was married to the elector of Saxony, the proposed union would bring him into close association with the leader and chief of the Lutheran princes in the empire.

Henry agreed to Cromwell's arrangements; but when the bride arrived she proved a bitter disappointment. Though a wedding ceremony was performed according to promise, this, the fourth marriage of Henry VIII, seems to have been merely a nominal one. Queen Anne was allowed to remain in England, was handsomely provided for, and seems to have enjoyed the friendship of Henry's two later consorts. Cromwell's failure to secure an attractive bride for his master proved his undoing. His Protestant leanings and his foreign policy were offensive to a strong party in England, the leaders of which made good use of the king's resentment. In June, 1540, Cromwell was sent to the

Tower on charges of heresy and treason. A bill of attainder was rushed through Parliament, and Thomas Cromwell was executed without a trial.

The Irish Pale in the sixteenth century. During the last seven years of Henry's life the interest turns to affairs and places beyond the borders of England. One of the most troublesome problems that the king had to deal with was Ireland. Though the English king was lord of Ireland, his authority was still practically limited to the Pale, which by this time had shrunk to an area of scarcely more than one thousand square miles to the north and west of Dublin. The Irish Pale had its own Parliament, but this body did not have entire freedom of action, inasmuch as it had agreed, in what is known as Poyning's Law (1494), to take no action that the English Privy Council had not approved beforehand. Efforts to extend the control of the Dublin Parliament to other parts of the island had met with stubborn opposition. During the decade of the Protestant revolt and the dissolution of the monasteries, Ireland was in an almost continuous state of rebellion. The resistance was led by the Geraldines, an important noble family descended from Robert Fitzgerald, who was among the first Norman-English barons to invade Ireland in the days of Henry II. But the uprising was not general and was finally put down.

Into this political turmoil was now injected the problem of royal authority in the church. In 1536 the Parliament of the Irish Pale, following the example of the English Parliament, passed an Act of Supremacy for Ireland. As in England this was followed by an attack on the monastic establishments and about 400 such institutions were suppressed. The monastic lands were in large measure distributed among the friends and followers of English royalty to the great displeasure of the Irish chieftains.

Henry VIII, king of Ireland. 1541. In 1541 the lord lieutenant summoned a Parliament to which he invited not only the Anglo-Irish peers but also the native Celtic chiefs, who now sat in a Parliament for the first time. Of this body Henry VIII asked and received a new title, king of Ireland. The earlier title, lord of Ireland, had become objectionable in that it recalled the fact that Ireland had originally been given to the English king by the pope who presumably retained suzerain

rights. In return for the new crown King Henry awarded English titles to a number of Irish chiefs. Thus the head of the O'Briens was no longer "The O'Brien" but earl of Thomond. The rebel chieftains O'Neill and O'Donnell also eventually accepted English titles and became respectively earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell. When the native Irish learned that their leaders had accepted foreign titles there was immediate rebellion in some of the clans; but the movement to depose the old chiefs in favor of more loyal Irishmen seems to have failed. The practical result of the proceedings of 1541 was to extend the authority of the Irish Parliament and the English Privy Council to all parts of the island. At the same time the changes intensified the feelings of the clansmen against everything that was English, especially the new constitution of the Irish church.

Renewed war with Scotland: Solway Moss. 1542. Trouble was also gathering across the northern border. King James of Scotland was in close alliance with the Catholic bishops of his kingdom and on their instigation he assumed a threatening attitude toward his aggressive English uncle. After ten years of smouldering hostility actual war broke out on the border. An English force was sent to raid the southern counties of Scotland, and in return James V determined to invade England. He marched his army southward into Cumberland, but, being forced to retreat, his forces became involved in the marshes of Solway Moss where an English army attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. The broken-hearted Scottish king dragged his weary body back to the edge of the Highlands, where he died before the close of the year. The throne went to an infant daughter who had been born a few days before her father's death, — Mary Stuart.

Mary Stuart. The birth of the Stuart princess awakened new aspirations at the English court. A marriage was proposed between the infant Mary and Henry's son Edward who was now about six years old. The Scottish nobility agreed to this but refused to accept any terms that seemed to endanger the sovereignty and independence of their country. Henry was much displeased with this attitude and allowed the border raids to continue. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager of Scotland, could not seriously consider a marriage for her daughter with a heretic prince; and soon the Scottish regency began to negotiate a

marriage alliance at the French court (1543). Henry now joined his old enemy Charles V in a war on the French. There were military operations in both France and Scotland: Boulogne was taken by the English and an English army entered and sacked Edinburgh (1544). But the results proved unimportant; when peace was made with France there was no permanent gain for either side (1546).

The Protestant revolt in Scotland. The Protestant movement appeared in Scotland a few years later than in England and had a somewhat slower growth; but in time it developed irresistible strength. Perhaps in no other European country had the medieval system broken down so completely. The Scottish prelates lived luxurious lives and were often of doubtful personal morals. The offices of bishop and abbot were usually filled by the appointment of younger sons of aristocratic houses, whose ambitions were of the worldly sort and whose interest in the church was chiefly material. The lower clergy were ignorant and incapable. The rule of celibacy was frequently violated; the clerical ban was often ignored; and the masses had consequently come to regard the churchmen with suspicion and even with hostility.

Cardinal Beaton. Nevertheless, the vast majority of Scotsmen clung to the Catholic faith and system. They saw in the Protestant order of things merely the ecclesiastical régime of Henry VIII, whom they feared, and with good reason, as the enemy of their national existence. Catholicism, on the other hand, meant Scottish independence and the continuance of the French alliance, which was regarded as necessary to Scottish freedom. The Catholic party was, therefore, also the national party; the leaders of the reforming group were of doubtful patriotism, many of them being in the pay of the English enemy. The chief of the Catholic forces was David, Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of Saint Andrews and primate of Scotland, an able and resolute statesman who was determined to preserve the national institutions of his country. This purpose necessitated the persecution of the reforming heretics, several of whom were burned at the stake. The most famous execution of this sort was the burning of George Wishart, a preacher of great power, at Saint Andrews in 1546. Three months later Cardinal Beaton was assassinated by fanatical partisans of the martyred preacher.

After the death of these two leaders the Protestant movement became more aggressive, but it was not till a decade later that the reforming party was strong enough to take the offensive in the war for the new faith.

The reign of Henry VIII. 1509-1547. In 1547 Henry VIII died after having held the English kingship for nearly thirty-eight years. The years had not been kind to Henry: the fine, athletic young prince, who rowed so well and danced so gracefully, developed into a gross old man, so burdened with flesh that he was finally unable to walk without assistance. As a king, however, he was remarkably successful: in every important statute that was passed after the fall of Wolsey evidence of the royal will is clearly seen. The circumstances were favorable for the revolt that Henry led; still, the outcome proves that the royal leader must have possessed unusual abilities and clear insight into national and international conditions. Like his father he was grasping, shrewd, and calculating; like his grandfather Edward IV he was headstrong, unscrupulous, and cruel. In addition he had all the characteristics of a modern politician: no executive ever managed a Parliament more successfully than did Henry VIII.

The Protestant revolt in England. His reign is chiefly important for the revolt that resulted in the separation of the Anglican church from Rome. For two years (1527-1529) the interest lies in the king's suit at Rome and in England. Then follow three years of strained relations with the papacy, during which period the king endeavors by threats of hostile legislation to force the pope to decide in his favor. In the years 1533-1534 came the great statutes which destroyed papal authority in England and made Henry pope of the national church. During the following six years the king and his chief agent, Thomas Cromwell, attacked the monasteries and uprooted the entire monastic system. At the same time Cranmer was promoting the spread of Protestant ideas by the introduction of the English Bible into the churches. The movement, so far as Henry was concerned, had run its course by 1539 and closed with the re-affirmation of Catholic doctrine in the Six Articles.

It will be observed that all these changes were authorized by Parliamentary acts. There were only two bodies that could make legal changes in the constitution of the English church:

Convocation and Parliament. But Convocation was a weak, spineless body, and after it had resigned its power to the king by the "submission of the clergy" Parliament remained the only authority that could carry out a legal reform. When changes were made by royal decrees, as was sometimes the case, the king always acted by virtue of powers expressly granted by Parliament.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANGLICANISM

Revolt and reaction. During the last eight years of Henry VIII's reign no changes were made in either the creed or the constitution of the English church. It remained Catholic in doctrine, in ritual, and in government. It is not to be inferred, however, that the English mind continued indifferent to the problems of the church; the Protestant party was steadily gaining in strength, particularly in the eastern and southeastern counties. Several of the newer bishops were inclined toward the reformed faith; especially was this true of those who were chosen while Cromwell was administering the temporal affairs of the church. Even the primate himself was gradually coming to hold distinctly Protestant views. So long as Henry lived, the machinery of government was beyond the control of those who favored the Protestant system and no legal changes could be made. But now that the masterful king was dead, the forces of the revolt could be held in check no longer, and England took another long step away from the old standards. This was followed in the next reign by a series of reactionary measures through which almost the entire medieval system was restored. Had the reaction been less complete it might have succeeded; but after twenty years of Cranmer's system in the church the nation found it difficult to resume the old habits of obedience to the Roman court.

Edward VI. 1547-1553. During the decade covering the reigns of Edward VI and his sister Mary three men successively guided the destinies of England: Edward Seymour, John Dudley, and Stephen Gardiner. Edward VI was a mere child of nine years when he ascended the throne, and he died before he reached the maturity of manhood. Consequently the government throughout the new reign had to be carried on by a regency. Henry VIII had provided for such a body in his will: he had appointed a committee of sixteen men to whom the executive authority was to be entrusted. Among these were to be found representatives

of almost every faction or tendency in the church; but the members who favored continuing the work of reform were the abler and the more aggressive. At the very first session of the new regency the anti-Catholic group succeeded in placing the substance of power in the hands of Edward Seymour (soon to be created duke of Somerset), the king's maternal uncle, who was given the title Protector of the Realm. For two stormy years the policies of Somerset controlled England.

Edward Seymour, protector of the realm. The protector was a man of some abilities and most excellent intentions; but the times required unusual strength and Seymour's arm was weak. Three large and difficult problems interested the protector: (1) the unsatisfactory condition of the English church, which he hoped to remedy by making the establishment more distinctly Protestant; (2) the ancient hostility of Scotland, which he hoped to remove by a marriage between the two youthful sovereigns, Edward VI and Mary Stuart, who was now four years old; (3) the economic misery that had come upon the land largely as a result of the practice of enclosures, which he hoped to alleviate by legislation against the landlords who were enclosing their fields.

Seymour and the Scots. 1547. It was not to be expected that Somerset could resist the temptation to interfere in the domestic affairs of the turbulent neighbor to the north. The murderers of Cardinal Beaton with some of their partisans had sought refuge in the Castle of Saint Andrews, which they held against all comers for more than a year and surrendered only after a French force had arrived to assist in the siege. Among those who yielded at Saint Andrews was the famous preacher John Knox, who at one time had served George Wishart as a bodyguard, bearing a two-handed sword before him. Knox with a number of others was sent to the French galleys, where he remained a prisoner for nearly two years.

The rebels at Saint Andrews had hoped for aid from England, but the protector had other plans. He was ambitious to eliminate French influence from the politics of Britain and to put an end to the troubles that distracted Scotland by uniting that kingdom to England. Somerset's policy was intelligent and liberal: the united kingdom was to have a new name, the kingdom of Great Britain; the Scots and the English were to retain

their separate legal systems; and there was to be freedom of trade throughout the island. The first important step in this direction was to secure the confirmation of a marriage treaty to which the Scottish Parliament had agreed four years earlier. As the Scots showed no great eagerness to renew this agreement but seemed more inclined to revive the old connection with France, the protector unwisely decided to emphasize diplomacy with force. With a strong army he crossed the border and overwhelmed the Scottish levies at Pinkie Cleugh. It is said that 10,000 Scotsmen were slain at Pinkie, while the English losses were very light. After the battle came a season of plunder and a weak and ineffectual attempt to reduce the Lowlands.

French intervention in Scotland. 1548. The Scottish regent now appealed to the French for help which was promised on the condition that the Princess Mary be sent to Paris with a view to marriage to the Dauphin Francis. The Scots were in no condition to refuse, and the following summer Mary Stuart, now nearly six years old, embarked for France. Meanwhile a French force had landed in Scotland and had rendered efficient assistance in clearing the border of English troops. Since the princess was now beyond their reach, the English lost interest in the war and two years later they accepted a somewhat humiliating peace in which they agreed to withdraw from the Lowlands and to restore Boulogne to the French king.

Seymour's economic policy; the enclosures. Somerset had hoped to promote the material prosperity of the kingdom by a series of economic reforms, but in this, too, he failed. The development of textile manufactures had created an increasing demand for English wool. Landlords were finding it even more profitable than earlier to "enclose" their fields and turn them into sheep pastures. Many tenant farmers thus lost their holdings and were compelled to wander elsewhere in search of land or work. But as the enclosing movement was going on in all parts of the kingdom, it became increasingly difficult to secure a livelihood. This condition was productive of much economic unrest and social discontent; and the ranks of revolutionary parties were readily recruited from these elements in distress. Though usually associated with the movements for religious change, the uprisings of the Tudor period, of which there were several, were in large measure due to economic difficulties.

Somerset wished to put an end to the practice of enclosure and to force enclosed land back into agricultural holdings. But it was the nobles and the men of wealth who owned the land and enclosed the fields; the same element sat in the House of Lords and in large measure controlled the elections to the House of Commons. It was therefore impossible to secure effective legislation: the first Parliament of Edward VI could think of nothing better than to have collections taken in the churches to help the dispossessed. Parliament was also willing to have certain types of vagabonds sold into slavery; but these expedients did not prove effective. Repeated efforts had been made earlier in the century to check the process of enclosure; but these older statutes were easily evaded. Juries were intimidated and failed to convict the offenders; a few oxen were turned in with the sheep and the enclosure was called a cattle pasture; occasional furrows were run across the pasture that it might be classed as plowland. An act of 1534 limited the number of sheep that any man might legally possess to 2000 (men were found who owned as many as 24,000); this was evaded by keeping flocks in the name of the owner's wife, children, or other members of his household. The protector soon began to lose support on all sides: the landlords were irritated by continued threats of legislation, and the dispossessed were disappointed in finding that the economic policy of the government showed no results.

Debasement of the coinage. The economic misery in the Tudor period was further accentuated by a long-continued debasement of the coinage. From time to time the government of Henry VIII had reduced the amount of pure metal that went into the silver coins. Somerset and his successors in the administration continued this practice, till it was brought to an end in the reign of Elizabeth. In the closing years of King Edward's reign the new coins contained only one-seventh as much silver as those that were minted in the days of Wolsey. The result was a steady advance in prices and in the cost of living, which Somerset and his advisers were not able to check or even to understand.

The advance of Protestantism. Cranmer. In his religious policy Seymour was more successful. With the aid of Cranmer he transformed the English church into a Protestant communion. In the Reformation movement Archbishop Cranmer occupied

a peculiar place: while Henry VIII lived he stood somewhere between the king and the advanced reformers, though his thoughts flowed in the popular current. Cranmer's mind was fine in quality and highly cultivated; but he was of a timid disposition both morally and intellectually. Though he was constantly advancing toward the Protestant ideal, his advance was cautious, slow, and halting. Cranmer was a reformer, not a revolutionist; he had a most profound respect for constituted authority and he wished to have everything done in an orderly manner and by legal methods. It may be that his earlier caution had been inspired by the masterful personality of Henry VIII, to whom nearly all the great intellects of the nation yielded too frequently. At times he had been in mild opposition to his ruler, but Henry loved Cranmer as he loved no other man, and their friendship in spite of occasional disagreement continued unbroken till the king's death.

In the work of reforming the church Archbishop Cranmer had the assistance of his two old Cambridge friends, Nicholas Ridley who was made bishop of the neighboring see of Rochester, and Hugh Latimer who some years earlier had resigned the see of Worcester as a protest against the Six Articles Act, and had never resumed the episcopal functions. The work of reform was begun by the governing council a few months after the accession of Edward VI. Orders went forth calling for more frequent preaching and for a larger use of English in the services of the church, though no changes were ordered in the mass, which was still to be said in Latin as before. A royal injunction forbade anything that suggested actual worship of, or undue reverence for, images and pictures. This injunction led to serious rioting in many parishes, and a few months later all pictures and images having ecclesiastical significance were ordered to be removed from the churches.

In November, 1547, a new Parliament assembled, and before the close of the year it took action along three important lines. On the request of Convocation an act was passed permitting the laity to partake of the wine as well as of the bread in the sacrament of the altar. Various acts (including the Six Articles Act) looking toward the punishment of heresy were repealed. In the same session Parliament struck at a characteristic medieval institution by abolishing the chantries. These were chapels fre-

quently placed over or near the tomb of the founder in which masses were said for the health of his soul. The chantries were abolished, as the act explains, because they had been the source of superstition "by devising and phantasying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory to be done for them which be deceased." Parliament also had before it a request from Convocation that priests and other churchmen be permitted to marry; but this was not granted till more than a year later.

The Book of Common Prayer. 1549. The most important act of the Seymour period was the publication of a new liturgy or order of church worship, the English Prayer Book of 1549, which in a somewhat altered form is still in use in the Anglican church and in the other Episcopal churches elsewhere in the world. It seems to have been Seymour's belief that questions of religious creed and worship could be settled by taking them into the forum of free and untrammelled discussion. He was also willing to allow great freedom in the matter of worship and ceremonies. For two years the English church enjoyed these liberties and the result was chaos. To end this confusion Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity, the first in the history of the kingdom, ordering absolute uniformity of worship in the churches of England and Wales. The Book of Common Prayer which was to provide this uniformity was first used at Whitsuntide, 1549, and on that day the English people for the first time came face to face with the positive side of the Protestant movement. The earlier changes had not directly concerned the common people; they were largely financial and administrative measures of interest chiefly to the officials of the church. But now the very forms of worship were changed. The Latin ritual was replaced by one in English. From now on all were to share, though for the most part unwillingly, in the novelties of Protestantism.

The Prayer Book was almost wholly the work of Thomas Cranmer, and though it has suffered several revisions, it still remains essentially the work of the great archbishop. In large measure the new liturgy was based on the ancient "uses" and was composed of what were considered the best forms and prayers of the medieval service books. In the translation of these materials Cranmer showed himself a real master of English prose. In the selection of ceremonial forms, and even more in

the changes and omissions, the influence of Protestant thought is clearly evident. But aside from the repeal of the Six Articles no official changes were made in the doctrinal standards of the English church in Edward's day, though a step in that direction was contemplated and actually prepared later in the reign.

General dislike for the new service. The movement for church worship in the English language had received official sanction several years earlier, though in a limited degree only. In 1544, when Henry VIII was fighting in France, Cranmer ordered prayers to be said for the king's safety; these were to be said in English. The following year the archbishop drew up a Litany in English to be used in the church services; he also published a book of private prayers called the Primer. A few months after Henry's death the Priests were commanded to have the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments repeated in the English language. The masses were, therefore, not wholly unprepared for the change in the ritual; still, the new Prayer Book was nowhere received with unqualified approval. The mysterious phrases of the Latin service suddenly became intelligible. Some of the worshippers, who had apparently formed the habit of reading the Primer while the priest chanted the Latin lines, complained that the English service disturbed their devotions.

For the majority the changes were too great, and the dissatisfaction with the new forms of worship added to the economic pressure and distress soon led to hostile demonstrations. In three parts of the kingdom these movements developed into open rebellion. In the extreme southwest where Cornish was largely spoken, the uprising was called forth chiefly by the compulsory use of the English language in the church service. In the eastern counties the grievances were economic and the direct outcome of the change from tillage to sheep farming, though the uprising received additional strength from the general dissatisfaction with the recent changes in religion. An insurrection was also attempted in Yorkshire. These uprisings all failed; but indirectly they contributed to the movement that brought about the downfall of the Protector Somerset.

Northumberland. Somerset's policies had failed to meet the difficulties of the economic situation and had alienated all classes except the religious reformers, most of whom were of little con-

sequence in the government. During the summer of 1549 England was seething with discontent. The council that ruled in Edward's name finally turned against the protector and deposed him. The leader in the plot to remove him was John Dudley, whose enclosed fields had been plowed up by officers of the law. The vacancy in the protectorship was not filled; but Dudley, earl of Warwick, commonly known by his later title, duke of Northumberland, became the directing force in the state. Seymour submitted to the will of his colleagues, and was allowed to retain his seat in the council. Three years later he was found intriguing with Dudley's enemies and was sent to the block.

John Dudley was the son of a lawyer who had gained a doubtful reputation in the days of Henry VII as attorney and extortioner for the king. The younger Dudley was brutal, dishonest, and greedy; he was possessed of little real ability as a statesman and his activities in the government rarely rose above the character of successful intrigue. In most respects he continued the policies of his predecessor. In religious matters he found it expedient to follow Cranmer's lead and to push the nation farther along the highway of Protestantism. Five of the more conservative bishops, among whom were Gardiner of Winchester and Bonner of London, were deprived of their sees, and their offices given to men of more pronounced Protestant tendencies. A number of ancient ceremonies were abolished (1550) and the Prayer Book was reissued in a somewhat revised form (1552). Steps were also taken to provide the church with a Protestant creed; and a set of "Forty-two Articles," chiefly the work of Cranmer, was published by royal mandate in 1553. These articles affirmed the Protestant belief in the supremacy of the Scriptures and in justification by faith alone. In common with other Protestant creeds the new statement recognized two sacraments only: baptism and the Lord's supper. The Forty-two Articles reject transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and clerical celibacy. They renounce the jurisdiction of the pope and affirm the right of the sovereign to supremacy in the national church. As the king died less than a month after the publication of this creed, no attempt was ever made to force the clergy to accept it. The Roman standards remained the official, though perhaps not the actual, creed and confession of the Anglican church for nearly twenty years longer.

Lady Jane Grey: "the nine days' queen." Northumberland is remembered chiefly for his unsuccessful attempt to change the line of succession to the English throne. The king was in ill health, and in the spring of 1553 it seemed likely that he would not have many months to live. According to Henry VIII's will, which Parliament had given the force of law, the elder of the king's sisters, Mary, should succeed him. It was clear to the regents whose power was soon to cease that the granddaughter of Queen Isabella, who had given her approval to the Spanish inquisition, was likely to spare neither themselves nor their work. Northumberland now conceived the plan of proclaiming the young and lovable princess, Lady Jane Grey, as queen of England. Lady Jane's mother was a daughter of Henry VIII's youngest sister, and according to Henry's will was next in line after the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. But Northumberland prepared to ignore the mother's claim in favor of her daughter Jane, and in anticipation of success he married the princess to his own son.

The duke had laid his plans carefully. He had succeeded in convincing the dying king that he had ample power to leave the throne to Jane by will, and to this the council also agreed, though with much reluctance, as it was feared that a royal will without Parliamentary sanction could scarcely have legal force. On the king's death in July Lady Jane was proclaimed and for nine days was nominal queen of England. An effort was made to seize Mary's person, but the princess fled to the Howards of Norfolk, who, like herself, were strong partisans of the old order in the church. The Protestant gentry of the eastern counties rallied to Mary's support and the regency thought it wise to surrender. Lady Jane was tried and condemned to die for treason, but she was not executed till early the following year, when a serious uprising in various parts of England impressed the queen with the danger of permitting her cousin to live.

Mary Tudor. 1553-1558. There was nothing attractive about Mary Tudor. She seems to have been a very plain, prim, and formal person with none of the intellectual charms that made the Tudors such an interesting family. But she was an energetic and courageous woman and had inherited the Tudor self-will in abundant measure, though not the caution, the pru-

dence, and the stronger qualities of the dynasty. The new queen's first and chief concern was to restore the old order in the English church. Mary Tudor had all her life been an ardent Catholic; furthermore, the revolt of the English church was hateful to her for personal reasons: it was closely and painfully associated with her own and her mother's disgrace.

The reëstablishment of the Catholic system. There was much to do before the old ecclesiastical régime could be restored; but Mary and her associates began to work promptly and the changes came swiftly. First of all it was necessary to replace the Protestant rulers of the church with bishops who were devoted to the Roman system. This was not easily accomplished, as the older loyal generation was passing away, and the younger theologians were many of them tainted with heresy. But Mary was determined to have no Protestant bishops. Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer and Coverdale were charged with treason or heresy and sent to prison; several other bishops were deposed because they had taken wives. It was also a part of Mary's plan to dismiss the married priests, to reëstablish the monasteries, to abolish Cranmer's Prayer Book, to repeal all the laws relating to the royal supremacy in the church, and to restore the old relations with the papal court. All these purposes were accomplished but one: the monastic lands had largely passed into the hands of peers and other members of the aristocracy who refused to surrender what was legally if not morally theirs. The crown had very little available property with which to endow monastic foundations; consequently the queen was able to reëstablish only a few of the lesser convents and monasteries, the most important of which was Westminster Abbey where a small community of fourteen monks took up their abode.

Stephen Gardiner. The five Catholic bishops who had been deprived of their sees in the previous reign were promptly released from durance and restored to their respective cathedrals. Bonner returned to his episcopal duties in London and Gardiner resumed his functions in Winchester. Stephen Gardiner had at one time been enthusiastic for the royal supremacy; it will be recalled that he had even served Henry VIII as agent at the Roman court in the king's fight for release from his wife, Mary's own mother. But all this was now forgiven, for the queen had great need of Gardiner's abilities. Gardiner was elevated to the

lord chancellor's office and during the years of religious reaction he was not only the first subject of the realm but also the queen's chief adviser and executive minister.

The queen's marriage. A matter of prime importance was the queen's marriage. The dread of civil war in case of a disputed or doubtful succession had long hung over the land. The nation was anxiously hoping for an heir whose title was clear and unclouded. Marriage was also of vast importance to the queen herself: if after her death the crown should pass to Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, as the law provided, all that Mary might accomplish in behalf of Rome and Catholicism would probably be undone. But to find a suitable husband was no easy matter. As Catholic Europe was still divided into two hostile camps headed respectively by the emperor and the king of France, the choice of a husband from a Continental dynasty would be sure to lead to foreign complications. Accordingly many Englishmen, including the astute Bishop Gardiner, preferred a marriage to Edward Courtenay, a great-grandson of Edward IV; unfortunately the young Englishman had scarcely anything except his royal descent to commend him for the great honor of king-consort. There was also some sentiment in favor of Reginald Pole, who was a grandson of George, duke of Clarence, the brother of the two Yorkist kings. But Reginald Pole had for nearly twenty years resided at Rome where he had taken deacon's orders and had been promoted to the college of cardinals. Consequently a papal dispensation would be necessary in his case, an arrangement that Cardinal Pole was unwilling to consider. Moreover, the queen spurned both these suggestions and announced her intention to marry her second cousin, Philip of Spain.

The nation consented to this marriage with evident reluctance. It was clear that a union with the Hapsburg dynasty would not be without certain material advantages, for Philip was lord of the Netherlands as well as king of the Spanish lands. On the other hand there was a general and well-founded fear that a matrimonial alliance with Spain was likely to mean the revival of the ancient troubles with France and Scotland. In spite of popular opposition which in some localities flared up into actual rebellion, a marriage treaty was negotiated and accepted by Parliament. In preparing the terms of this agreement Gardiner

had sought to secure the independence of his own country by insisting on the provision that Philip should bear the royal title in England only so long as Queen Mary lived. The treaty further provided that no foreigner should be given an office under the English crown. In July, 1554, Philip came to England and was married to the queen by Bishop Gardiner in Winchester cathedral.

The reunion with Rome. Meanwhile the wave of religious reaction was daily growing in strength. Four months after the queen's accession Parliament repealed all the reforming laws of Edward VI and thus restored the system that obtained in the church at the close of the reign of the queen's father. Cranmer's Prayer Book now gave way to the older forms of service and a large number of married priests, perhaps as many as 2500, lost their benefices. This was as far as the English people were willing to go at the time. Not till a year later could a new and carefully selected Parliament be induced to repeal the church legislation of Henry VIII and reëstablish papal supremacy.

The reunion with Rome necessitated two distinct acts: absolution and repeal. From the Roman viewpoint the English nation was regarded as an individual who had fallen into mortal sin and stood in need of forgiveness. Cardinal Pole was therefore sent to England to receive the supplication and the confession of the nation, to extend absolution, and to command penance. At a great gathering in Whitehall Palace, Parliament, through Chancellor Gardiner, presented a statement of the national sin and requested the king and queen to intercede with the pope's representative and ask the forgiveness of the church. On receiving the supplication from the hands of their Majesties, the cardinal extended forgiveness to the kneeling assembly and commanded a repeal of all the anti-papal statutes as a suitable penance. Five weeks later these laws were duly repealed (January, 1555).

Religious persecution. In less than two years Queen Mary had razed the entire structure that Cranmer had built up so carefully and so laboriously in the reigns of Henry and Edward. But there was still a powerful Protestant sentiment abroad in the land which had to be reckoned with. Twenty years of the new régime had developed habits of thought in the nation that could not be changed by statutes. A strong minority clung to

the newer Protestant ideals. Soon after the reconciliation, Parliament, under pressure from Mary and Gardiner, took another step backward and reenacted the old laws against heresy. These laws were now applied and in the most merciless manner. It seems to have been Gardiner's plan to strike down only the great leaders of the Protestant movement; but under Mary's inspiration an inquisition was organized which struck at heretics of every class. For three years the fires of persecution burned and nearly three hundred victims were given to the flames; a lesser number (estimated at sixty) perished in prison; while hundreds of the more prominent Protestants fled to the Continent where they found homes in Protestant cities, particularly in Frankfort and in Geneva, the city of John Calvin.

Five bishops suffered at the stake, among whom were the three famous Cambridge men, Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer. The archbishop had never been courageous: worn-out and broken in health he twice signed some sort of a recantation in the hope, no doubt, of escaping death. But on the day of his execution his constancy returned and he repudiated these documents: "And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For if I come to the fire it shall first be burned." An hour later he redeemed his promise at the stake.

The Catholic reformation: success and failure. The heroism of the Marian martyrs stands out in clearer light when the European situation is taken into account. In 1555, the year when the burnings began in England, Protestantism appeared to be a losing cause. The Catholic reaction was rolling its mighty wave northward. The Jesuit order, a wonderfully efficient organization still under the guidance of its founder, the great Loyola, was steadily undermining the intellectual fortresses of the reforming forces. The council of Trent, a gathering of bishops and other prelates from all Catholic Christendom, had begun its efforts to cleanse the church from the many abuses that had served to give force to the Lutheran movement. On the papal throne sat Paul IV, an aged Italian whose heart was aflame with enthusiasm for a purified hierarchy and a devout priesthood. And, what was more significant, the Catholic forces in Europe had found a leader in Philip II of Spain, a devoted son of the church, whose principles would admit of neither

toleration nor compromise. The wealth and power of the vast Spanish empire were at his disposal; his hand lay heavy on Dutch Protestantism; his English queen was struggling to uproot heresy in Britain. For the cause of Protestantism in Europe the outlook was dark and threatening.

The reaction failed, and its failure in England did much to check its progress on the Continent. Nothing that the unfortunate Tudor queen undertook seemed to prosper. England finally recoiled from her policies. Her subjects had supported her against the intrigues of the evil Northumberland, but they revolted at the sight of the executions for heresy, and they learned to speak of her as "Bloody Mary." Men had suffered cruel and unjust death in the days of Henry VIII — better men than More and Fisher had never mounted the scaffold; but Henry's victims were only a few each year and were usually people of prominence whose guilt was treason rather than heresy. And these executions did not affect the development of opinion as did the burning of unknown women and humble commoners in the days of Mary.

Mary's foreign policy. In her foreign policy, too, the queen failed. The marriage to Philip brought her the support of Spain but also the renewed hostility of France. In the war that inevitably followed England lost Calais, her last possession on French soil. England was better off without Calais, but the loss of a city that the nation had held successfully for more than two hundred years was a serious blow to English pride. Even worse was the difficulty that arose between Philip and the aged pope, Paul IV. The pope was a native of Naples and bitterly resented the Spanish activities in southern Italy. Thus Mary found herself at war even with the Holy See! Cardinal Pole, who had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury the day following Cranmer's death, was suspected of holding heretical opinions and suspended from his functions as head of the English church. The English people began to feel that something must be wrong with the Roman system when the head of the church could ally himself with the enemies of the land and make war on a queen so loyal and so Catholic as Mary Tudor. But there was no rising. It was generally understood that the hand of death was upon the queen, and her subjects refused to add to her sorrows.

The issue: not Catholicism but Roman control. The last days of the lonely queen were days of deep gloom and despair. She knew that Elizabeth would soon succeed her and she realized that her sister would hasten to undo her own work, even as she herself had undone that of her father and her brother. But it should be clearly understood that what failed in Mary's day was not an effort to restore the Catholic religion, for the masses were still in large measure devout believers in the old faith. What failed was an attempt to restore the ecclesiastical system of the middle ages, a system that centered at the Roman curia and claimed a limited allegiance for the Roman see. The governing classes in the Tudor period had gradually come to believe that the future prosperity of the land could be secured only if the nation was allowed to manage its own domestic affairs, to regulate its economic life, and to determine its foreign policy without interference from any power beyond the boundaries of the kingdom. And this freedom did not seem consistent with any form of allegiance to Rome.

Elizabeth. 1558-1603. Mary Tudor died in the early morning of November 17, 1558. Six days later the Princess Elizabeth made her formal entry into London as queen of England and Ireland amid great demonstrations of joy. Elizabeth came to the throne as a mature woman twenty-five years of age. She was tall, strong, and handsome, endowed with splendid health, interested in every form of outdoor activity, particularly fond of the chase. The Tudors took pride in mental accomplishments and Queen Elizabeth, like her father Henry and her cousin, the unfortunate Lady Jane, was carefully educated. She had a fair command of three languages and a reading knowledge of six. Though a princess, she had not wholly escaped the severe lessons of experience in a rough world: during the reign of her sister Mary she was the object of constant suspicion on the part of the government. A rising in favor of Elizabeth and Protestantism had actually occurred in the southeast four years earlier; but the princess was too shrewd to become involved in any treasonable movement and escaped with a brief residence in the Tower. Like all the Tudors she was willful and stubborn; but she also had the Tudor love of approbation, and like the earlier rulers of the dynasty she had a profound respect for the sentiment of the nation. She had inherited in full measure the

frivolous nature of her mother, the stupendous vanity of her father, and the niggardly spirit of her grandfather, though her practice of economy did not extend to what she considered her own personal needs: at the time of her death she is said to have possessed 3000 gowns. But the new queen was also shrewd, spirited, and independent. She was determined in her purposes, and in every real crisis she displayed remarkable strength and self-reliance.

Elizabeth's chief ministers. During her entire reign Queen Elizabeth was the actual ruler of the kingdom, though the policies of the government were often those of her advisers rather than her own. The queen had the advantage of living in an age when the intellect of England flourished as never before. There was, therefore, no dearth of able counsellors, and Elizabeth exercised great discretion in her choice of high officials. During the earlier part of her reign two men held the chief places in her council: William Cecil, later created Lord Burleigh, a cautious and capable administrator, who was the queen's secretary of state; and Matthew Parker, a clear-headed theologian and an able ecclesiastical statesman, who succeeded Reginald Pole as archbishop of Canterbury. Both of these men had decided leanings toward Protestantism, though neither held extreme views. Associated with Burleigh and Parker was Nicholas Bacon to whom the queen entrusted the keeping of the great seal. As lord keeper Bacon exercised the functions of lord chancellor, though he did not have the chancellor's rank. In 1572 Burleigh was elevated to the higher office of lord treasurer and shortly afterwards his position as secretary of state was given to Francis Walsingham, an energetic and capable lawyer who had for some years headed the English secret service. The four were all Cambridge men and firmly believed in a church establishment of the type that had been outlined in the reforms of Thomas Cranmer.

Problems of the new reign. When Elizabeth ascended the English throne the government found itself facing a situation that was pregnant with dangerous possibilities. The problem of the church was pressing for solution. The economic state of the kingdom had for a series of years grown steadily worse. Industry was declining and foreign commerce was insecure. Taxes had been high, but the treasury was empty. Famine had

appeared in the land with pestilence stalking close behind. England was technically at war with France and Scotland. The alliance with Spain was still a fact; but Elizabeth and her advisers understood clearly that the friendship of Philip II might prove a perilous thing.

The dynastic claims of Mary Stuart. The interest of English diplomacy during the earlier years of the new reign was concerned chiefly with the queen's two leading opponents, the pope and Mary Stuart, the young queen of Scotland. In the opinion of all loyal Catholics Mary Stuart was the rightful heir to the English crown. She was of Tudor blood, a descendant of Henry VII. Outwardly at least, she was a loyal daughter of the old church and it was hoped in Catholic circles on the Continent that she might be able to bring the British Isles back to their ancient allegiance. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was regarded as of illegitimate birth and consequently without any right whatever to the throne. Furthermore, she seemed to have heretical purposes and to hold heretical views.

Doubtful and precarious though the queen's position appeared to be in the earlier weeks of her reign, the succession in England did not at this time become a practical issue. The situation in western Europe was such that no important power cared or dared to challenge the choice of the English nation. The religious turmoil in Scotland, the Huguenot movement in France, and the political necessities of Philip II were important factors in the initial success of the new régime. A few months after the accession of Elizabeth, Mary Stuart, who had married the dauphin Francis the previous year, became queen of France. Her accession to the throne of England, to which she had put forth a formal claim, would mean the union of the French and British crowns; and the old dream of the Hundred Years' War might now have been realized. But England could not endure the thought of being governed from Paris. A union of these kingdoms would also be contrary to the policies of Philip II: it was an outcome that he felt must be prevented whatever the cost. With Mary Stuart and her husband Francis in control of both shores of the Channel this great waterway to the Netherlands would be closed or at least rendered very dangerous for Spanish ships. As Philip's interest in the welfare of his monarchy was greater than his zeal for Catholicism, he hastened

to recognize Elizabeth as the rightful queen and thus blocked all immediate attempts to dethrone her.

The religious revolt in Scotland. **John Knox.** The situation in the Scottish church was also such as to make it extremely difficult for Mary Stuart to achieve her great ambition. After the burning of Wishart and the assassination of Cardinal Beaton the Protestant movement made swift progress among the Scottish people. The leadership of the reforming forces soon fell to John Knox, a vigorous, stubborn, and dogmatic preacher who became the builder of the Presbyterian church. After his release from the galleys John Knox spent some years in England where he held important places in the church establishment of Edward VI. On the accession of Mary Stuart he withdrew to the Continent, first to Frankfort and finally to Geneva, where the great Calvin was still the controlling force in church and state.

In 1557, while John Knox was still abroad, a number of Scottish lords who had Protestant leanings organized themselves into an association for the purpose of forcing reform in the church and securing liberty of worship for those who objected to the Catholic teachings and ritual. These were the "Lords of the Congregation" and included among others James Murray, a half-brother of Mary Stuart. It must not be supposed, however, that the Protestant lords were actuated wholly by religious enthusiasm; the Scottish church had much land and the lords looked with covetous eyes on these possessions. In part they were also moved by hostility to French influence; and since they felt compelled to choose between the friendship of France and of England, they became distinctly a pro-English party.

In 1559 the revolt came. Mary's mother, the queen regent, had attempted to outlaw the Protestant preachers. As a result a riot broke out in Perth and soon the entire kingdom was in revolt. Catholics looked to France for aid and Protestants to England; but little help came from either country. In the end Protestantism was accepted in Scotland and the authority of Rome abolished by Parliamentary act. While the revolt was in progress John Knox returned from Geneva. Up to this time the Scottish reformers had favored a régime somewhat like that of the English church in Edward's time, and had planned to introduce a prayer book based on Cranmer's work. However, the appearance of John Knox determined the outcome in favor of

strict Calvinism; a confession of faith of which Knox was one of the authors was adopted for the kingdom.

The Anglican settlement. While Scotland was thus boldly accepting the reformed religion, the statesmen of England were cautiously moving in the same direction. For some months the queen seems to have been uncertain as to what line to take: she had to deal with jealous Catholics and extreme Protestants and wished to alienate neither faction. To begin with, she forbade all preaching and public discussion of the religious issues until Parliament could meet and act on the matter. To break wholly with Rome seemed dangerous; but the uncompromising attitude of the pope, who refused to recognize the queen's right to the throne, soon made such action inevitable.

In determining the form of the religious settlement, the queen had the choice among several differing types of worship and creed. Two great movements were at their height in the first year of her reign. The council of Trent had resumed its sessions and was making rapid progress in weeding out abuses. In Geneva John Calvin had developed an extreme form of Protestantism, which aimed at a republican system in church government, simplicity in the ceremonial of the church, and the acceptance of Protestant doctrines of the Reformed type. Neither of these could possibly attract the English queen. The Roman curia denied the validity of her mother's marriage and left Elizabeth herself no rights whatever to the English crown. Nor is it likely that Elizabeth, who loved power as all the Tudors did, would have been willing to diminish her own authority in the kingdom by accepting the papal supremacy in the church. Equally unattractive was Calvinism, as it, too, denied the authority of the sovereign in the church. Public sentiment probably favored a return to the Anglican system of Henry VIII; but Elizabeth saw clearly that no form of Catholicism was now possible but that of Rome. The outcome was that the Anglican church was reorganized along the lines followed by the Protestant princes on the Continent, though care was taken to proceed with caution and to avoid extreme measures.

The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. 1559. Elizabeth's first Parliament was composed largely of young and inexperienced men, most of whom were not disposed to take an aggressive stand on any question. They were, moreover, intensely

loyal to the young queen and more than willing to carry out her desires. When it became evident that England must break definitely with the Roman see, Parliament passed an Act of Supremacy by which the highest authority in the church was once more transferred to the sovereign. The term "head" of the church was avoided; but the queen, as "supreme governor" of the English church, had all the power that her father and her brother had enjoyed before her. The Act of Supremacy was followed by an Act of Uniformity which prescribed a uniform worship for all the churches in the kingdom. This was to be carried on according to the Book of Common Prayer, which was the book prepared by Cranmer with certain changes so as to make it possible for moderate men of both parties to accept it. Heavy penalties were provided for failure to use the legal form of worship and for making changes or omissions. These penalties, it was hoped, would discourage the continuance of Catholic worship; but it was soon discovered that the most violent enemies of the Prayer Book were to be found among the Protestants themselves. Laws were passed transferring certain church revenues to the crown and providing for oaths that all office holders were to take in the interest of the new establishment. Aside from a natural hostility on the part of the spiritual peers, there was only slight opposition in Parliament to the Act of Supremacy. The Act of Uniformity was accepted with less enthusiasm; nine of the thirty temporal peers voting were counted in opposition to the bill.

The appointment of Protestant bishops. To carry out the new laws and make the new organization effective was a matter of no small difficulty. The higher clergy on the whole were hostile to the changes announced in the new legislation. Convocation, which was composed almost entirely of men who held their appointment from Queen Mary, was uncompromisingly Catholic. The first necessity was, therefore, to fill the episcopal offices with men who could be trusted to give loyal assistance in the work of transforming the church. There had been a remarkable mortality among the English bishops in the closing months of 1558; ten bishops died within two weeks of Queen Mary's death. Among these was Archbishop Pole who survived the queen a few hours only. These vacancies proved a great advantage to Queen Elizabeth, as it enabled her to take a long step toward

remodeling Convocation without having to depose the actual incumbents. In due time the Marian bishops were ordered to take the oath to support the queen's supremacy in the church, and all but two refused. They were consequently deprived of their offices and some of them were sent to prison. Ultimately all were restored to freedom except Bishop Bonner who spent ten weary years in the Marshalsea and died a prisoner. As soon as suitable candidates could be found, the vacancies were all filled and gradually the bench of bishops in the House of Lords was filled up with men of the Protestant faith.

The old clergy and the new order. The lower clergy presented a different problem. It was a difficult time for tender consciences. There was still a large number of active priests who had chanted the mass in Latin in 1547, had read the Prayer Book in English two years later, had again said mass in the old way while Mary lived, and were now once more ordered to read the service in English. On the whole, however, the priesthood gave very little trouble. A system of visitations was devised by which the queen's commissioners went out into the parishes to make sure that the priests were loyal and faithful in conducting the church services according to the forms prescribed in the Prayer Book. Many took the oath required by the Act of Supremacy, but a considerable number apparently managed to avoid the issue. A small number (fewer than two hundred) refused to take the oath and were deprived of their livings. The new bishops encountered a real difficulty in their effort to recruit the priesthood, and during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign a large number of inefficient men found their way into the clerical ranks.

Subordination of church to state. An organized church presents three distinct and important phases: the government, the ritual, and the creed. It was not the purpose of Archbishop Parker and his associates to interfere with the hierarchy which had governed the church through the centuries, only to define the duties of the various officials and to bring them into subordination to the crown. This was accomplished by virtually abolishing Convocation and by giving the crown complete authority in the matter of episcopal appointments. The cathedral chapters were retained as electoral bodies; but the provisions of the Ecclesiastical Appointments Act were revived, and

since Elizabeth's time no chapter has been allowed to choose a bishop without previous license from the king. The custom of sending a letter missive containing the name of the candidate to be elected was also revived. At present the English bishops are virtually chosen by the prime minister, who may, or may not, be in sympathy with the ideals and principles of the Anglican church.

The revised Prayer Book. On the side of the ritual the outstanding facts were the adoption of the Prayer Book and the passage of the Act of Uniformity. The Prayer Book was the means by which the reformers hoped to reach and educate the masses who could not be expected to appreciate the distinctions and refinements of doctrine that delighted the militant theologians. In revising the text of the Prayer Book the learned divines of the queen's council were careful to employ somewhat ambiguous terms in those parts of the ritual that touched the dogmas that were most in controversy. In this way they hoped to keep the more moderate Catholics within the new establishment.

The Thirty-nine Articles. In the official creed of the nation no changes were made for some years except such as were implied in the new forms of worship. In fact the English church can hardly be said to have had a creed covering the subjects in dispute before 1563, when Convocation debated and accepted a revision of Cranmer's Forty-two Articles. This statement, however, did not receive Parliamentary sanction at the time and had no immediate legal force.

Perils at home and abroad. The reason for this delay is to be sought in the confused and dangerous situation of the time. Public sentiment was constantly changing and all shades of belief could be found among the thinking men of the nation from the most extreme Calvinism to the sternest Romanism. The government was not anxious to search hearts and to punish for opinions that might be held, but was satisfied with outward conformity and attendance on the prescribed worship in the expectation that the coming generation would learn to love the Prayer Book and would be loyal to the new standards.

Menacing, too, was the situation abroad. After the Council of Trent had completed its labors, the Catholic forces took up the fight with renewed vigor. The Jesuit order was at work in

Protestant lands winning large numbers, especially families of prominence, back to the old faith. The Catholic princes, most of them looking to Philip II for guidance and leadership, were striving for the same results by means of war and diplomacy. Fearing that harsh measures might drive the Romanist faction into an alliance with the militant Catholics of the Continent, the queen's government thought it advisable not to insist on a general subscription to a Protestant creed.

The candidacy of Mary Stuart. In December, 1560, two years after the accession of Elizabeth, Mary Stuart's husband, Francis II, died, and his brother ascended the French throne. The death of the imbecile Francis brought about a complete change in the diplomacy of western Europe. The beautiful young queen, having lost all her rights in France, was forced after a few months to return to her native kingdom. But the chief result of Mary's widowhood, so far as England was concerned, was to give the Romanist party an active candidate for the English crown. The young queen hoped and believed that she could confidently count on the support of all the Catholic rulers who had earlier feared the power of France. Now began a long and intermittent struggle between Elizabeth and her Catholic enemies in Britain and on the Continent. For seventeen years the webs of intrigue were woven at home and abroad; but the queen soon discovered that all the important threads ran back to the court of Philip II.

Mary Stuart governed Scotland for six years but without real success. In her plans against England she failed completely. This failure was due to various causes. Of first importance was the native loyalty of the English people who resented every suggestion of interference or dictation from abroad, even from Rome. Philip II was unable to give much effective assistance: he had many irons in the fire, especially did a threatening revolt in the Netherlands prove an awkward hindrance; for so long as the English fleet dominated the Channel and the North Sea, the Spanish ruler did not care to incur the open hostility of the English kingdom. Nor could the Catholic party count on much support in Scotland. For, when Mary returned to Edinburgh, she found that her subjects had accepted the leadership of John Knox and had become staunch adherents of the Calvinistic faith.

Courtship and diplomacy. Of great importance, too, was the fact that Elizabeth remained in the unmarried state, while her

Scotch rival married freely and even recklessly. It was generally assumed in England that when the coronation festivities were over, Elizabeth would be ready to negotiate for a suitable husband. Before long wooers had come from almost every court of Europe and even from distant Africa. Her supposed desire to secure a husband with the proper royal pedigree proved the queen's most valuable diplomatic asset. She encouraged now one suitor and now another, as seemed expedient at the moment. If serious danger should threaten from any quarter of Europe, it might, perhaps, be averted by prolonged negotiations looking toward a matrimonial alliance. At some time or other almost every marriageable prince in Europe from Philip II to impoverished princelings in Germany was a favored candidate for the queen's hand. On Elizabeth's part all this was in a large degree diplomacy and to a lesser extent pure comedy. And this entertainment of prospective husbands continued for twenty years.

The Stuart marriages. Even more important was Mary Stuart's scandalous behavior in the matter of her own marriages. After some parley with foreign dynasties the young queen took as king-consort her young and handsome cousin, Henry Darnley of the Lennox family. Darnley was a grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second marriage and was consequently a second cousin of Queen Elizabeth. He was a Stuart as well as a Tudor and had been brought up in the Catholic faith. When Elizabeth learned of the Darnley marriage her anger was great. In Scotland, too, there was anger, for now the country had a Catholic king as well as a Catholic queen. Some of the Protestant lords planned an uprising, but Mary was able to forestall the movement. But the queen, who had hoped for a husband to help her support the burdens of state, soon discovered to her great chagrin that she had married a trifle. Darnley was lazy, stupid, and vicious, and Mary soon began to regard him with feelings of hatred and disgust.

After a year and a half of married life the queen was widowed for a second time. James Hepburn, the earl of Bothwell, was a dashing young nobleman with a genius for making enemies. His opponents had driven him into exile, but Mary recalled him and fell desperately in love with him. In February, 1567, Darnley was killed by a band of conspirators of whom Bothwell was the chief. Only three months later Mary Stuart was Bothwell's bride.

The Bothwell marriage was the queen's undoing. For the moment she was impossible as a Catholic candidate for the English throne; for Bothwell was already a married man; furthermore, he was a Protestant, and a Protestant service had been read at the marriage. Such sinful disregard for the laws of the church no honest Catholic could overlook. Pius V sorrowfully recalled his representative from the Scottish court and refused further communication with the erring queen.

Stuart abdication and defeat. The dissatisfied barons took quick action. After a honeymoon of a single month Mary found herself a prisoner and was sent to Loch Leven castle for safe-keeping. Here on a lonely island she spent nearly a year; but in the spring of 1568 she managed to escape. Her supporters rallied to her side and fought the Protestant nobles at Langside, where they suffered a decisive defeat. Mary fled to England and threw herself on the mercy of her rival Elizabeth. Her infant son James, in whose favor she had been forced to abdicate while at Loch Leven, continued as nominal king of Scotland, while rival nobles or groups of nobles plotted and fought for the regency.

Mary Stuart in England. It is impossible to determine whether satisfaction or embarrassment was the stronger emotion in Elizabeth's case when she heard that Mary was on English soil. The Scottish queen had hoped for generous hospitality in England, or at least for permission to continue her journey into France; she was disappointed in both expectations. Elizabeth could not afford to allow her rival to remain at large, and for nineteen years Mary Stuart was kept a prisoner in England. The imprisonment was not severe: the queen was, indeed, deprived of her liberty; but she enjoyed all the comforts of castle life, including the chase and other outdoor diversions, and was allowed a large retinue of servants.

The papal bull of 1570. At Loch Leven Mary had become reconciled to the Roman church and once more the enemies of Elizabeth could take hope. But their movements had to be planned and executed with the utmost caution and secrecy, for Elizabeth virtually kept Mary as a hostage to insure the obedience of her Catholic subjects. Two English border earls raised the standard of rebellion the following year in Mary's behalf, but the rising was soon put down. Equally futile was an at-

tempt on the part of Pius V to use the old weapon of excommunication against the English queen. A bull published in 1570 excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of all her "pretended" right to her kingdom, and released her subjects from their pledges of loyalty. The queen was thus virtually deposed, so far as the papacy could still exercise authority over princes.

The Roman pronouncement was, however, very unfortunate in its results, inasmuch as it forced the adherents of the old faith to choose between disloyalty to the queen, which meant treason in English law, and disobedience to the head of the church, which might mean great peril to their souls; for all who adhered to Elizabeth were "to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ." The weapon proved useless, and since that time no pope has ever attempted to depose a sovereign.

Completion of the breach with Rome. 1571. The English government did not allow the challenge to pass unheeded. The following year Parliament replied to the papal bull with an act "for all ministers of the church to be of sound religion." This soundness in religion was to be gained by requiring all future clergymen to subscribe to Cranmer's articles of religion as revised by Convocation in 1563. These Thirty-nine Articles have since that year remained the authoritative creed of the Anglican church and of all Episcopal churches in other lands. With the adoption of a Protestant creed the breach with Rome was made complete. The religious system of Thomas Cranmer had become the law of the land.

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CHAPTER XII

THE OLD WORLD AND THE NEW

The age of Elizabeth. The sixteenth century was an age of tremendous changes in the life and civilization of the English people. Most of these occurred during the lifetime of Elizabeth and were in some measure promoted by the policies of the famous queen. Elizabeth was born while the Reformation movement was in its earlier stage; she lived through times of intense religious agitation and ruthless reaction; but she finally saw her own ideas and policies successfully realized. The revolution in the church alone would suffice to make the Tudor period a memorable age; but this was only one of many changes. Old ways and old ideas were being discarded on every hand; into their places came much that was new and untried and sometimes of little value. These new forms of material and intellectual life were becoming particularly evident during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, a period which is usually known as the age of Elizabeth.

Tudor homes. The closer contact with southern and eastern Europe, which Henry VII had done so much to promote, naturally resulted in the development of new tastes, new wants, and new necessities among the higher and middle classes. The people generally began to crave certain comforts and luxuries that they had not enjoyed earlier. The increasing knowledge of how the world lived abroad was also a potent factor. It is said that three changes in the English home were peculiarly evident in the days of Elizabeth: the newer houses were more attractive and comfortable; the sleeping rooms were better and more richly furnished; and the tableware showed marked improvement both in material and in workmanship.

In earlier times all the houses except the more pretentious ones were built with an open hearth in the middle of the principal room, and around this hearth the family gathered in cold weather; here, too, the meals were cooked. The smoke found

its way out through a lanthorn in the roof as in the Old English houses, and it was counted no annoyance to have it collect in clouds beneath the roof trees. But in Elizabeth's day men built fireplaces with chimneys, to the great disgust of their elders who missed their old discomforts. The windows, too, were being improved by the substitution of glass for horn and lattice. In the sleeping rooms pillows were now quite common, and the straw pallets were giving place to more comfortable bedding. Articles of pewter and tin took the place of the older wooden bowls and spoons on the dining table; in the wealthier households silverware was coming into use. Carpets, too, were now regarded with much more favor than earlier.

Food and drink; tobacco. The newer fashions are also evident in the matter of food and clothing. Earlier custom had called for four meals daily, but in Tudor times the number was reduced to two: "and each one (except here and there some young hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner time) contenteth himself with dinner and supper only." The Venetian trade had brought to England the luxuries of the Orient, especially its silks and spices. From other parts of the Continent came a liberal supply of the lighter wines, of which Englishmen recognized fifty-six varieties. From the New World came tobacco, the potato, and the sweet potato. The tobacco leaf gained a very early popularity; half a century after its introduction into the British Isles 7000 London shops were selling tobacco. The physicians of the time, believing that the new plant had medicinal properties, prescribed tobacco soup, tobacco gruel, tobacco wine, and similar concoctions. The potato, on the other hand, did not come into general use for a century. Sir Walter Raleigh, a famous explorer, courtier, and colonizer, tried to cultivate these new plants on his Irish estates. The tobacco seems not to have flourished, but the experiment with the potato was apparently successful.

Foreign trade. In the earlier years of the Tudor dynasty the foreign trade of England was still to a large extent in the control of Venetian, Flemish, and Hanseatic merchants; but by the time that Queen Elizabeth ascended the English throne all this was changed. The Hanseatic traders, having lost their ancient privileges a few years earlier, were no longer a dominating force in English commerce. Ever since the Portuguese had begun to

sail the sea route to the East Indies the commercial importance of the Italian cities had steadily declined; Lisbon had taken the place of Venice as the great European market for Oriental wares. British merchants, however, did not ordinarily seek the products of the East on the wharves of Lisbon, but purchased these and other wares at Antwerp, which had risen to great importance as a commercial center and seemed to have a future of greater promise than any other European city.

This promise was never realized. Ten years after Elizabeth's accession to the English throne, The Netherlands were in revolt against their Spanish masters; and in the course of the long war that followed the commercial activities of Antwerp received a blow from which the great city never recovered. With the decline of Antwerp, London entered upon its career as the capital of the commercial world. For now it had become necessary for the merchants of England to organize new agencies if they were to obtain the much desired products of the South and the East; and out of this necessity arose a series of great trading companies which carried the English flag far out into the waters of the New and the Old World where the royal ensign had never appeared before.

The Muscovy Company. 1553. Even before the later troubles had overtaken the city on the Scheldt, plans were forming in England for the enlargement of English trade. In the last year of Edward VI's reign some two hundred London merchants acting under the guidance of Sebastian Cabot (who in the service of Spain had seen much of the New World) organized a loose trading association which two years later was chartered as the Russia Company, though usually it was called the Muscovy Company. Early in 1553 these merchant adventurers sent out three ships under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby to find a new route to the Indies along the northern coast of Europe. It was currently believed in the middle ages that the land area of the world was approximately in the form of a large circle the center of which was the holy city of Jerusalem. This belief had been somewhat discredited by the discoveries of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century, but there still lingered a vague belief that the eastern coast of Asia was not far distant and that China and Japan might be reached by sailing around Europe as well as by sailing around Africa.

Willoughby and his men perished on the coast of Lapland, but his pilot, Richard Chancellor, found his way eastward through the White Sea to the mouth of the Dwina River. From this point Chancellor made a long overland journey to Moscow, the outcome of which was that the new company received extensive trading privileges from the Russian tsar. The Muscovy merchants were soon engaged in a growing trade which, if less romantic than the South Asiatic trade was believed to be, was found to be reasonably profitable. The company established stations in various parts of Russia and even located its traders on the shores of the Caspian Sea, whither the caravans from Persia and distant India brought the costly spices, fabrics, and other products from the Middle East.

The Eastland Company. 1579. At the time when the Muscovy Company began its operations the tsar had no territories on the Baltic Sea; but a year or two later (1558) he acquired the southern coast of the Gulf of Finland and a stretch of important coast line farther south, including the modern states of Latvia and Esthonia, which he held till 1581, when both of these provinces were lost to the Swedes. The privileges of the Muscovy traders were understood to extend to these newer conquests, and Narva on the Gulf of Finland became the chief station of the company for the west Russian trade. The greater share of the Baltic trade soon came, however, into the control of a different group of English merchants, who for some time had no legal organization. But in 1579 conditions appeared to demand the organization of a chartered corporation, and in that year the queen's government granted a charter incorporating what came to be known as the Eastland Company. Sixty-five merchants joined in the new venture, many of whom were already members of the older Muscovy Company. Nearly all the English trade with the Baltic lands was for a long time in the control of the Eastland merchants.

Oriental and African trade. While the ships of these two companies were bringing back to England the products of northern and eastern Europe, another sort of commercial adventure was taking English traders into the Mediterranean Sea, even to its farthest extremity. In 1581 a company wishing to place its trade with the Ottoman empire on a more substantial basis was given a charter and came to be known as the Turkey, or

Levant, Company. Four years later a group of merchants who for some time had carried on a trade in northern Africa found it expedient to request permission to organize as the Morocco Company. Another region that attracted merchant adventurers of Great Britain was the coast of Guinea in western Africa. Guinea was known to possess a great variety of wealth: even to this day parts of the Guinea country are known as the Grain (or pepper) Coast, the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, and the Slave Coast. English traders appeared on these African shores as early as 1551; from that year English trade has been fairly continuous in these fields.

New products. Thus the English in the earlier years of the queen's reign were building up a vast commercial empire extending from the Arctic shores about Archangel to the torrid regions of western Africa. Later in the reign even more distant ventures were to be undertaken. The ships employed in these enterprises were neither large nor numerous; nevertheless, the aggregate of the new importations was considerable in amount and of great variety. From Archangel came the characteristic products of northern Russia: whale oil, seal oil, tallow, hides, wax, flax, ropes, and other forms of cordage. The merchants of the Eastland were largely engaged in the importation of wheat and rye. From the Levant came silk and cotton fabrics, dyes, drugs, olive oil, and other Oriental products. The Morocco trade was the chief source of sugar, which had earlier been a rare luxury but was now coming into general use. From Guinea came gold and ivory, pepper and palm oil. In return the English merchants exported tin, lead, raw wool, and the varied products of the English looms.

The East and the West Indies. While the agents and the ship masters of the great trading associations were seeking and finding wealth in the new commercial fields of the Old World, another type of English adventurer was seeking riches in the newly discovered lands of the New World. The tales that came to Britain of the immense streams of gold and silver that flowed regularly from the West Indies and the neighboring mainland into the treasuries of Spain fired the English heart with a desire to sail the unknown seas and to share the wealth of the new lands. But the power of Philip II stood in the way: Spain had always claimed a monopoly of American enterprises, and after

Philip II (in 1580) ascended the throne of Portugal, all the wealth of the farther East as well as of the distant West had to pass through his ports.

The Spaniards had lost no time in making good their claim to the New World. Before his return to Spain in 1493 Columbus planted a settlement on the island of Santo Domingo; and in the next few years a number of other settlements were founded. In 1509, the year of Henry VIII's accession to the English kingship, settlements were founded on the neighboring islands of Puerto Rico and Jamaica; two years later Cuba was occupied. During the second decade of the century while the European monarchs were struggling for bits of Italian soil and Thomas Wolsey was striving to maintain the balance of power in western Europe, Spain extended her operations to the mainland about the Caribbean Sea. In 1519, while the attention of the Continent outside the Spanish peninsula was focused on the great debate between Martin Luther and the advocates of the old order in the German lands, a group of Spanish adventurers began the conquest of the Mexican empire. Ten years later, when Henry VIII was in the midst of his fight with the papacy, another group of Spanish adventurers began the conquest of Peru. Before Henry's reign had come to its close, Spanish emigrants had founded a series of settlements extending from northern Mexico to Valparaiso and Buenos Ayres.

The Spanish-American trade. Trade in the new American ports was forbidden to all but Spanish merchants. Every year a great Castilian fleet numbering perhaps a hundred ships would gather in the harbor of Seville and sail forth to the western Indies. Every spring the fleet would return from the Spanish Main bearing the products of the New World, sugar, dye stuffs, logwood, but especially gold and silver bullion. It was not to be expected that the English seamen, who did not always respect the rights of their own fellow citizens, would make the Spanish claim to a monopoly of the trade in the western lands a matter of conscience, especially since Protestant England was beginning to look on Philip II as the chief and the most dangerous of her enemies. Accordingly there grew up a form of British enterprise in the Caribbean waters that was scarcely better than piracy. But this did not disturb the English rulers, who were rapidly becoming familiar with the thought that there need be

"no peace beyond the line." Though the queen's government was careful to give no official recognition to these expeditions, at the same time very little was done to discourage piracy outside the British seas.

John Hawkins. The pioneer among these dreaded English seamen was Sir John Hawkins, a ship captain from the Devon country, whose father had made several journeys to Spanish America about 1530. Sir John also enjoys the doubtful distinction of being the first English slaver. He secured his slaves on the Guinea coast and sold them in the Spanish settlements of Santo Domingo. John Hawkins' public career extended over the greater part of Elizabeth's reign, but only a few years of his life was spent on the sea. Most of the time he was in England assisting in the administration of the royal navy.

Francis Drake. Among others who imitated Hawkins in free-booting operations were Richard Grenville and his cousin Walter Raleigh, both of whom were Devon men. In all the history of the time there is probably no name that stands more distinctly for courage, valor, and reckless daring than that of Grenville; but the great sailor was also stubborn and inclined to be quarrelsome. More prominent than either of these was Francis Drake, a kinsman of John Hawkins, and perhaps the boldest and ablest seaman of his time. In a series of raids extending over thirty years he visited the Spanish lands on both sides of the ocean, seizing and plundering Spanish vessels wherever he met them. The Spaniards called him the Dragon (*El Draque*), and before the end of his career there was no name more terrible to Spanish ears than that of Francis Drake.

Drake's most famous achievement, however, was his circumnavigation of the globe in the years 1577-1580. With five little ships he sailed out of Plymouth harbor heading southwestward toward the Straits of Magellan. Three ships remained when the flotilla entered the straits, but only one, the *Golden Hind*, made the journey northward along the Chilean coast. Having secured a vast amount of plunder in the form of bullion on the Peruvian shores and fearing to return to England through the Straits of Magellan, Drake continued his journey northward as far as Vancouver's Island. After spending the winter in San Francisco Bay, he sailed his ship westward across the Pacific

and after many dangerous adventures returned to Plymouth by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

Thomas Cavendish. Six years later a fleet of three small vessels sailed forth from Plymouth harbor to repeat the great exploit of Magellan and Drake. The expedition was commanded by Thomas Cavendish, a young English courtier who had taken to the sea in the hope of acquiring wealth of which he was in real need. In the main Cavendish followed Drake's course through the Straits of Magellan, northward along the American coast as far up as Lower California, and thence westward across the Pacific to the archipelagos off the coast of southern Asia. After an absence of a little more than two years Cavendish's own ship, the *Desire*, returned to England. Like Drake he brought home a ship load of plunder, most of which he had taken from Spanish ships on the Pacific coast.

Walter Raleigh and Humphrey Gilbert. Among the many bold seamen that Devon contributed to her Majesty's navy, Walter Raleigh holds a high and honored place. But Raleigh's intellect was of a finer quality than that of Hawkins or Drake; his vision was clearer, his purposes were larger, and his plans more enduring. He shared the common belief that Spain was the natural enemy of England; but, while agreeing that it was good and profitable to seek and seize West Indian treasure ships, he believed that a more effective measure would be to appropriate and colonize parts of the American mainland. His ideas were shared by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, an able young official with a great love for seamanship. In 1583 Sir Humphrey tried to establish a settlement in Newfoundland; but suitable colonists had not been secured and the venture failed. Sir Humphrey perished on the return voyage.

Two years later Sir Walter Raleigh sent out an expedition to found a colony on the coast of what is now North Carolina, or, as it was then called, Virginia. Richard Grenville commanded the expedition. Among the men who accompanied Grenville was Thomas Cavendish. The venture proving a failure, Raleigh made another attempt in 1587. But the times were unfavorable for colonial undertakings. The danger from the queen's enemies was daily becoming more real and the government could not be induced to render assistance to doubtful projects at a time when all the resources of the kingdom might be needed to repel in-

vasion. The colony was therefore not reënforced as planned, and the Roanoke settlement perished. But the idea survived, and twenty years later Englishmen succeeded in planting a permanent settlement at Jamestown.

Martin Frobisher and John Davis. There was another idea that haunted the minds of English navigators in the Tudor period: the belief that a route to India could be found by sailing to the north of the American continent. Sir Humphrey Gilbert wrote a famous book on this subject, a *Discourse on the North-west Passage*. The queen finally agreed to send an expedition into the Arctic to search for this passage and selected Sir Martin Frobisher, one of her best captains, to direct the venture. John Davis, whose name has been given to Davis Strait, sailed on a similar mission a decade later. These expeditions brought no material gains, however, and the belief in a northwest passage was discredited.

Philip II. Meanwhile the danger that so long had threatened from the south was taking on a more active appearance. During the reign of Mary, Philip II, as the husband of the English queen, was counted an ally of the English kingdom, and this alliance was allowed to continue in form, at least, for some years after Elizabeth had ascended the English throne. It was clear, however, that the apparent friendship between the courts at Westminster and Madrid could have no real basis. As a Catholic prince Philip found it increasingly difficult to support a Protestant sovereign, especially after Mary Stuart had returned to her duties in Edinburgh. There were also the privateering expeditions of Hawkins and his ilk to the Caribbean waters, which began a few years after Elizabeth's accession and which the Spanish authorities could not be expected to enjoy.

The decade of the seventies saw few important developments in the foreign policy of the English government. Philip protested regularly against the activities of Drake and his buccaneering friends in Spanish-American waters, but to no purpose; the queen's advisers could feel sure that so long as the uprising in the Netherlands remained unconquered, Philip's hands were tied. It was none the less a stirring period, a time in which the interests of the English people were widening as never before. The coming of Mary Stuart, the rising in the north, and the episode of the papal bull had come in successive

years (1568-1570); these events were followed by a plot against Elizabeth's life (1571) and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's in France the following year. In the Netherlands the revolt against Spanish tyranny was going forward under the masterful leadership of William the Silent. Meanwhile Drake and his imitators were successfully raiding the coasts of the Caribbean lands. All these events served to intensify the hatred for Catholic Spain, to strengthen Protestant feeling among the English people, and to quicken the loyalty of Englishmen to their stout-hearted queen.

Seminary priests and Jesuits. In 1580 the partisans of the old church renewed their attack on the Anglican establishment and a struggle began which continued for ten years. The Catholic leaders saw clearly that unless their priesthood in England could be recruited and the faithful kept in constant touch with the church, Romanism must inevitably perish in the English kingdom. William Allen, a devout Englishman who was later honored with the cardinalate, sought to meet this demand by founding a "seminary" for English Catholics at Douai, a city in northern France which in the sixteenth century belonged to the Netherlands. A few years later the school was moved to a more secure location in the ancient city of Rheims. The seminary priests soon became quite numerous and active in England, though they were never sufficiently aggressive to accomplish much for the conversion of the Protestant masses.

But in 1580 there appeared in England two remarkable men, both of whom were filled with the spirit of conquest: they were the Jesuits Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion. Both were Englishmen and both were associates of William Allen. Campion was a man of the highest character, strong in the faith of his church, and filled with enthusiasm for missionary labors. Parsons, on the other hand, spent most of his energies in promoting political intrigues. Their activities had continued but a year when Campion was seized and suffered a brutal death on Tyburn Hill. Parsons escaped and fled the land. Campion was executed under a set of recusancy laws which made the practice of Catholic rites a crime. Some of these had been passed earlier in the same year (1581) to nullify the work of the Jesuits; but the order did not cease its activities.

The changing situation in Europe. The enemies of Eliza-

both were also hoping that Philip II might be induced to invade England; but this he was not yet in position to do. Meantime the Spanish forces were gradually reconquering large parts of the revolted Netherlands, in spite of assistance rendered to the Dutch rebels by the English queen. In 1579 the Catholic provinces of modern Belgium made peace with Philip and returned to their old allegiance. New strength came to Philip in 1580 on the Spanish peninsula. In that year the reigning dynasty of Portugal became extinct, and the king of Spain, whose mother was a Portuguese princess, now came forward to claim the Portuguese throne. Portugal had not the strength to resist and thus the ruler of Spain and the Indies added to his domain not only Portugal but also the East Indies, the rich trade of which still flowed regularly into the harbor of Lisbon. It seemed as if Philip II was about to make himself master of the entire world.

Such was the new situation in Europe when Francis Drake returned from his journey around the earth. While the great navigator was on his way from Plymouth to London the queen's council was anxiously debating the question whether to agree to a humiliating treaty with his most Catholic Majesty. It was Drake's bold protest and advice that determined the council to defy the power of Spain. But Philip was not yet ready to make war on the English. For some years yet he was content with stirring up sedition in Ireland and assisting the personal enemies of the English queen.

Plots and intrigues. The years 1582-1586 were full of personal danger to Elizabeth. During these years a number of plots came to light, all of which were unsuccessful. In general all these plots looked forward to the same ends: the assassination of Elizabeth; the prompt invasion of England from northern France or the Spanish Netherlands; the liberation and accession of Mary Stuart; and the reëstablishment of Roman Catholicism in England. In these plots the Jesuit Parsons and the Spanish ambassador at Elizabeth's court were the prime movers. In 1583 the English government discovered that the Spanish monarch was abetting these plots, and Philip's ambassador was driven from the land. The following year news came of the assassination of William the Silent through the open instigation of the Spanish king. Englishmen grew fearful for the life of the queen.

It was clearly understood that these attempts to take the life of Elizabeth were all in the interest of the captive Mary, but the English were determined that no profit should come to her from the queen's death. Soon after the fall of the Dutch hero, loyal subjects of Elizabeth formed themselves into an Association, whose members pledged themselves to take the life of any pretender in whose interest the queen might be murdered. Early the next year (1585) the aims of the Association were given legal sanction by a Parliamentary act, the English government in this way serving notice on the world that Mary Stuart would never be allowed to rule in England.

The execution of Mary Stuart. The last of these plots, called Babington's plot from its chief promoter, took form in 1586. Francis Walsingham, who was still associated with the secret service, discovered the conspiracy and secured the death of the plotters. He also charged the imprisoned queen with complicity in the plot. Queen Elizabeth, who had long resisted the pressure from those who were seeking Mary Stuart's life, was finally forced to act. Mary Stuart was tried by a court created for the purpose, convicted, and executed.

The unfortunate Scottish queen has been idealized in art and literature, and the picture presented is usually one that appeals strongly to human sympathy. But it should be remembered that physical charms and a clever intellect are not the only qualities that one should look for in a queen. For Mary Stuart's tragic fate the ill-considered activities of her friends were more directly responsible than the cruel pursuit of her enemies. Apparently the Catholic sovereigns did not realize the utter hopelessness of Mary's cause in England. Her life was bound up with the life of Elizabeth. The English queen signed the death warrant with much reluctance, a feeling that seems to have been honest and genuine. Mary Stuart was brought to the block by an indignant and outraged nation; Elizabeth merely yielded in carrying out the popular demand.

The danger from Spain. Shortly before her death Mary made a will in which she transferred all her supposed rights to the English crown to Philip II. In England such a document could have neither force nor value; but it gave the Spanish king a convenient pretext for attacking England. Moreover, he urged his own descent from a granddaughter of Edward III who had

ruled six generations earlier. Realizing the impracticability of uniting the crowns of Spain and England, he seems to have intended to place, not himself, but his daughter Isabella on the English throne.

English ambitions in the New World. But Philip had other and better reasons for making war on Elizabeth. The English nation had never atoned for the depredations of English seamen in Spanish-American waters. From the point of view of Madrid the ambitions of Englishmen like Raleigh to establish settlements in the New World were a further challenge to the power of Spain which Philip II could no longer afford to ignore. For Spain claimed nearly all of the vast American continent for herself. In 1493 the pope had drawn a line, later known as the Demarcation Line, north and south through the middle of the Atlantic Ocean and had assigned all the new lands east of this line to the king of Portugal, and those lying to the west to the ruler of Spain. The following year the pope confirmed an agreement drawing this line farther to the west through the mouth of the Amazon River. But the English people had repudiated the authority of the pope, they had lost their fear of Spain, and they refused to recognize the validity of the "line."

The Merchant Adventurers in the Netherlands. Another source of irritation to the politicians at Madrid was the extended commercial activity of English traders in the rich markets of the Low Countries. In the course of the sixteenth century the foreign trade of England had come to a large extent into the control of the Merchant Adventurers. This venerable society was made up chiefly of London merchants, though it also had members in other cities. A somewhat loose association at first, it received a fairly definite organization by an act of Parliament in 1505. For some time the Fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers of England had kept their headquarters in Calais; but in the earlier Tudor period they began to center their activities at Antwerp. The extent of the English trade in the Netherlands may be indicated by the fact that at one time the fellowship employed as many as 50,000 men in those provinces. They also extended their operations into the neighboring parts of Germany, into the Scandinavian lands and along the Baltic shores where they came into frequent collision with the Hanseatic cities.

As the years passed, however, and the rivalry of the English

and the Spanish commercial interests developed into an almost open form of hostility, the position of the Merchant Adventurers in the Low Countries became increasingly difficult. In the earlier years of the Dutch revolt the fellowship sought to maintain a strictly neutral attitude, though the merchants did not scruple to provide both parties to the struggle with munitions of war. But when the Belgic provinces (in 1579) withdrew from the war, a wholly different situation was created; three years later the English merchants were forced to remove their headquarters from Antwerp across the border into the territory of the Dutch Republic. From that time on they threw their influence into the balance on the side of the Dutch rebels, while their enemies, the Hansards, supported the cause of Philip II. But the English did not intend to abandon the Dutch trade, and Elizabeth's intervention in the Dutch revolt, though traceable to several causes, was in large part due to a feeling that the interests of the Merchant Adventurers ought to be protected. But by this intervention the queen's government virtually invited war.

Drake on the coast of Spain. 1587. Mary Stuart was executed in February 1587, and Philip hoped to be ready to invade England sometime in the summer of the same year. But while he was preparing for the invasion Francis Drake appeared on the Spanish coast with a fleet of some twenty ships and entered the harbor of Cadiz where a number of the king's ships had been assembled. When the raid was over nearly fifty Spanish vessels had been destroyed and sunk. So destructive was the raid to ships and to stores that the invasion had to be postponed till the following year.

The "Invincible Armada." In July, 1588, the long-expected Armada appeared in English waters. It was a large fleet counting about 130 sail, though not all of these were effective in combat. Against these the English had assembled an even more numerous fleet, made up, however, of smaller ships than those of the great Armada. On the whole, it seems that the advantage was with the English. The battle was to be fought in the Channel where the queen's captains knew every headland and every inlet, a knowledge of which the Spanish pilots were somewhat lacking. The English artillery was far better and more effectively used than that of the Spanish galleons. But the

greatest advantage of all was the fact that on the English ships were the hardiest sailors and the most resourceful captains in all the sea-faring world.

The famous battle in the Channel is an important landmark in the history of naval warfare. For centuries the object of the opposing captains had been to come into close quarters with the enemy so that his ship might be boarded and seized. The battle would then be fought out on the opponent's deck and for such fighting considerable forces of soldiery were required. The Armada was well manned in this respect: the fighting force on the Spanish fleet was twice as large as that commanded by the English admiral. But in 1588 the English employed new tactics: their plan was to fight from a distance, to destroy or disable the enemy's ships. In such warfare the soldiers on the Spanish galleons were not only of no service, but a positive hindrance to effective action.

Early in May the Armada had gathered in Lisbon harbor and on the 20th it proceeded northward. But a storm interfered with the progress of the venture, and the fleet was compelled to seek refuge in the bay of Corunna, where it lay idle for several weeks. It was not a very hopeful host that gathered here, and the Spanish admiral, who had little knowledge of what naval warfare actually meant, urged that the venture be given up. But Philip's purpose was immovable. He hoped that the Armada would at least reach the coast of Flanders in safety and be able to assist in transporting Spanish forces from the southern Netherlands to English soil. It was this junction of forces that the chiefs of the English admiralty were determined to prevent.

The battle in the Channel. While the Spaniards were still at Corunna the major part of the English fleet was gathering in Plymouth harbor, while a smaller flotilla was holding a position at the east end of the Channel. The Plymouth fleet was commanded by Admiral Howard with Drake and Hawkins holding lesser commands. Frobisher and Davis were also present commanding important ships. The English plan was to act on the defensive, to harry the rear of the Armada, and gradually to hammer the great fleet into fragments. On July 12 the Spaniards weighed anchor at Corunna; seven days later their sails were sighted off Lizard Point. During the night of

July 19 and 20 the English worked their way out of Plymouth harbor in the face of a wind from the south which was driving the enemy up the Channel. No effort was made to stop the Armada and no shot was fired before the great fleet had passed Plymouth. For a week the two fleets sailed eastward together renewing the fight from time to time. No great impression was made on the Armada during these seven days of intermittent warfare, but the Spaniards were prevented from carrying out their plans and found it necessary to seek refuge in the roads of Calais.

The encounter at Gravelines. The decisive action was fought on July 29 at Gravelines, a few miles beyond Calais. The night before, while the Armada was still at anchor in Calais harbor, the English had sent fire ships in among the Spanish vessels. Stricken with panic the Spaniards began cutting their cables and headed out toward the open sea. In their attack the next morning the English were victorious and the enemy took the only possible chance to escape: flight eastward into the North Sea. The journey to Spain, now that the Channel was blocked, lay around the north of Scotland and proved to be a series of disasters. Only half of the Invincible Armada found its way back into Spanish waters. The English loss had been remarkably slight: one ship and one hundred men.

The decline of Spanish power. The defeat of the Spanish Armada had far-reaching results, not only for Spain and England, but also for the new lands over the sea. The power of Spain was paralyzed. The Romanist party gave up its desperate attempt to displace Elizabeth and began a search for a suitable candidate to succeed her after her death. The Catholic reaction was given a serious check which was emphasized the following year by the victory at Ivry, where Henry IV, the Protestant candidate for the French throne, routed his opponents and won the coveted prize. At the same time the confidence of the English nation was immensely strengthened. With Spain removed as a dangerous competitor England was better able to reach out after what she believed was her rightful share of the great commerce that had thus far been centered at Lisbon and Seville. Less than twenty years after the battle in the Channel the English had begun to build settlements in America and had established a regular trade in the ports of southern Asia. After a

century of power the commercial empires of Spain and Portugal had begun to decline.

The interest in the Oriental trade. Throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century Lisbon had remained the great distributing center for Oriental wares, and so long as this port was open to the traders of northern Europe, the English demand for Asiatic products could find reasonable satisfaction. But when Philip II ascended the throne of Portugal (in 1580) he promptly closed the port of Lisbon to his enemies, the Dutch and the English, and for the next twenty years there was dearth of silks and spices in the aristocratic households of England. In that same year a war broke out between the Turks and the Persians, and the agents of the Muscovy Company were forced to leave their station on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea. For some years a small stream of Oriental products had trickled into English markets by way of Astrakhan and Archangel; this stream was now dried up at the source.

English travelers in the Middle East. Ever since the founding of the Muscovy Company the merchants of England had looked with interest toward the rich lands of the mysterious East hoping some day to find their way to the fairs and bazaars beyond the Mohammedan barrier. As early as 1557, Anthony Jenkinson, an English adventurer in the service of the Muscovy Company, set out from the shores of the Caspian Sea to find the way to India. Traveling eastward some six hundred miles he reached the city of Bokhara, but he did not find the coveted route to the lands farther south. Several later attempts by agents of the Muscovy traders to enter into direct relations with Persia and India also failed.

The first Englishman who is known to have made a successful journey to India was Thomas Stevens, a young Jesuit teacher and missionary, who went out with the Portuguese in 1579. Stevens never returned to England; but the letters that he sent to his family are believed to have done much to stimulate the growing interest in the Asiatic lands. A few years later (1583) a party of four English merchants under the leadership of John Newberie set out from Aleppo, an important trading center of the Levant Company, to make the journey to India by way of Bagdad and the Persian Gulf. In due time the company actually reached the great peninsula. Two of the

four decided to remain in India; Newberie died on the return journey; but the fourth member of the party, Ralph Fitch, finally found his way back to England, which he reached in 1591, eight years after he and his fellow adventurers had set out from Aleppo.

The Dutch in the East Indies. 1595. In the same year that saw Newberie and Fitch on the eastward journey to the Persian Gulf, a young Dutchman, Jan Hugen van Linschoten, who resided at Lisbon, went out with a Portuguese expedition to Goa, the center of Portuguese power in the East. Linschoten remained in India for nearly a decade; but in 1592 he returned to his native country and wrote an account of his experiences in the strange lands of the Orient. This work proved to be of great importance. Three years after Linschoten's return a Dutch fleet reached Java and began to lay the foundations of a Dutch empire in the East Indies.

The English East India Company. 1600. In April, 1591, three ships under the command of James Lancaster sailed out from Plymouth to attempt the sea route to the East Indies. The expedition reached the waters of southern Asia, but a mutinous crew forced the return before the purpose of the expedition could be attained. Stirred by the reports of Drake, Stevens, Cavendish, Fitch, Lancaster, Linschoten, and others who had visited the Middle East, the traders of London now determined to seek a share in the rich trade of India. In 1599 a number of merchants met to plan the organization of an Asiatic trading company. About one hundred, mostly men of the Muscovy trade, joined in a request to the queen for a charter. This was not granted immediately, owing to the fear that Spain might renew the war; but the following year a charter was secured and the East India Company began its long and adventurous existence. The new company was given the monopoly of English commerce from Cape of Good Hope eastward to Cape Horn. In the following February, a fleet of five ships sailed from London to southern Asia. James Lancaster commanded the expedition and John Davis of Arctic fame, who had accompanied a Dutch expedition to the Indies three years earlier, served as pilot. The fleet carried a cargo of glass, cutlery, hides, bullion and other wares that Davis thought would find a market in the Orient and returned laden

with pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and other spices. The venture proved highly successful, the merchants interested netting a profit of ninety-five per cent on the capital invested. But the expedition of 1601 had other results that were even greater; for it marked the beginning of the British empire in the East Indies.

English prose literature: Hooker and Bacon. Glorious as are the maritime annals of the Elizabethan age, even more splendid are those that relate the achievements of literary art. For this was the time of Hooker and Bacon, of Spenser and Shakespeare. Hooker was the theologian of the period: his *Ecclesiastical Polity* was written in defense of Anglicanism against the attack of a reforming party within the church, the Puritans. Another great writer of English prose was Francis Bacon, the son of the lord keeper, to whose duties he later succeeded. Bacon was the first great English philosopher. His achievement was to develop and systematize a new method of logical reasoning, the inductive, by which a conclusion is reached from the examination of a number of particular instances. The world has always reasoned inductively; but it was Francis Bacon who first reduced the process to scientific form and gave it a scientific basis.

Edmund Spenser. Edmund Spenser was known throughout the middle years of Elizabeth's reign as a faithful official in the Irish civil service. His employment was more honorable than profitable, it seems; he was, indeed, given a castle and three thousand acres of land, but his estate appears to have had scenic attractions only. In these Irish solitudes, he found ample time and even inspiration for literary labors: a poem addressed to the queen brought the reward of a pension, which was not regularly paid, however, as Burleigh's practical soul objected to paying "all this for a song."

The song in question was the *Faery Queene*, a poem written in praise of Elizabeth, the first cantos of which were not published before the queen was nearly sixty years old. By this time she seems to have lost the physical attractions that she had struggled so hard to conserve; but this fact did not discourage Edmund Spenser. He writes that

"Fairer and nobler liveth none this hour,
Ne like in grace, ne like in learned skill;

Therefore they Glorian call that glorious flower;
 Long mayest thou, Glorian, live in glory and great power."

William Shakespeare. The greatest genius of the century was William Shakespeare, who carried the dramatic art to a higher point of excellence than literature had known before. Shakespeare was an indifferent actor from Stratford-on-Avon whose connection with the stage was important chiefly in that it gave him an opportunity to study dramatic methods. The life that is reflected in Shakespeare's plays is that of the closing years of the queen's reign and the continuance of the same period into the reign of her successor, James I. Like the vast majority of the Englishmen of the time, William Shakespeare had great reverence for the strong-souled queen. A few years after her death he placed the following prophetic lines on the tongue of Thomas Cranmer who assisted at Elizabeth's baptism:

"All princely graces
 That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
 With all the virtues that attend the good
 Shall still be doubled on her: truth shall nurse her,
 Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her.

.
 In her days every man shall eat in safety
 Under his own vine what he plants, and sing
 The merry song of peace to all his neighbors:
 God shall be truly known, and those about her
 From her shall read the perfect ways of honor."

Literature and the new lands. It may be doubted whether the poetic and dramatic writings of the age could have attained their wonderful excellence if it had not been for the inspiration that came from the magnificent achievements of the Elizabethan seamen. The long journey to the New World and to the ancient realms of Asia, the new wealth that steadily poured into the chests of the nation, the tales of weird and bloody adventures in the seas of India and on the shores of the Spanish Main stirred the entire nation and the new interest finds expression in almost every literary product of the period. For a time Guiana, a little known region in South America, was believed to be one of the richest lands of the earth. Sir Walter Raleigh

made a journey to this region in 1595 and the following year George Chapman wrote a "song of Guiana" in which he personified the country as

"Guiana — whose rich feet are mines of gold,
Whose forehead knocks against the roof of stars."

And even earlier Edmund Spenser in the *Faery Queene* alluded to

"... Rich Oranoky, though but known late;
And that huge river, which doth bare his name
Of warlike Amazons, which doe possess the same."

Two decades later Michael Drayton, in the nineteenth song of *Poly-Olbion*, a somewhat prosy and tiresome poem, took occasion to enumerate all the famous mariners of the Elizabethan period, and to state their achievements in stiff-legged verse.

It was to be expected that William Shakespeare, whose vision embraced all the activities of his countrymen, should reflect the same interest in the newer lands. Allusions to trading ventures on distant shores are found in many of his plays. The East Indies, Morocco, Tripoli (a Syrian city), Barbary, Lisbon, Mexico, Guiana, the West Indies, — these are some of the far-away lands in which Shakespeare shows an interest. The scene of his last great play, *The Tempest*, is laid on the Bermuda Islands. The new products also have come to Shakespeare's notice, even the humble potato, not to mention the luxuries that came from the legendary lands of the East.

The last decade of the queen's reign. The last ten years of the sixteenth century saw, perhaps, more strong, active and brilliant men in English life than any earlier period had beheld. The war with Spain did not close with the destruction of the Armada, and Hawkins, Drake, and Howard continued their activities, striking terror into the hearts of the Spanish nation. Frobisher, Davis, and Lancaster were still sailing waters known and unknown. Raleigh continued active in many lines, as poet, explorer, and courtier. Spenser was publishing his masterpiece. Hooker and Bacon were investigating profound problems in science and politics. Shakespeare was writing his immortal plays.

But the same decade saw the greater number of these giants play their final part on the Elizabethan stage. In 1591 Sir Richard Grenville, with his little ship the *Revenge*, fought a fleet of fifty-three Spanish ships near the Azores and was taken only after a night and a day. Cavendish set out to visit the Pacific the following year but the venture failed and the great sailor died on the return journey. Frobisher found the grave of a soldier in Brittany two years later. In 1595 John Hawkins and Francis Drake led their last attack on the shores of the Spanish Main. The expedition was not successful and Sir John, weighed down by disappointment and the burden of seventy-five years, gave up the ghost the same year in the waters of Puerto Rico. Drake died eleven weeks later near the Isthmus of Panama. Lord Burleigh died in 1598. Other men of prominence were withdrawing from active life and service. Lesser men were taking their places.

National discontent. Old age and loneliness stole in upon the masterful queen, and it is not strange that flatterers and favorites should find important places at the royal court. Their influence was not of the best. The last few years of Elizabeth's reign heard a great deal of complaint: Englishmen had become displeased with the queen's government. The problems that gave most concern were the creation of monopolies in trade and manufacture; the distressing poverty of the masses; the unsettled state of Ireland; the question of the succession; and the unsatisfactory situation in the church.

The monopolies. Two of these problems, those of the church and the succession, the queen and her advisers were not willing to bring into the forum of Parliamentary discussion; but an effort was made to pacify the rebellious Irishmen and to quiet the general discontent on the subject of monopolies. It had long been the custom of the English king to grant exclusive rights to manufacture and sell certain necessities. For these rights annual payments were made to the crown, and the government consequently could see little wrong in the practice. But as the monopolies covered such articles as glass, soap, starch, and salt, there was naturally much complaint of extortionate prices. For twenty-five years the agitation against the granting of such favors was kept up; but it was not until 1601 that any important step was taken to cancel any of these grants.

Only partial relief was given, however, and the problem and the grievance remained.

“A well-ordered state.” The statesmen of the Tudor period believed in a social order in which each class or group has its own well-defined place, duty, or function. This belief was inherited from the middle ages, though it was held somewhat less rigidly than in the age of villein service. In its application it led to a great deal of regulation or control on the part of the state, an activity that extended into almost every field of social life. As the great mass of the population was engaged in some form of manual labor, these regulations were chiefly concerned with the working classes. It was held that the power of the state might properly be invoked to compel men to perform the labor that was properly theirs. But the Tudor economists went further: if the state insists that all shall work, it becomes the duty of the state to provide opportunities for those who are willing to labor but can find no work to do; if it is illegal for the workingman to leave his employer, it is also illegal for the master to dismiss the man; furthermore, it is clearly the duty of the state to provide the necessities of life for those who, because of age or some form of physical disability, are no longer able to work for a living.

The Elizabethan poor laws. Acting on these premises, Parliament in the reign of Elizabeth passed a series of laws to check the increasing poverty of the masses. The series began in 1563 with a stringent act regulating the terms of apprenticeship and closed with the famous poor law of 1601. The general purposes of these laws were to reduce idleness and vagrancy, to stimulate production, and to force the cost of living down to a reasonable level. In a large measure the economic life of the nation was given into the keeping of the justices of the peace. These officials were authorized to enforce compulsory labor, to punish vagabonds, to fix and regulate prices, to determine the length of a working day, and in general to regulate the conditions of labor and industry. The poor law of 1601 charged the several parishes with the duty of providing for the needy within their borders. Funds for this purpose were to be secured from “rates,” or local taxes. The enforcement of the law was entrusted to a body of parish overseers acting under the supervision of the justices of the peace.

Though amended from time to time, the Elizabethan poor law remained in force for more than two hundred years.

Ireland. The Irish problem in its modern form may be said to have originated when Henry VIII elevated Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom and induced the Irish aristocracy to recognize him as Irish king. From that time on the English kings sought to extend their authority beyond the Pale over the whole island. To secure a firmer hold upon the rebellious country the queen's government planned to colonize the more disaffected parts of the island with Englishmen. It was easy enough to find men like Raleigh who would gladly become Irish landlords; but real colonists were not forthcoming before a generation later, when a great settlement of Scotsmen and Englishmen was formed in northern Ireland.

The attempts of the English to plant settlements on what the natives regarded as their own land irritated the Irish chiefs, and several uprisings occurred. Another important grievance was the English plan to extend the shire system into the territories of the clans, the result of which would be to diminish the authority of the native leaders. The uprisings were led for the most part by the restless Fitzgeralds, who controlled large areas in central and eastern Ireland, and by the O'Neills, a native Irish family whose lands lay in the extreme north. All these movements failed. In dealing with the Fitzgeralds the queen gave her authority to a rival family, the Butlers, and a civil war resulted, the horrors of which can hardly be adequately described. The Butlers with their English allies overcame their enemies and the party of the Fitzgeralds was almost destroyed. Their estates comprising more than half a million acres were forfeited to the British crown.

The Plantation of Ulster. The Irish troubles culminated in the plantation of Ulster early in the following reign. Ulster was the home of two great tribes or clans, the O'Neills and the O'Donnells. In 1595 Hugh O'Neill called on his clansmen to rise against the Irish government and sought to extend the movement to other parts of the island. But the rising did not become general and after several years of fighting it was finally put down (1603). Four years later the defeated chieftain was apparently planning another revolt; but finding little response among his neighbors Hugh O'Neill fled the land. With him

went Rory O'Donnell, the chief of the O'Donnell clan. Acting on the theory that the lands of an Irish tribe actually belonged to the chief, James I, who had succeeded Elizabeth, declared large areas of Ulster soil forfeited to the crown and proceeded to colonize the region with Protestants from the larger island. The earliest settlers began to arrive in 1609 and the process continued for several years. Since that day the northeastern counties of Ireland have been loyal to the British king.

The Scotch-Irish. Both England and Scotland contributed to the settlement of Ulster, but the greater part of the new population was drawn from the border shires. For more than a century the border had been the scene of raids and feuds and private warfare, a condition that was scarcely tolerable now that the two kingdoms were under the same august sovereign. In deporting the border families King James therefore accomplished a double purpose: he not only strengthened his position in Ulster, he also secured peace in the border countries.

The new settlers made excellent colonists. The four northeastern counties of Ireland are still the most progressive and prosperous section of the island, and Belfast is the leading Irish port. The natives were not wholly driven out but were allowed to remain side by side with the new arrivals. But the colonists were chiefly of the Presbyterian faith and very soon a strong feeling of hostility grew up between the Ulster Presbyterians and the Catholics elsewhere on the island, a feeling that shows no sign of abatement. The new settlement came to be of great importance: it broke the unity of the Irish race and made successful revolt against foreign domination exceedingly difficult.

The Virginia Company. The plans for the plantation of Ulster began to take form in 1607, the year of the flight of the two earls. In the same year another line of Tudor policy was carried out by the planting of a settlement on the James River in distant Virginia. For this King James deserves little honor, as he did not believe in colonization of this sort. The venture was a direct result of the commercial operations in Russia, the Levant, the Indies, and elsewhere in foreign lands. The Virginia Company which undertook the new venture was an association of merchants in London and Plymouth; but the leading spirits were Gosnold the navigator, who had visited the shores of

America in earlier years, Sir Thomas Smith, a London merchant, Sir John Popham, an eminent English judge, Ferdinando Gorges, an officer of the royal navy, and the adventurer John Smith. The company was chartered in 1606 and in December of that year three ships carrying 120 men sailed out into the Atlantic to plant the British empire in America as it had been planted six years before in southern Asia.

King James of Scotland. As the years passed, the English people became more and more solicitous about the succession to the throne. The queen was approaching the edge of the grave; but no one knew who was to succeed her. The Tudor dynasty was not without its representatives; but none of them possessed the dignity or station necessary to a candidate for the throne. Elizabeth's nearest relative in England was her third cousin Lord Beauchamp, a nephew of Lady Jane Grey; and the queen probably had him in mind when she said that 'no rascal should sit on her throne.' Whether she ever really designated James Stuart, "our cousin of Scotland," as her successor is not known and is not important, as no ruler can dispose of the English crown by will without Parliamentary sanction. King James was also a third cousin to the queen, and though ineligible as long as Henry's will was still law, he had a strong following among the English magnates, who hoped that his accession would secure the union of the two crowns and perpetual peace in Great Britain. There was much intriguing in favor of King James during the closing years of Elizabeth's life, and it is said that many prominent Englishmen had learned the touch of Stuart gold. In March, 1603, the great queen died, and the following day the Privy Council proclaimed James I king of England. The people of England gladly acquiesced, and a few weeks later the Scottish king arrived at Westminster to receive the English crown.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE RISE OF THE PURITAN PARTY

The Anglican establishment. The Anglican church had received its sanction from Parliament. Its government rested on statutory acts; its worship was ordained by the legislature, even its creed was authorized by law. To a large extent these various acts had been dictated by a spirit of compromise; consequently the new religious establishment did not satisfy all classes. There was also the fact that the organic laws, being drawn in somewhat general terms, were soon found to be in need of interpretation and amendment. From time to time the rulers of the church sought to clarify the situation by issuing supplementary orders and instructions usually addressed to the clergy. Such were the "Book of Advertisements," for which Archbishop Parker was chiefly responsible; the "Lambeth Articles," embodying the ideas of the strenuous Archbishop Whitgift; and the "Canons of 1604," drawn up under the eye of Whitgift's even more strenuous successor, Richard Bancroft. Frequently these had the effect of law; but they did little to help the situation, for the critics of the establishment did not receive them kindly, even denying that they had proper legal authority.

Early Puritanism. So long as the conflict with Rome was on, the quarrel over details was kept down. But with the final victory of Protestantism in the early years of Elizabeth's reign the internal strife broke out in earnest. At first the dissatisfaction was chiefly with the ceremonies and worship of the church, which many felt were too close a copy of the Catholic ritual. This feeling had existed in England since the beginning of the Protestant movement: John Hooper, who is sometimes called the first Puritan, refused to wear the scarlet robe of the episcopal office which the church required in the days of Edward VI; he was also reluctant to take the episcopal oath. Only after a brief residence in the Fleet prison was he willing to be consecrated in the manner prescribed by law. The Marian

exiles, who on the Continent had come into contact with the bald and simple worship of Calvinism, did much to spread and intensify this opposition to elaborate robes and ceremonies. The subject of robes was dealt with quite specifically in Parker's "Advertisements," but the agitation did not subside.

In the matter of doctrine there was, on the other hand, very little disagreement: the English Protestants were inclined to accept on disputed points the theology of John Calvin rather than that of the German reformers. Whitgift's "Lambeth Articles" were a Calvinistic document. Soon, however, a new difficulty arose in a determined opposition to the Anglican form of church government, a feeling which in time developed into intense bitterness.

The men who were taking this critical attitude toward the established order soon came to be known as Puritans, men who wished to purify the ceremonial of the church. The term Puritan is very inclusive, being often used as a general term for all the various Protestant factions that were working in opposition to the established order in the English church. Any positive platform or series of Puritan principles is difficult to find or formulate; but there did exist a Puritan type of mind and a Puritan view of life which gave distinct color to the movement.

The characteristics of Puritanism. The characteristic features of Puritanism were derived principally from a close and continued study of the Scriptures. In the sixteenth century there were no newspapers or magazines; literature was not generally accessible; but the love for reading was strong, and this love the Bible helped to satisfy. The sacred book proved to be a comfort and a revelation to the serious-minded reader, and the result was a profound modification of character in a direction which is, perhaps, best indicated in the writings of Milton. The mind that was filled with the historic lore of the Old Testament, the sublime poetry of the Psalms, the eloquent oratory of the Prophets, and the clear-cut principles of the Mosaic law could not fail to display its spiritual possessions; and so we have the Puritan Christian, strong in prayer, strict in conduct, quick to discern evil in others, eager to testify to the faith that was within him, stubborn in argument, and confident that he knew the truth.

Agreement and disagreement. The real strength of Puritanism lay in its emphasis on the right of the individual conscience to determine for itself what is truth; this was also its fundamental weakness, for all consciences have not the same light. It was inevitable, therefore, that division should soon arise within the Puritan fold. On the need of simplifying the Prayer Book there was general agreement; but on the subject of church government there were notable differences. It seemed to many that the episcopal system, under which each bishopric is a little ecclesiastical monarchy, was evil. The restless Puritan agitators came into early conflict with the laws governing the life of the church, especially with the Act of Uniformity. Naturally they looked on the enforcement of these laws as wicked persecution. Since it was the peculiar duty of the bishops to enforce the regulations of the church, such persecution could usually be traced to their activities. Consequently, the dislike for episcopacy grew into a conviction that the bishop's office was of evil origin.

Thomas Cartwright. Presbyterianism. The earliest distinct anti-episcopal party originated in the teachings of Thomas Cartwright, a professor at Cambridge, which was still the center of religious radicalism in England. Cartwright began to urge reform in church government shortly before 1570. His plan was to remodel the Anglican establishment on a republican basis, and to create an organization somewhat similar to the system that was being developed in Scotland, chiefly through the efforts of Cartwright's learned and courageous contemporary, the Scotsman Andrew Melville. Melville's plan has been called "Presbyterian" from its emphasis on the local ministry, the elders or presbyters, who are chosen by the congregation to govern the local church, and of whom the pastor, or teaching elder, is always one. There were many varieties of Presbyterianism in the sixteenth century, but the tendency was toward the modern form in which the local churches are grouped into presbyteries administered by a meeting of elders sitting as delegates from the various congregations. The presbytery is the real unit in the Presbyterian system. Its sessions exercise a measure of control over the local churches; it assists in the election of ministers to vacant pulpits, and acts as a court of appeal. The presbyteries again send delegates to a larger body,

the synod, and to the general assembly, which in Scotland is a church Parliament for the entire nation. In the Presbyterian scheme there is no logical place for a bishop; it will be observed that authority originates in election by the communicant membership, and not, as under the Anglican system, in appointment by the central government. In 1572 and the following years attempts were made to establish presbyteries in various parts of England but without much success.

Robert Browne. Congregationalism. Ten years after Cartwright had begun his agitation the bishops were once more disturbed by a demand for a change in the constitution of the church. One Robert Browne, an Anglican priest, had for some time preached that the state church had no Scriptural basis; that, in fact, no form of church government except that of the local church was authorized by Holy Writ. Every local body of believers by right formed a self-governing unit, independent of all outside authorities. Browne was, therefore, in opposition to the Presbyterian idea as well as to the episcopal system. His theory was known as Brownism, or Separatism, and bears close resemblance to the system called Independency or Congregationalism, which arose in England a generation later and was widely adopted among the Reformed churches in the American colonies. Congregationalism in the earlier years of the seventeenth century does not seem, however, to have contemplated absolute separation from the established church, but was forced by circumstances to take this position at a later date.

Robert Browne organized a separatist congregation in Norwich in 1570, the year in which the Jesuit missionaries first appeared in England. If his doctrine had prevailed, all formal union among the Protestants would have disappeared, for under Brownism no general organization could exist. Cartwright's plan would, on the other hand, have maintained the unity of the church, though its adoption would have driven thousands who venerated the ancient episcopal institution into the Romanist fold. The government, therefore, found it necessary to emphasize the connections of Anglicanism with the historic past; and it was determined to allow no deviation from the legal standards. The "recusancy laws," which were aimed chiefly at the Romanists, came to be used against all who tried to subvert the existing order, Protestants as well as Catholics, and many strenuous

souls had to take up their abode in the terrible prisons of the time.

Brownism seems not to have been very influential. After a year of troubled existence in Norwich Robert Browne's congregation emigrated to the Netherlands. Dissensions arising within the membership, Browne abandoned his people and after a time returned to England. He finally renounced his peculiar beliefs and was reconciled to the established church.

Low church Anglicans. A third faction, which may be called low church Anglicans, wished to retain the historic constitution, bishops and all, but would reduce the power of the church authorities and give more freedom to the individual conscience. Without asking that the Prayer Book be abolished, these men demanded the right to make changes or omissions in the ceremonial. It was this party that was rightly called Puritan. Later events, however, especially the vigorous enforcement of the recusancy laws, drove many of the moderate Anglicans into the more pronounced Presbyterian camp.

The Court of High Commission. Thus during the dangerous decade of 1579-1589, the decade of the seminary priests, the Jesuits, the Babington plot, the Armada, and Brownism, the Anglican church was attacked from two sides, by Romanist and Puritan. In the struggle with these enemies the authorities made extensive use of a variety of courts and commissions, though more particularly of a new ecclesiastical tribunal, the Court of High Commission, which could act for the entire kingdom. This has been called the English inquisition; it was authorized by the Act of Supremacy but was not fully organized before 1583. The chief members of the court were the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London. Its chief function was to purge the church of dissenting clergymen and to punish those who in any way failed to perform the duties of the priesthood according to the rules of the church. It was an energetic body and did much to check the spread of Puritan views and Puritan practices.

Whitgift and Hooker. The first two primates chosen under the new Protestant régime, Matthew Parker and Edmund Grindal, were men of moderate spirit; Grindal even had Puritan leanings and disliked to enforce the laws of the church. On his death the queen gave the primacy to John Whitgift, who

was a zealous believer in the new establishment. For a decade or more he had been the intellectual chieftain of the Anglican party. When Cartwright began to urge the adoption of the Presbyterian system, his most effective critic was John Whitgift. It was the new archbishop who secured the reorganization of the High Commission court and for ten years there was a vigorous enforcement of the laws governing the English church.

Perhaps even more effective than Whitgift's methods in the warfare against Puritanism was a famous work on the constitution of the Anglican church. This was the *Ecclesiastical Polity* by the great intellectual opponent of Puritanism, Richard Hooker. Hooker was an English priest of great piety and learning. He held that the episcopal system had proved its excellence by efficient working in England for one thousand years; that the proposed Presbyterian system could not be shown to have originated with Christ, as its supporters claimed; and that, consequently, the English church was under no compulsion to change its constitution.

But in spite of all that Elizabeth, Hooker, and Whitgift could accomplish in their various ways, Puritanism, though driven to cover, maintained its existence and continued its propaganda. To the queen's great disgust Puritan members of Parliament in the closing decade of her reign persisted in bringing up the subject of church reform; but the queen and the bishops manfully resisted all attempts at changes and nothing was accomplished.

James I. 1603-1625. In 1603, a few weeks after the death of Queen Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland came to England and was crowned as James I. Though the son of the Catholic Mary, James had been brought up a Presbyterian; but he disliked the republicanism of the Scottish church, as it was not suited to his theories of Scottish monarchy. During the middle ages much had been heard of the church as a divine institution. A few bold thinkers had dared to hold that kings and emperors also ruled by virtue of appointment by the Almighty; and in the sixteenth century this belief in the divine character of the state came to be widely accepted. Martin Luther's revolt from Rome and his denial of papal supremacy naturally drove him to place greater emphasis on the divine right of the secular princes. This doctrine was eagerly accepted by James who

developed it into a theory of divine hereditary right: not only had the Almighty ordained a monarchical form of government, but he had placed it in the hands of a definite family in each state. It seems clear that a sovereign who has his authority from God himself can not be held responsible for his government or limited in his official activities by any earthly power or institution. Divine right therefore implies absolute monarchy. For a king ruling by divine appointment a system of government in the church by bishops of his own selection would naturally seem an ideal system.

Richard Bancroft and William Laud. During the earlier years of the new reign a related doctrine was striking deep roots in the Anglican mind: the divine right of episcopacy. Many Anglicans were dissatisfied with Hooker's appeal to reason, expediency, and historic values. Saint Paul alludes to bishops as well as to presbyters, and the partisans of the episcopal system could see no reason why they could not meet their Presbyterian opponents on the field of Scripture. The belief that the bishop's office is of divine origin and necessary to the church seems to have been first put forward by Richard Bancroft in 1589. It was not well received at first. The year following the accession of James I, William Laud, a young Oxford theologian, maintained in an academic disputation that without bishops there could be no true church. In the same year the king appointed Bancroft archbishop of Canterbury. Bancroft and Laud's view of the episcopal office soon became the accepted belief in high church circles.

James I and the Puritans. The church problem was the very first to present itself to the new king. Naturally the Puritans hoped much from a ruler who had been trained in Presbyterianism; and even before King James had reached his new capital, a petition was presented to him bearing the signatures of several hundred disaffected Anglican priests (a thousand signatures had been hoped for) asking permission to omit certain parts of the Prayer Book service: especially did the petitioners object to the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, to questions addressed to infants, to confirmation, to clerical robes, and to the practice of bowing at the mention of the name of Jesus. The king, who was rejoicing in the vernal glories of his English kingdom, made a show of benign liberality.

Early the next year he called a conference between the Puritan and high church parties at Hampton Court over which he presided. No result came from this meeting, as the purpose of each faction was merely to overcome the other in debate. When from a chance remark the king discovered that the Puritan reformers leaned toward a Presbyterian organization, he lost his royal patience and in a rambling speech informed the conference that "a presbytery as well agreeth with a monarchy as God and the Devil." When the Puritans had nothing to reply to the king's speech, he adjourned the session and definitely placed himself on the high church side: "If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the land, or else do worse." Many of the disaffected priests did conform but about one hundred refused to submit to the royal will and lost their offices. In this policy of repression the king had the active support of Archbishop Bancroft, who was, if possible, more inclined to persecution than the king himself.

The Puritan congregation at Scrooby. In 1604 the issue was, therefore, definitely drawn between the contending parties both as to church government and as to ritual. An effort was now made to hunt out separatist congregations and some of these found it expedient to leave the country and seek refuge in Holland. Among them the most famous is the congregation at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, the members of which stole out of England in 1608, and a dozen years later emigrated to New England, where they founded the colony of Plymouth.

The political theories and ambitions of James I. James I was a man of no striking abilities as a statesman, but he possessed considerable learning and had great confidence in his own wisdom. Believing firmly in "divine right," he naturally cherished absolutistic ambitions; and, though he lacked the courage to take any positive steps in the direction of absolute monarchy, the spirit of absolutism was present in his reign from the very beginning. The dissenting church party ranged itself in opposition to his policies quite early in the reign; soon another faction joined this opposition on political grounds. In time these two factions coalesced into a single party which in a vague way came to stand for reforms in the established church and limitation of the royal authority.

King James did not expect to govern without the assistance of Parliament; but in the Stuart system the legislature was to play a decidedly secondary part. Parliament could be made useful to carry out the king's will: it was to legislate and levy taxes according to the king's directions. Such had practically been its functions under the early Tudors; but the frequent, almost yearly, sessions of the nation's representatives between 1529, when the Reformation Parliament first met, and 1559, when Protestantism was made a permanent fact, had developed a sense of importance, independence, and pugnacity in the House of Commons that made it difficult for the king to carry out any arbitrary purposes. The king's insistence upon his "divine right" irritated the Commons; but still more serious was his interference with the cherished right of Parliament to levy or to refuse taxes.

The problem of revenue. For nearly three centuries it had been customary for Parliament to allow the king a revenue from tunnage and poundage, the right to collect a duty on certain specified classes of imported goods. This made a very important part of the royal income, but the yield was insufficient for the improvident ruler; and what with his expensive family, his Scottish favorites, and the chronic rebelliousness of Ireland, his resources soon dwindled. It is also true that even a thrifty king would have found it extremely difficult to carry on the English government with the revenues available in the seventeenth century. The wars of the Tudor period had forced a notable increase in the military and the naval budget of the kingdom, a large part of which, especially on the naval side, threatened to become permanent. Meanwhile, the strain on the royal exchequer was further aggravated by certain revolutionary changes in the world of finance. The discovery of extensive mineral resources in Mexico and Peru had brought vast stores of bullion into the treasuries of Spain, which soon began to find its way to other parts of Europe in the form of gold and silver coinage. This increase in the available currency inevitably led to a change in prices: the purchasing power of money decreased and prices rose to higher levels. At the same time the income of the English king, based as it was on old grants, agreements, and assessments, remained almost stationary. After three years of rule in England James I found his

treasury almost empty. Reluctant to ask money from Parliament, the king began to look about for new sources of income.

Stuart finance. There were two methods by which the revenues from tunnage and poundage might be increased: the old rates might be raised or a tax might be levied (imposed) on products not taxed earlier. King James adopted the latter expedient: he imposed a duty on currants, which netted a handsome sum. A merchant of the Levant Company questioned the right of the government to levy such a tax without the permission of Parliament. The case was heard in the Court of the Exchequer, and the judges upheld the king's contention. King James construed the decision as giving him complete control of the customs duties, and proceeded to readjust the schedule of rates according to his own needs. The result was to intensify the quarrel with Parliament, whose dearest privilege had thus been violated.

Toward the close of his reign James I adopted financial expedients which were corrupt as well as illegal. If the sovereign wished to honor a subject he might admit him to knighthood or he might grant him a peerage. Knighthood, originally a military distinction, had occasionally been conferred on civilians in the later middle ages, and in the sixteenth century this practice had become quite common. In 1611 King James, finding himself in need of money for his operations in Ulster, hit on the plan of selling a new title, that of baronet, which was to cost about £1000. Later in the reign James also sold peerages and even high ministerial offices: his lord treasurer at one time paid £20,000 for his appointment. Such practices inevitably led to corruption in the government, since those who had bought their offices naturally sought to reimburse themselves for the outlay.

Royal favorites: Buckingham. The matter of the "impositions" and other irregular financial methods was of chief interest to the Commons; but King James also managed to incur the active hostility of the Lords. The English peers have an ancient right to act as the king's advisers, and in the seventeenth century this privilege was still taken seriously. To their disgust and indignation the great nobles discovered that the royal ear was more inclined to listen to men of lower birth. King James had several such favorites, but the most obnoxious

was George Villiers, a young squire from Leicestershire, who became prominent in 1615 when he was admitted to knighthood. The next year he was given a seat in the House of Lords, though only twenty-four years old; two years later he had risen to the high dignity of marquis of Buckingham. Other offices and honors were showered upon him, and the young upstart apparently retained the confidence and controlled the policies of James and his son Charles till his career was cut short by an assassin's knife in 1628.

King James and the Thirty Years' War. The year when James I threw away the support of the aristocracy by making his favorite a marquis saw the beginning of a tremendous conflict on the Continent in which the Stuart dynasty had a peculiar interest. In 1618 the Bohemian nobility deposed King Ferdinand and the following year Frederick, the elector of the Palatinate, was called to the vacant throne. The elector was the son-in-law of James and an ancestor of the present king of England. James I was placed in an awkward position: the English nation sympathized with Frederick, as he was the head of a Protestant German Union which had been organized in anticipation of war with the Catholic states in the empire. But for several reasons the English king could not think of going to war in behalf of his rash son-in-law; his timid soul shrank from conflicts of any sort; his great faith in his own shrewdness had led him to believe that he could accomplish the same results by diplomatic efforts; his finances were in their usual disordered condition. Moreover, his son-in-law had surely sinned by accepting a throne that Ferdinand held by divine right. But not the least difficulty was the king's ambition to marry his son Charles to a kinswoman of this same injured Ferdinand, a princess of the Hapsburg family in Spain.

When Parliament met two years later (1621) Frederick was in sore straits. In the preceding November his forces had been overwhelmed in the battle of the White Mountain (near Prague) and soon he had lost not only Bohemia but his ancestral lands on the middle Rhine. The House of Commons was ready to vote funds for a war against the enemies of German Protestantism; but King James preferred to continue his futile negotiations. Consequently nothing was accomplished and Frederick, the "Winter King," ended his career in exile.

Monopolies and impeachment. In this Parliament the quarrel between the king and the Commons reached its culmination. The business of the kingdom was passing through a period of serious depression; and the politicians of the time, believing the disturbance to be due to the practice of granting industrial monopolies, attacked the economic policy of the government with great violence. Especially did the Commons object to the privileges allowed in the making of gold and silver thread; moreover, it was believed that this industry consumed a vast amount of bullion which ought rather to be sent to the national mint. To meet the new situation the House of Commons revived the practice of impeachment which had fallen into disuse in the reign of Henry VI nearly two centuries earlier. The most noted victim of the proceedings of 1621 was the famous lawyer and philosopher Francis Bacon, whom the Commons believed to have favored monopoly and to have profited thereby. Accordingly they impeached the lord chancellor for bribery. Though Bacon had always been an upright judge, he was, nevertheless, technically guilty of accepting gifts from litigants whose suits were to be tried in the chancery court. He was dismissed from his office and condemned to imprisonment during the king's pleasure, but was released after suffering the loss of freedom for three or four days. The remaining five years of his life he devoted to literature and the advancement of science.

The plans for a Spanish marriage. The Commons also looked with disfavor on the king's foreign policy, the keystone of which was a matrimonial alliance with the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain. If the prince of Wales should find it agreeable to marry a Spanish princess, the government at Madrid ought in return to withdraw from the alliance with the Catholic princess of Germany. If England and Spain should combine to bring pressure on the hostile factions in the empire, the war might be brought to an end, so James firmly believed, and his son-in-law restored to his rights in the Palatinate. The prospects of a future Catholic queen did not please the Commons, and a petition was sent to the king asking him to find a Protestant bride for the young prince. King James was irritated at what he regarded as interference in the conduct of foreign affairs, and lectured the house for presuming to discuss matters that had not been referred to its membership; whereupon the house drew up the

"Great Protestation," a resolution asserting the right of Parliament to discuss any matter whatever that concerned the state. James sent for the journal of the house and with his own hand tore out the sheet that contained the offensive resolution. A few days later Parliament was dismissed, and some of its leaders were sent to prison.

Sir Edward Coke. The most aggressive opponent of the king in this Parliament was Sir Edward Coke, a famous lawyer who had long opposed all attempts to extend the royal authority at the expense of personal freedom and the rights of Parliament. Coke had served the crown in various capacities as privy councillor, attorney-general, and chief justice; but having incurred the royal displeasure, he was finally dismissed from the king's service. Coke was prominent in the fight on the monopolies; he moved to condemn the king's Spanish policy; he urged the passage of the Great Protestation; and he led in the attack on the lord chancellor. On the adjournment of Parliament he was sent to the Tower, but after a few months was restored to liberty.

Prince Charles in Madrid. 1623. After another year of negotiations Prince Charles and Buckingham were sent on a journey to Madrid to woo a granddaughter of Philip II. The Spanish authorities had never seriously considered a marriage alliance with Protestant England; and at this time, when the Hapsburgs were driving Protestantism to the wall in Germany, such a union could only give the greatest offence to the bigoted churchmen of Spain. At the same time it was thought wise to encourage James to continue in his policy since it prevented England from intervening in the war on the Continent. After a summer of futile wooing Prince Charles discovered that he was being trifled with; so he and Buckingham hastened back to England and urged the king to avenge the insult with a war on Spain. Parliament which met again the following year shared the eagerness of the prince and Buckingham for the attack on Spain; but it also showed its distrust of the shifty king by making money grants for specific purposes only and by attacking the lord treasurer and forcing him out of office.

A disastrous expedition into Germany. 1625. For actual war with Spain King James had neither inclination nor resources. Instead he determined to make an effort in behalf of the elector

Frederick. The Protestant forces were now mustering under the leadership of King James' brother-in-law, Christian IV of Denmark. As a part of the new campaign twelve thousand Englishmen were gathered together under the command of a German adventurer, Count Mansfeld, and sent up the Rhine to assist Frederick in his efforts to recover the Palatinate. The affair was badly managed. The men started for Germany in the winter season. They were unprovided with money and supplies; help had been expected from France, but nothing came. Soon the soldiers were dying by hundreds of hunger and disease.

Charles I. 1625-1649. While Count Mansfeld's expedition was perishing in the Rhine country, the incapable sovereign of the British kingdoms lay on his death bed. Great things happened in the reign of James I, but in these the "British Solomon" had no share. James I had come to a discontented and divided people. His policies had emphasized and aggravated the discontent. The accession of Charles I did but little to change an evil situation. The dissatisfied elements continued to exist. The old grievances remained as annoying as ever. But the new king, instead of being old, timid, and weak, was young, stubborn, and full of vigor. Energy was thrown into the government, but energy, unless it is wisely directed, may work much injury; and the result in England was that the breach between the king and his subjects daily widened.

Queen Henrietta Maria. Soon after his accession, Charles I married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII. The alliance was an unfortunate one: the English still hated the French and distrusted the Catholic church. As the new queen was only a girl of fifteen summers when she arrived in England, her influence on the course of English politics cannot have been great for some years; but after a time she gained the king's confidence and at critical moments her advice always weighed heavily in the balance. It is not strange that the queen should fail to understand the limitations that the English constitution had placed on the royal prerogative, or why the power of the Stuarts should be less extensive or complete than that of her kinsmen, the Bourbons of France. Before his marriage King Charles pledged himself to secure toleration for the English Catholics. This promise cost him

the favor of his first Parliament, which voted little money and sullenly insisted on the enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws.

War with Spain. 1625. The king hoped to regain his popularity by a fortunate stroke of policy in foreign affairs, and in the autumn of 1625 he equipped a fleet for an attack on Spain. The expedition sailed to Cadiz, but accomplished nothing: the great captains of Elizabeth's day were gone and none had arisen to take their places. King Charles had hoped that his fleet would at least be able to intercept the Spanish treasure ships which still came annually from Mexico and Panama with rich cargoes of gold and silver. One of these ships actually did arrive while the English were before Cadiz but managed to enter the harbor without serious mishap.

War with France. 1627. Two years later King Charles found himself at war with his French brother-in-law. The fortunes of Protestantism were low in Germany; Christian IV had been defeated and Gustavus Adolphus, the great king of Sweden, had not yet entered the war against the Catholic princes. In France the Huguenots were in rebellion against the French king; their stronghold was at La Rochelle on the west coast of France. The French government was anxious to reduce La Rochelle and had managed to borrow a few ships from King Charles for this purpose. This led to a great outcry in England. King Charles now determined to become the champion of Protestantism and to bring aid to the Huguenots in France. An expedition counting about 7000 men was accordingly prepared and sent to La Rochelle under the command of the duke of Buckingham. It landed on the Island of Ré where the soldiers remained for several months with no results but disaster and dishonor to the English arms. Less than one-half returned to Britain.

Mismanagement and failure. In less than four years three important military ventures had failed with great losses to England. The first had melted away in the Rhine country; the second had suffered dishonor at Cadiz; the third had been driven from Ré. Three reasons may be assigned for these disasters: poor generalship, mismanagement, and lack of funds. Count Mansfeld who led the expedition into Germany was a soldier of fortune and nothing more; Sir Edward Cecil who commanded the expedition to Spain was nicknamed "sit-still"

by his men; Buckingham was a courtier with little knowledge of military affairs. Charles' first Parliament would not vote sufficient funds unless assurance was given that Buckingham was not to disburse them. The second Parliament found no time to vote any funds whatever, its time being occupied chiefly with efforts to drive Buckingham from power by means of impeachment. To defeat this purpose Charles ended the session and sent the members home.

The Parliamentary opposition. Among the more prominent members of the Parliamentary opposition to Charles I were several men of unusual force and abilities. The leadership was still held by the aged Coke who taught that in England sovereign authority was not an attribute of kingship but belonged to the ancient provisions of the common law. With Coke stood another famous lawyer, John Selden, who was also eminent as a theologian and was counted the most thorough scholar of the age. A third member of the group was Thomas Wentworth, better known as Lord Strafford, the chief supporter of the king in the next decade, but a leader of the opposition in the early stages of the trouble. Of a more strictly Puritan type was John Pym, whose career began with the Great Protestation and closed at the beginning of the Civil War twenty years later. Another influential member of the Parliamentary opposition was Oliver Cromwell, though he cannot yet be counted among the leaders. Actual leadership belonged in these early years to an enthusiastic Puritan from southwestern England, Sir John Eliot, a kinsman of John Pym. Coke, Selden, and Wentworth opposed the king chiefly because they believed he was violating the English constitution; while Pym, Cromwell, and Eliot also fought against the innovations which the king's party, under the leadership of William Laud, was trying to introduce into the church.

Illegal financial methods. After the failure of the second Parliament to vote the subsidies necessary to carry out the king's ambitious projects over the seas, Charles I and his Privy Council began to use illegal methods to provide an increased revenue. The funds for Buckingham's expedition to Ré were raised by forced loans: wealthy men were asked to lend money to the king, and if any one showed a disposition to refuse, compulsion was used. Five knights, who had been sent to prison

for resisting the king's agents, appealed to the court of king's bench: their claim was that they were being held in prison without legal warrant, and that they were entitled to be tried without delay, or to be released on bail. The king's attorneys argued that the king had certain large discretionary powers with which the court could not interfere, and that this was a case in point. The judges sent the knights back to prison, thereby apparently sustaining the king's contentions.

Finding his treasury unable to provide for the troops that still remained in the royal service after the disaster at Ré, the king began the practice of billeting, that is, forcing the citizens of some particular locality to house and feed his troops without pay. Naturally the presence of soldiers under such circumstances was not relished. Trouble frequently arose between the soldiers and their citizen hosts; but as the quarrels were usually settled by courts martial, justice was not always done according to the ideas of the citizens.

The appeal to the Great Charter. It was while the English mind was deeply stirred by forced loans and other exactions, by troubles with uninvited military guests, and by news of repeated disasters abroad, that writs went forth for the election of Charles' third Parliament. The voters returned a set of members who were determined to bring the Stuart king to terms. Sir John Eliot again took charge of the forces in opposition to the measures of Charles and Buckingham. He was ably assisted by Wentworth and Coke. In the course of this fight the learned lawyer called attention to the promises of the Great Charter, a document that the king's attorneys had well nigh forgotten. The Great Charter guarantees to every freeman a trial by his "peers," and Coke interpreted this to mean that no Englishman could be deprived of his right to be tried by a jury. He overlooked the fact, however, that the term "freeman" in the days of King John did not refer to the masses, who had not yet risen from villeinage to the higher status of freemen.

The Petition of Right. 1628. The chief result of the first session of this Parliament was an important constitutional document, the Petition of Right, of which Coke seems to have been the chief author. In this the king was made to confess that his policies were evil and to promise reform and amendment. The

petition covers four points, each relating to a recent and specific grievance. (1) Forced loans and benevolences were declared illegal. (2) Billeting was forbidden; there was to be no more quartering of soldiers on English householders without their consent. (3) The common law was declared to be above martial law, and recent practices in violation of this principle were condemned. (4) Arbitrary imprisonment was declared illegal and forbidden, a prohibition which was particularly distasteful to the king who thus lost the power to coerce his subjects. The Petition was sent up to the king with the promise of a large grant of money which would become available only if Charles should agree to the request of the two houses. His Majesty at first gave his assent with certain reservations; but Coke and his followers insisted on an unqualified promise and Charles was forced to yield. Time proved, however, that this appeal to the royal conscience was a futile effort: the promises of the Petition of Right were soon broken, and tyranny continued.

The new subsidies were used principally to fit up a new expedition to Ré. Buckingham was to lead once more, but before the fleet had sailed he was stricken down by a personal enemy. The expedition proceeded to the French coast but only to record another failure.

Tonnage and poundage. The Petition of Right and the death of Buckingham did not close the quarrel between the king and Parliament. There still remained the question of tonnage and poundage which Charles had regularly collected since his accession, though it had never been legally granted by Parliament. There still remained the question of tonnage and revenues, but Charles refused to accept such an arrangement, as by so doing he would find himself compelled to have a meeting of the houses every year.

Laud and Arminianism. This dispute very soon became entangled with another controversy touching the interpretation of Anglican doctrine, William Laud, who was now bishop of London, had begun to discard the opinions of Calvin and to favor those of a Dutch theologian, Arminius, who some twenty years earlier had begun to teach that man is not totally depraved, as Calvin believed, but can assist somewhat in winning salvation for himself. Arminius agreed with Calvin that only through forgiveness from God can mankind obtain eternal life;

but he refused to believe that this forgiveness was to be extended only to a fragment of the race, chosen and predestined to be saved as Calvin seemed to teach. Arminianism ultimately found its way into the doctrinal systems of several important Protestant communions; but in the seventeenth century it was generally condemned as a dangerous heresy.

Eliot's resolutions. 1629. Laud had a considerable following among the high churchmen, and even the king himself was suspected of leaning toward the Arminian belief. In addition Laud was strong for the strict enforcement of conformity in worship. It was inevitable that a prelate who rejected predestination and taught such doctrines as the divine right of bishops, the power of man to do something toward earning his own salvation, and the desirability of much ceremonial in the public worship, should meet determined hostility from the Puritan party. In the session of 1629 the opposition in the House of Commons vigorously attacked the clergy for deviating from the old doctrinal standards and for reviving obsolete ceremonies. While these matters were still under discussion the king ordered the houses to adjourn. When the speaker attempted to announce the royal will, two stalwart Puritans forced him into the chair and held him there until the house could vote on a set of resolutions drawn up by Eliot condemning the illegal collection of tunnage and poundage, the favor shown to Arminianism, and the introduction of Roman ceremonies. After the vote had been taken the members dispersed.

The king's revenge. King Charles did not neglect to take revenge. Eliot, Selden, and seven other Parliamentary leaders were imprisoned and heavily fined. Two of these were kept in durance for eleven years; but in time all were restored to freedom except Eliot, who refused to show proper sorrow for his deeds. After two years his health broke down completely and death removed him. Eliot was a high-minded, enthusiastic Puritan, endowed with all the abilities necessary to a partisan leader; but he was not far-seeing and had little appreciation of statesmanship. So great was the king's hatred for this opposition chief that he refused the request of the family to bury Sir John with his ancestors in the tomb of the Eliots.

The character of Charles I. In 1629, Charles I was a young man twenty-eight years old. Unlike his father who was insig-

nificant in appearance and rude in manners, Charles was a very attractive man, handsome, dignified, kingly, and strong. In his private life he was above reproach: he was loyal to his queen and kind to his children. Like all the kings of the Stuart race he was stubborn, opinionated, and much impressed with his own importance. But the greatest defect of the king's character was a failure to realize that promises are sacred and must be kept. He frequently spoke of his "royal word," but in the reign of Charles I the royal word had no definite value.

Government by Privy Council. The king had now no choice but to surrender to the Puritans or to attempt to govern without the assistance of Parliament. He chose the latter alternative and for nearly eleven years he managed to govern the kingdom without consulting the electorate. His plan was to carry on the administration through the Privy Council and its courts or committees. This agency, which the Tudors had found so useful and efficient, saw the highest development of its power in the first half of the seventeenth century. Since the early Stuart period its decline has been swift; at present it has a membership of nearly three hundred highly honored and very able men, but it is rarely called upon to transact governmental business. In Stuart times it was a comparatively small body of about forty members or a few more, all appointed by the king himself. The weakness of such a system is clearly evident: as royal appointees, the privy councillors might be expected to represent only one party or faction in the state. It is, indeed, true that Charles did not shut the opposition out altogether: such active Puritans as the elder Sir Henry Vane and the cunning Lord Saye were councillors during these years. There was also a distinctly moderate group of royalists and churchmen in the privy council; but the majority and the most influential members were men after the king's own heart and mind.

The financial issue. There was no law to compel the king to summon a Parliament, and the people had not always felt the necessity or even the desirability of frequent or regular Parliamentary sessions, as such meetings were expensive and usually meant new or increased taxes. If Charles could have carried on the government without violating English law, no great complaint would have been heard. But this was scarcely possible.

The revenues of the crown which had proved so utterly inadequate in the previous reign showed even greater deficiencies in the days of Charles I. The first great question was how to find revenues sufficient to carry on an expensive government and to maintain a somewhat extravagant court. The situation forced the king to adopt unusual and questionable methods of taxation. Additional customs duties were levied. New monopolies were created; even such a necessary article as soap was made the subject of monopoly, and Englishmen found it very difficult to purchase any other brand than the one approved by the Privy Council.

Old and long-forgotten laws were revived in the hope that the king's attorneys could secure punishments in the way of fines, or, better still, force a monetary settlement. It was once the rule that all men who possessed a certain amount of wealth in the form of income from land, should apply to the king for knighthood, which would then be granted in consideration of a fee. This custom had become obsolete; but Charles, seeing another source of revenue, tried to revive the practice. At one time he even bought a shipload of pepper on credit and sold it at a low price to secure a little ready cash.

The most famous expedient employed was the collection of ship money from the inland counties. Since the time of the Danish invasions it had been customary for the towns on the coast to provide ships for the royal navy or to furnish an equivalent in money. Charles preferred the latter. With the ships and the money thus provided the king built up a fine and efficient fleet; but he failed to provide adequate food and wages for the seamen, and a few years later, when the civil war broke out, the dissatisfied crews deserted to the Parliamentarians, who probably would have lost the fight but for the help from the navy that Charles I built with the hated ship money.

John Hampden. King Charles also tried to collect ship money from the interior counties. Whether it could be legally collected in times of peace even from the seaports was doubtful; for such taxes elsewhere in England there was no precedent. The levy met much opposition; and John Hampden, a wealthy landowner of Buckinghamshire, supported by Lord Saye and perhaps by other lords, determined to take the matter into the

courts. The case was heard before twelve of the king's judges, a majority of whom finally (1638) rendered a decision favorable to the king. Hampden's case aroused great interest throughout the nation and was largely instrumental in forming a compact opposition determined to deprive monarchy of the sovereign power. Many Englishmen who sympathised with the king's policy in religious matters regarded his financial exactions as a violation of the constitution which called for resistance.

The religious issue. Of scarcely less importance was the religious issue. Up to this time the Puritans had been the more aggressive party; now the conservative Anglicans had found a mighty leader in William Laud, bishop of London, who combined a veneration for the historic church with a vigorous dislike for any efforts to prune the stately ceremonial of the Prayer Book. Bishop Laud possessed considerable abilities: his will was iron; his energy inexhaustible. It seems clear that both Laud and the non-conforming Puritans violated the statutes governing the church: the Puritans by omitting significant matters in the ceremonial; Laud and the high churchmen by making unwarranted additions, either by reviving discarded forms or by borrowing from the storehouse of the Catholic church. On the whole, however, it appears that Bishop Laud kept closer to the law than his opponents who sought to avoid what was clearly enjoined by statute laws. But Laud was tactless and obstinate, and his exasperating methods drove moderate Englishmen in large numbers into the ranks of the Puritan opposition.

The strongholds of Puritanism. The Puritans were especially numerous in eastern England from the Thames northward to the Humber. It was from this section that the great migration to New England came during the reign of Charles I. The intellectual center of Puritanism was the University of Cambridge. The region about Cambridge had long been responsive to the newer ideas in religion: a century earlier Cranmer and his associates in the Protestant revolt had gone forth from this university; later Cambridge sent forth Burleigh and Parker, but its colleges also produced Thomas Cartwright and Robert Browne. The tendency toward radicalism in this region was in part due to the fact that it was the wool district of England,

and consequently was in close touch with the Continent, especially with the United Netherlands which were one of the strongholds of Calvinism. The English Pilgrims who migrated early in the century went to Holland; on the other hand Flemish and Walloon weavers in considerable numbers had settled in the wool district and were sowing seeds of hostility to Anglicanism. In many parishes the entire congregation had become Puritan under the influence of priests educated at Cambridge. This condition Laud was determined to rectify. As bishop of the great diocese of London, he was the ruler in church affairs of the Puritans of Essex; as privy councillor and strong friend of the king, he had much influence in the government of the kingdom. This influence became authority in 1633, when Laud became archbishop of Canterbury and primate of the national church.

Laud's "visitations." A bishop is primarily a superintendent; and as such Archbishop Laud proceeded to investigate the situation in the English church. The years 1634-1637 were the period of Laud's "visitations," which carried the archbishop's deputies into all parts of England to determine, among other things, whether the clergymen carried out the law as Laud understood it. Priests who proved to be disobedient or unrepentant were disciplined. Serious cases were taken before the Court of High Commission where the archbishop sat in the double capacity of judge and prosecutor.

Censorship of the press. Closely allied with the movement to enforce uniformity in the church service was an effort to limit and control the Puritan propaganda through a rigid censorship of the English press. In the days of Elizabeth the Star Chamber had forbidden the printing of any book that had not been licensed by the proper authorities. It is a question whether this court had authority to issue such an order; but Charles and his advisers were not troubled on this point and proceeded energetically against a certain class of Puritan writers. It must be admitted that these writers frequently sinned violently against the rules of decency and good taste and a measure of punishment was often richly deserved. Alexander Leighton, a Scottish theologian who had written a libelous book called "Sion's Plea against Prelacy," was the first notable victim. Leighton had alluded to the bishops as "Knobs,

wens, and bunchy Popish flesh" and had advised that they be smitten under the fifth rib. He was taken before the Star Chamber and sentenced to be whipped, to be pilloried, to have his ears cut off, to pay a fine of £5000 and to be imprisoned for life. A similar punishment was inflicted on William Prynne, a learned Puritan lawyer with a sour temper, for writing a scurrilous book against the appearance of women on the stage. The authorities held that his charges showed a lack of respect for the queen, who would occasionally undertake a rôle in plays written privately at court. Prynne lost his ears and was deprived of his liberty for seven years. There were a few other cases of the same sort in which the tyrannical spirit of the Star Chamber stood clearly forth. The result was inevitable: daily the king's government lost in the esteem of moderate men, while the abusive pamphleteers came to be honored as martyrs to a holy cause.

The fear of Catholic influence. Another important element in the situation was a fear that the policies of Charles I and William Laud had for their real objective a reunion with the Catholic church. Romanism in the days of the earlier Stuarts was a vigorous, aggressive force, eager to reconquer what had been lost in the sixteenth century. In 1628 La Rochelle, the great bulwark of the Huguenot communion, was taken by the French king, and the cause of Protestantism in France received a dangerous wound. On the battle fields of Germany the forces of Catholicism continued victorious till 1630, when Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany and began his brief but heroic career as the defender of the Protestant faith. In this part of the Thirty Years' War the English people had no share, except that English and Scottish volunteers in considerable numbers served in the armies of the Swedish king and his German allies. But all England followed the course of the terrible struggle with anxiety and fearful apprehension.

There can be no doubt that Archbishop Laud was thoroughly devoted to the Anglican church. He was in many ways a fairly tolerant man and enjoyed the friendship of influential Roman Catholics; but he endured them only so long as they obeyed the law. King Charles was also a loyal Protestant, but his queen was a Catholic and was regarded with suspicion by the great mass of Englishmen. Her household was the center of

a movement looking toward the conversion of prominent Englishmen to the Catholic faith. The effort was not without some success. Several peers and one or two bishops showed Catholic leanings, a fact which served to emphasize Puritan dislike for the episcopal office.

Settlements in the New World. The arbitrary methods employed by the Stuart kings in dealing with their subjects in church and state were indirectly of great benefit to the New World, for they stimulated emigration to New England and other points beyond the sea. If a ship had sailed northward from the West Indies to Canada in 1628 only four settlements of any consequence could have been found on the long stretch of nearly two thousand miles of coast land. At St. Augustine in Florida, the Spaniards had a settlement which was a military post rather than a colony. On the James River in Virginia was a group of English settlements which were rapidly developing in extent and stability. A few Dutch traders had settled on Manhattan Island, the site of the future New York. On the Massachusetts coast there was a weak settlement at Plymouth. Of these four only the colony of Virginia then showed any great promise.

Virginia. The settlement at Jamestown was owned by the Virginia (later the London) Company, and was originally a commercial undertaking like the enterprises of English merchants in Russia, the Levant, India, and Guinea. The company had hoped for large returns from its venture, perhaps as large as those of the East India Company, but in this it was disappointed; ultimately the culture of tobacco provided the new settlement with a valuable staple; but a great income from this source could come only after considerable growth.

In the original charter of the Virginia company King James reserved the right to select the members who were to direct the affairs of the projected colony. But in 1612 the document was amended so as to permit the company to exercise a more independent control of the settlement. In the course of time the membership of the London Company changed and a group of Puritan merchants came into control of affairs, though the settlement itself remained quite strongly Anglican. When King James discovered that the hated Puritans dominated the councils of the London Company, he determined to end its

power. He was particularly angry when he learned that the company had instructed its governor in Virginia to call a colonial assembly (1619). A pretext for proceeding against the company was found in a frightful Indian massacre, in which more than three hundred settlers were slain. The company was accused of gross mismanagement and its title was called into question. The king's court decided the matter as James I desired; the London Company lost its charter, and Virginia came directly under royal control. His new authority the king exercised through the Privy Council. It is likely that James planned to abolish the Virginia legislature and thus to check the movement for self-government in the colony; but he died only a few months after the revocation of the Charter, and before a new form of local government could be devised. Charles I, who hoped to eke out his revenues by getting a monopoly of the Virginia tobacco trade, permitted the colony to retain its assembly, but the authority of the company was never restored.

Plymouth. The colony at Plymouth was founded without any direct assistance on the part of the king's government. The English Pilgrims in Holland, fearing that they would lose their character as Englishmen if they remained indefinitely among the Dutch, determined to emigrate to the New World. They sought out their brethren in the London Company and received permission to settle somewhere south of the Hudson River on land belonging to this company. They asked the government for religious liberty and toleration in their new home but received no direct reply. King James, however, promised informally to "connive" at their religious practices, and on this assurance they undertook the venture. The Pilgrims sailed from England in September, 1620, and sighted land on the American coast toward the close of November. Instead of reaching the shores for which they were bound, they found their first landing place on the coast of Cape Cod. After a month of search for a favorable site they established themselves at Plymouth. The importance of the Plymouth colony was never great; but it served as a suggestion and an example to the dissatisfied Puritans who were to carry out a far larger scheme of colonization in the following reign.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1628, while Parliament

was debating the Petition of Right, certain wealthy and influential Puritans in eastern England, "being together in Lincolnshire, fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the gospel there." The outcome of this "discourse" was the decision to locate a Puritan colony on Massachusetts Bay, and an association was formed to carry out the purpose. In the autumn of the same year a beginning was made at Salem where a few men from Plymouth had located a few years before. The new colony numbered only sixty persons; but the following year more than four hundred new settlers arrived, and Salem took on the appearance of a permanent settlement.

A few months after the founding of Salem, the crisis was reached at Westminster. King Charles dissolved Parliament and sent the leaders of the opposition to prison. The future of the Puritan movement looked dark and threatening. In August of that year (1629) twelve eminent Puritans met in Cambridge to plan a migration on a far larger scale than had thus far been undertaken. The association that founded Salem had since been chartered as the Massachusetts Bay Company; and this company was now induced to "transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit it, and not control the same in subordination to the company as now is." Accordingly it was arranged that emigrants only should be elected to office in the company. The following year seventeen vessels carrying more than a thousand emigrants sailed for New England. Finding conditions at Salem not entirely favorable, most of the new colonists settled farther to the southwest. Eight new settlements were founded in 1630, the most important being Boston, where John Winthrop, the governor of the colony, set up his residence.

Spread of settlement in New England. During the following decade some 20,000 of England's strongest, most serious, and most intelligent citizens left the fatherland for New England. Their settlements were soon scattered along the coast and some distance inland from what is now Maine to the limits of New Netherland. The settlers came chiefly from the great Puritan section in the east and southeast, as can be readily seen in the reproduction of English geographical names in the new colonies. The spread of settlement followed closely the development of absolutism in England. During the years of

Laud's visitation and the trouble over ship money (1634-1638) settlements were formed at Hartford, Saybrook, Providence, and New Haven. When the Long Parliament was called in 1640, the tide of migration at once began to ebb.

New England Puritanism. Many of the New England leaders were Cambridge men. The first American college (Harvard) was founded on the model of a Cambridge college and was named after a young Puritan minister from Cambridge. In the New World the leaders were able to realize the ideals of Puritanism: they organized their churches on a congregational basis, but they did not draw any firm line between religious and secular affairs: on the contrary, they associated the functions of the church and the state very closely. The Massachusetts Puritans enforced their ideas of conduct as rigidly as Laud ever pursued the ideal of uniformity in worship. Some of the leaders in the opposition movement in Old England also had an important part in the building of New England. Henry Vane the younger was for a year governor of Massachusetts. Two of the more prominent nobles of the kingdom, Lord Saye and Lord Brooke, were instrumental in the settlement of Connecticut. They were both counted as opponents of the Stuart policy; Lord Saye for a time led the Puritan forces in the House of Lords.

The year after Laud's appointment to the primacy (1634), suspicion arose that he was planning to extend his visitations to the new colonies in New England; but his deputies did not arrive. The same year, however, the English government created a commission to oversee colonial affairs, and of this body Laud was made a member. Massachusetts was ordered to lay its charter before the Privy Council, but the young colony refused. The refusal had been determined upon after prayerful consideration accompanied by more worldly activities in the way of an effort to fortify Boston harbor. The defiant attitude of the American Puritans was permitted to go unpunished, however; for troubles were beginning to multiply in Britain, and the king thought it inexpedient to divide his energies.

Maryland. 1634. In the same decade the Calvert family planted a colony on Chesapeake Bay as a refuge for Roman Catholics who were afflicted by intermittent enforcement of

anti-Catholic laws. Since the reign of Elizabeth Catholic worship had been outlawed in England. The laws required all Catholics to hear divine service in the parish church; failure to attend was punished by a fine of £20 each month. The law further required that children of Catholics should be educated in England and receive their instruction from Protestant teachers. It was a crime for Catholics to possess weapons or to have Catholic books in their libraries. It is greatly to the honor of Cecil Calvert that, in his new settlement, freedom of conscience was allowed from the very beginning. Calvert (usually known as Lord Baltimore) received his patent in 1632, and actual colonization began two years later. The new colony was named Maryland in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria. Thus England had two blocks of settlement on the American mainland, the New England towns in the north and Virginia and Maryland in the south. Further expansion was inevitable as a matter of colonial defense, if for no other reason.

The influence of the Thirty Years' War on American colonization. England's success as a colonizing nation in this decade was due chiefly to two causes: the unsatisfactory condition in the kingdom, which induced thousands to seek new homes in the West; and the general situation in Europe, which prevented the other maritime nations from interfering with the English colonial ventures. In the days of Eliot and Laud the Thirty Years' War reached its culmination. In the summer of 1630, when the Puritans were founding the city of Boston, Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany. The war now involved almost every nation in Europe except those of the British Isles. Consequently England had free hands in her colonial operations in the New World. Spain, France, and Holland, all had colonial interests; but none of these nations was in position to compete with the English on the American coast during the decade of the Puritan migration. Nor did the colonies that these belligerent nations had established on the mainland north of the Gulf of Mexico show much thrift and vigor: in the homelands neither men nor money could be spared from the great war in Germany. There was, therefore, little mentionable progress in Canada, New Netherland, New Sweden, or Florida.

The drift toward absolutism in Europe. The effort of Charles

I and the Stuart partisans to establish a form of absolute monarchy in England and the English dominions beyond the seas ultimately failed. It is not to be forgotten that this effort was not an isolated instance of royal ambition along absolutistic lines: it was a part of a great movement in that direction which covered the entire continent. When the seventeenth century closed, absolutism had conquered in nearly all the more important states in Europe, the notable exceptions being the Dutch republic and the British kingdom. The failure of the Stuart experiment in Great Britain is, therefore, a matter of European importance.

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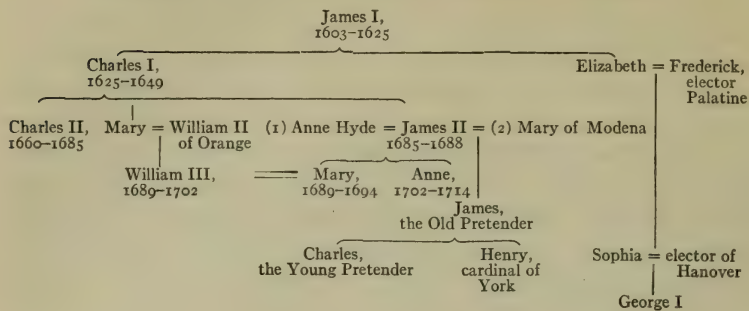
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GENEALOGY OF THE STUART DYNASTY IN ENGLAND



CHAPTER XIV

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION

Eleven years of personal government. The period of "personal government" in England is usually regarded as beginning with the dismissal of Parliament in 1629 and closing in 1640, when the king found it necessary to confess failure and summon the representatives of the nation. This period of eleven years falls into three divisions. (1) During the first four years the king was reorganizing the machinery of government, looking for men on whom he could depend to do his will, punishing the leaders of the opposition in Parliament, and experimenting with new forms of taxation. This was also the period when extensive colonization began on the shores of New England. (2) In 1633 Laud was placed at the head of the English church, and Charles I was now ready to establish a personal régime in every field of government. The king's personal government had, however, an active course of a little more than four years only (1633-1637). Into this period falls the renewed persecution of the Puritan clergymen, a more rigid censorship of the press, and the agitation over ship money. The success of the government in the case against John Hampden (1638) was the king's last important victory. (3) In 1637 Charles and Laud sought and found unnecessary troubles in Scotland. The northern kingdom flew to arms and the Scottish forces invaded England. The king proved unable to conquer his rebellious subjects and the Stuart system broke down.

The religious issue in Scotland. In England there was hopeless division on the subject of religion; in Scotland there was unity to the point of fanaticism. The Scottish population was, as it still is, overwhelmingly Presbyterian. Charles, encouraged by his hard-fought success in dealing with his Puritan subjects in England, unwisely determined to interfere with the Scottish church. Laud, on his side, was anxious to give the Scotsmen an orderly form of worship. It was accordingly planned to

force episcopal government and the Anglican ceremonial on the northern people. For more than half a century there had been Protestant bishops in Scotland; but their authority was of a strictly formal character. The people ignored them, and their offices were of importance to the nobles only who secured their appointment and in return shared the revenues that they collected. Charles hoped to strengthen the position of his Scottish bishops; but trouble came when he ordered these officials to formulate a prayer book after the Anglican pattern. An attempt to use the new service book in the Scottish churches during the summer of 1637 met with riotous opposition. The Scotsmen determined to resist the king's plans, and thousands signed a document, called the National Covenant, in which they pledged themselves to oppose any attempt to modify the government or the constitution of the kirk unless the changes were authorized by the General Assembly and the Scottish Parliament.

In view of this opposition Charles thought it wiser not to press the matter of the new liturgy. The situation in the kirk, however, seemed to need amendment, and the king, though somewhat reluctantly, agreed to summon a General Assembly of Presbyterian churchmen to discuss the needs of the Scottish church. But as this Assembly insisted on taking up important subjects that were forbidden, the royal representative dissolved the body. The Assembly, however, refused to be dissolved and continued its sessions. Thus the Scottish nation in 1638 was in virtual rebellion against the king.

The First Bishops' War. The result illustrates the inherent weakness and danger of a union of states in the person of the king: an aggrieved monarch is likely to bring against his subjects the military power of his other kingdom. Charles resolved upon war; he promptly raised an English force of some 10,000 men and proceeded towards the border. Here he was met by a Scottish army under the command of General Leslie, who had learned warfare in the camps of Gustavus Adolphus. Though slightly outnumbered Leslie's forces had every advantage; for the English levies were scarcely more than a mob of dissatisfied soldiers led by incompetent officers. The First Bishops' War came to an end without a single battle. The hostilities closed with a treaty in which King Charles acceded

to the Scottish demand that the affairs of the northern kingdom should be settled by an Assembly and a Parliament chosen freely by the nation. But the king soon repented of his weakness: the agreement was not carried out and preparations were made for a new war.

Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford. Charles I was usually unfortunate in the choice of his advisers: most of them were weak, impolitic men, who initiated no policies, but merely sought to execute the sovereign's will. But soon after the failure on the border a strong man appeared at the king's side at Westminster. Thomas Wentworth had opposed the Stuart policies in the early years of the reign, and had followed the lead of Coke and Selden in urging the House of Commons to insist on the principles of the Petition of Right. But when the opposition identified itself with Puritanism and followed Eliot in an attack on the episcopal system, Wentworth deserted its ranks and joined the king's own party. Wentworth was a man of energy and foresight; next to the great Cromwell he was probably the strongest English statesman of his age. He had developed a political theory according to which monarchy was to be the central fact in the state. Wentworth believed in a vigorous régime, in good government, and in an equitable administration; and he further believed that an unfettered kingship could achieve these results better and more rapidly than a Parliament split into hostile factions.

Wentworth in Ireland. Though Wentworth was no doubt wholly sympathetic toward the purposes of Charles and Laud, he was not present at court during the years of tyranny and can have had little to do with actual administrative details. For some years after 1629 he ruled the northern counties as president of the Council of the North, a local division of the Privy Council. Later he was sent to Ireland as lord deputy, and for six years he governed the island with a strong hand. Wentworth's methods were ruthless and his purposes often tyrannical; but in many respects his rule was intelligent and beneficial. There was order in the land in Wentworth's day, and the country began to recover somewhat from the evils of long-continued warfare. Fearing that Irish wool might come into competition with the English staple in the markets of Europe, he took measures which virtually destroyed the Irish

wool trade. In return he favored and promoted the linen industry, which in the course of time has become an important occupation among the Irish, especially in Ulster. The king's Irish policy included the formation of an Irish army; and Wentworth organized a force of 9000 men carefully drilled and ready for service whenever King Charles should need them.

Wentworth in England. In 1639 Wentworth's career in Ireland closed; he was recalled to England and for a year he was the controlling force in the councils of Charles I. He soon had a plan formulated for the speedy coercion of the rebel Scots; but funds were not available for any extensive campaign. Wentworth believed that the English people were favorable to the project of a campaign in Scotland, being anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the First Bishops' War. Furthermore, a hostile army on the border was a continuous menace to the peace of England. He therefore urged the king to call a Parliament in order that funds might be provided for the king's military needs. King Charles yielded, and in April, 1640, the representatives of the nation assembled at Westminster after an absence of eleven years.

The Short Parliament. 1640. It was soon discovered that the new membership was not nearly so loyal as Wentworth had hoped. The Short Parliament insisted on the redress of the many grievances which the nation had suffered for more than a decade; and instead of voting money for war it counseled a speedy peace with the Scottish kingdom. After a session of about three weeks the houses were dissolved on the king's order. The session was notable chiefly for the appearance on the Puritan side of a shrewd and capable leader of Wentworth's own type in the person of a wealthy country gentleman from Somersetshire, John Pym.

John Pym. It may be doubted whether Pym in his political thinking had as yet gone very far beyond the grievances of the preceding decade; but in the course of the following years he apparently developed a series of fairly consistent political principles. He seems to have believed in a "balanced monarchy," of which the constituent elements were the king and the liberties of the people. The balance in the state should be maintained and regulated by law; but the duty of interpreting the

law Pym assigned to Parliament. In practice this would mean that Parliament had the right to check and even to control the king, if he should violate the liberties of the people. Of the two houses he regarded the Commons as the more important. Pym's political theory was therefore fundamentally different from that of Wentworth, who placed the emphasis on the royal office. So long as the king raised revenues in an equitable manner, taxing the citizens strictly according to their wealth and their ability to pay, it made little difference according to Wentworth's views by what authority the taxes were imposed. With Pym the supremely important consideration was to have revenues raised by the proper authority, which he held was Parliament alone.

The Second Bishops' War. 1640. The Second Bishops' War was even more disastrous than the first. Charles' army was poorly equipped, dissatisfied, and disloyal to the point of mutiny. Wentworth (who was now earl of Strafford) was finally placed in command; but his efforts to introduce discipline merely fanned the flame of rebellion. A treaty was negotiated at Ripon which secured to the Scots all the advantages that they had thus far gained. King Charles even agreed to pay an indemnity of £850 per day until his treasurer should be able to make a cash settlement. To secure prompt payment of this money the Scottish army was allowed to occupy two of the northern counties as a pledge.

The Long Parliament. The treaty of Ripon marks the close of Stuart absolutism. Charles I could no longer govern by the aid of his Privy Council alone; for that body had exhausted all the sources of revenue at its command, and, now that the king had promised to pay a Scottish army for rising in rebellion against him, he was in greater need of money than ever before. There was nothing to do but to lay the whole miserable business before a new Parliament. Elections were ordered once more, and on November 3 the houses met. This was the famous Long Parliament, which, with a long period of interruption, maintained an active existence until it finally dissolved itself nearly twenty years later.

It was a determined body of men that made up the last Parliament of Charles I. The electors had gone to the polls in an angry frame of mind; and, though many moderate men

were among those chosen, the majority favored changes as "thorough" as any that Strafford had ever proposed. On the subject of reform in the government the lower house was practically a unit, though there was considerable disagreement as to specific measures. But on questions relating to changes in the church there was no such unanimity; and it was the ill-considered effort of a weak majority to change the constitution of the Anglican establishment which finally disrupted the government and drove the nation to civil war.

John Pym was again the leader of the opposition. He was ably seconded by Hampden, Selden, the younger Vane, and Oliver Cromwell, who had sat in silence through the Short Parliament. Among the more moderate reformers were Edward Hyde, a young lawyer of considerable ability, and Lucius Cary, usually known as Lord Falkland, who is remembered for his unselfish devotion to what he believed was right, and for his vain effort to find a basis for an honorable peace between the contending factions. But of all the leaders who assembled at Westminster in November, 1640, the best equipped were Edward Hyde and Oliver Cromwell, though neither of the two had as yet displayed any unusual talents either for politics or for military command.

The execution of Strafford. Eight days after the session had begun, the House of Commons voted almost unanimously to impeach Strafford, and a month later the same body ordered Archbishop Laud to be taken to the Tower where he remained through four wearisome years before he was finally sent to the scaffold. Strafford was in Yorkshire with the army when the houses met, but came to Westminster on the king's command. He also had the king's assurance that he should "not suffer in his person, honor, or fortune." It was difficult to prove that Strafford had violated the treason laws, and to make sure that the strong earl should not escape, Parliament passed a bill of attainder instead of completing the impeachment proceedings. A little earlier the opposition leaders had learned that the king was planning to liberate Strafford and that the queen was plotting with the officers of the army in Yorkshire. So great was the excitement when these matters were revealed, that King Charles, fearing that a refusal to approve the bill of attainder would seriously endanger the life of the queen, felt

compelled to break his pledge to Strafford and to send his friend to the block.

The reforms of the Long Parliament, 1641. For nearly a year the opposition held together and in this interval passed a number of highly important acts. On the motion of Edward Hyde the various courts that had grown out of the Privy Council, the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the Council of Wales, and the Council of the North, were abolished. The king was forbidden to collect ship money, except as allowed by custom. He was also forbidden to prosecute his subjects for violating obsolete forest laws, or for neglecting to seek the honor of knighthood; in these measures John Selden took the initiative. It was definitely enacted that tunnage and poundage could be collected only when granted by Parliament. To prevent a repetition of the recent experience with personal monarchy it was further enacted that there should never be a longer period than three years between Parliaments: and to make sure that it would be allowed to continue its work and carry out its program, Parliament passed a bill to the effect that it should not be dismissed without its own consent. All these measures received the royal assent. So nearly unanimous was the opinion of Parliament that King Charles had almost no choice but to accept the bills that the houses sent up to him, though he realized that the purpose in every case was to fetter his own hands.

These reforms were all enacted during the first session. When the second session opened in the autumn of the same year, it was found that the earlier unanimity was gone and could not be restored. The great problem now before Parliament was what changes to make in the constitution of the church and more particularly what to do with the bishops. The demand for thorough reform in the church was general; but the more extreme faction called for the destruction of episcopacy "with all its roots and branches," while the moderates were unwilling to go farther than a reduction of episcopal authority.

Revolution in Ireland. Late in the same autumn a general revolt broke out in Ireland, the news of which provoked serious alarm at Westminster. The Irish had three grievances, all of which were keenly felt. (1) By the plantation of Ulster an alien element had been located on Irish soil of which the right-

ful owners had been deprived, as the Irish believed, without justice. (2) Proceeding in the interest of the royal treasury, Wentworth had carried on a sham investigation into land titles in various parts of Connaught and Munster and had in this way robbed many an Irishman of land that belonged to him and his family. (3) The Catholic Irish naturally resented the fact that the rulers of their country were nearly all Protestants. In a certain sense the great uprising in Ireland in 1641 belongs to the great series of religious wars that were being fought out on the Continent. The Irish priests were active in the uprising and the Roman curia assisted the movement with counsel and money. But the moving force of the rebellion was not religious enthusiasm, but a natural desire to regain what the Irish had lost through the confiscation of land and the suppression of native trade and industry.

Civil war in Ulster. 1641. The Irish leaders collected two armies, one for an attack on Dublin, the second for an invasion of Ulster. The first failed in its purpose, but the second succeeded in overrunning the Protestant area. The account of the civil war in northeastern Ireland in the autumn of 1641 is one of the most terrible stories in British history. It is believed that 5000 men and women of English or Scottish blood were massacred and that 10,000 others perished from famine, exposure and other causes incident to the war. The Protestants struck back and in their turn butchered thousands of Catholics. The result was that a fierce hatred was kindled in the hearts of both contending races, a passion that has not yet been wholly extinguished.

The Grand Remonstrance. To suppress this insurrection the English Parliament would have to provide an army which, according to law, would be under the king's orders. It was feared, however, that the king could not be trusted with an army: he might decide to use it against Parliament itself and not against the Irish. In their anger and perplexity the majority determined to appeal to the English nation; this they did in a curious document called the "Grand Remonstrance," which in form was an address to the king himself. The Remonstrance is composed of three chief divisions: a lengthy statement of the king's errors as a ruler; a list of important reforms already enacted; and a project for further changes, especially in the

church. It was over the last part of the Remonstrance that the disagreement appeared. A royalist party of considerable strength was now taking definite form under the leadership of Hyde and Falkland. When the final vote was taken there were 159 ayes to 148 noes. On a later proposal to print the Remonstrance the House of Commons almost broke up in a riot.

King Charles takes the offensive. 1642. It had been a terrible year for the king and the queen, but with the clash in Parliament over church legislation and with the formation of a moderate group new hope and courage came into the councils of the distracted king. When the new year came Charles Stuart was ready to take the offensive. The latter half of the preceding year he had spent in Scotland directing an effort to compose affairs among his rebellious subjects there. It had come to his knowledge that Pym and certain other Puritan leaders had been in communication with the Scots prior to the Second Bishops' War, and he believed that they had invited the invasion. If this were true, they were guilty of treason. On January 3 he brought charges in the House of Lords against one peer and five members of the House of Commons; among the five were two Puritan chieftains, Pym and Hampden. Impeachment by the king was a new procedure and of doubtful legality; and the demand for the arrest of the five members was clearly unprecedented and illegal. As the House of Commons refused to heed his orders, Charles after some wavering determined to go in person to make the arrest, taking with him several hundred armed partisans. It was the queen's influence that finally decided King Charles; Henrietta Maria feared that her own impeachment for efforts to secure aid from the pope and the Catholic powers was imminent, and she hoped to remove the danger by a bold counter-stroke. So overjoyed was the queen at the tardy show of courage on the king's part that she shared the secret with one of her ladies, who promptly notified Pym and his associates of their peril. The attempt to arrest the five members failed; but Charles, by appearing to interfere with the privileges of Parliament, had ruined his cause forever.

The call to arms. 1642. A week later Charles I left London not to return till nearly seven years later when he came as a prisoner of Parliament. In February he went to Dover to see

Queen Henrietta safely on board a ship for Holland, whither she went ostensibly to give her daughter in marriage to William (II) of Orange, though really to secure help from the Continental powers. This, however, was a difficult task, inasmuch as the weary nations of Europe had just begun to look forward to the close of the Thirty Years' War. After a few weeks of travel Charles took up his abode in York. Meanwhile the quarrel continued at Westminster and Parliament passed several important bills; but only one, a bill to exclude the bishops from the House of Lords, received the royal assent and became a law. Soon the king's partisans began to leave Parliament and gather in York. By midsummer, 1642, both sides were collecting forces for the conflict that was sure to come. On August 22, the royal standard was set up at Nottingham in Puritan territory: all men were summoned to the king's aid, and the civil war was formally opened.

Responsibility for the war and the revolution. For this outcome Parliament was not wholly blameless: by depriving the king of his ancient power to dissolve the houses it virtually declared the legislative independence of the royal will and wrought a complete change in the constitution of the kingdom. It now threatened to transform the government of the national church by making its officials subordinate to Parliament. But the greater part of the blame must be charged to the king and his counsellors, especially to men like Archbishop Laud and Lord George Digby, who strengthened him in his purposes to do what the law clearly forbade. Laud was upright and well-intentioned; but he was narrow-minded and had never been blessed with the gifts of wisdom. Digby was a brilliant but rash and erratic aristocrat: he inspired the arrest of the five members, he suggested the use of Irish troops, and on many occasions he provided the king with evil advice. Bishop Williams (who cannot be counted among the king's friends) justified the betrayal of Strafford with the comforting doctrine "that there was a private and a public conscience; that his public conscience as a king might not only dispense with but oblige him to do what was against his private conscience as a man." King Charles was easily convinced that in matters of government the only test of right and wrong, of legality or illegality, was the sovereign's own intentions. But this was contrary to the legal traditions of England, and the

Stuart theories could therefore not be realized without a serious test of strength.

The First Civil War. 1642-1645. The Civil War that broke out in the summer of 1642 continued for a little more than three years, or till the autumn of 1645, when the royalist forces began to disintegrate. It is called the First Civil War to distinguish it from the brief period of hostilities in 1648 which is known as the Second Civil War. In this conflict England was divided socially, politically, and geographically, though clear lines of division existed nowhere. On the one side were the partisans of Parliament, by which is meant the majority of the House of Commons; on the opposite side were gathered the followers of the king, men with a profound respect for the time-honored prerogative of the English king diminished in favor of the upstarts in the lower house. The Anglican naturally drifted into the royal following, while the Puritan stood with Parliament; still, there were many Puritans who finally chose to support the king. The peers with their tenants and retainers were commonly found in the royalist ranks; at the same time there were many men of substance on the side of the revolutionists; the Parliamentarian armies were commanded by Puritan lords. In general, the north and the west rallied to the support of the dynasty, while the east and the south sympathised with the Parliamentarians.

The Cavaliers. When the war broke out, each side had certain decided advantages, though at first conditions appeared to favor the king. The nobles and the gentlemen who volunteered for his service were men who ordinarily spent much time in the saddle and were trained to the use of arms; consequently, the king had a reliable army from the very beginning. There were several excellent officers among these royalist "cavaliers," the most noted of whom was Prince Rupert of the Palatinate, the king's nephew, who won fame as a brilliant, though somewhat reckless, cavalry leader. Many of the cavaliers were very wealthy and contributed liberally to the royal war chest; but the supply was not inexhaustible and the king was often in sore need of available funds.

The Parliamentarians. On the other hand, the Parliamentarians had three distinct advantages which eventually led to

victory. They controlled the wealthiest and most populous section of the kingdom; they had the support of the fleet which King Charles had built and equipped a few years before, and the loyal coöperation of the crews which the government had starved in the interest of personal monarchy; finally, they had possession of the ports on the eastern and southern coasts where customs officials, acting on orders from Parliament, collected the tunnage and poundage that the Commons had denied the king. Moreover, on the Parliamentary side was Oliver Cromwell, the most capable military leader of the time. Cromwell was a country gentleman who had known service in the House of Commons but was entirely without experience in warfare. He had, however, military as well as political talents, and under his leadership the Parliamentarians developed an army which the cavaliers found almost invincible.

The Oxford government. 1644. Charles I established his headquarters at Oxford. Very soon there assembled at his court a majority of the House of Lords and a strong minority of the House of Commons whom the king formally recognized as forming the Parliament of the kingdom. England thus had two capitals and two governments. The Parliament at Oxford proved of little service in the conduct of the war, for the king retained his aversion to legislative bodies and would not even trust a Parliament made up of his own partisans.

The military plans of the Royalists. It was the king's plan to advance upon London with three armies; one was collected in the Cornish peninsula, another had assembled in Yorkshire, and a third was mustered on the upper Thames. During the first year of the war the successes were chiefly on the royalist side; nevertheless, the king's generals were unable to carry out the plan agreed upon because of the obstinate resistance of the Parliamentarians at Plymouth and Hull, which prevented the southwestern and the northern armies from marching upon the capital. Charles' own force, the army on the Thames, at one time actually did advance to within a few miles of London; but his strength was insufficient to seize and hold the hostile city and he marched his troops back to Oxford (November, 1642).

The Solemn League and Covenant. 1643. In the summer of 1643 the Parliamentarians were facing a dangerous situation.

DURING THE CIVIL WAR





Not only had the royalist forces been generally victorious, but the Irish rebellion had spread to the entire island, and it was conceivable that Charles I might come to some agreement with the Irish rebels in return for assistance against his English enemies. Accordingly, Pym and his associates began to look for help among the Scots. A commission headed by the younger Vane was sent to Edinburgh to negotiate an alliance. The Scots, having a natural fear that the king after crushing out Puritanism would renew the warfare on Scotland, were not averse to joining the English Parliamentarians; but they insisted that there could be no alliance unless England should accept the Presbyterian system. Sir Henry Vane was a Puritan and a republican; but he disliked the intolerant attitude of the Presbyterians, and was unwilling to grant the Scottish demand. He agreed, however, that the English church should be reorganized "according to the best example of the reformed churches and the word of God." To this the Scotsmen could not object, and an agreement known as the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into by the two parties. Soon after the new year had begun, a Scottish army entered England.

The Westminster Assembly. While Vane was negotiating with the Scots, an assembly of theologians and learned laymen was in session at Westminster wrestling with the problem of church reform. The Westminster Assembly was authorized by an act of Parliament and was composed of 151 members, thirty of whom were laymen. In the latter group were such eminent leaders as Pym (who died a few months after the Assembly had begun its work), Selden, and Vane. It was intended that this body should contain representatives of all the religious parties in the kingdom; but some of the men appointed refused to attend the sessions, and the Assembly proved to be dominated by the Presbyterian element. A few of the members, however, actively opposed any extensive departure from the Anglican system; among these the most prominent leader was John Selden, who held strongly to the so-called Erastian belief that the government must exercise final authority in the affairs of the church as well as in the business of the state.

For nearly six years the "Westminster divines" continued their labors. They finally drew up a new order of worship and a new creed, the well-known Westminster Confession, which

is still the standard of belief in the Presbyterian communions, though some of its doctrines are now held more loosely than formerly. Presbyterianism was, nevertheless, not destined to become the dominant religious system in England. When the famous Assembly adjourned the Presbyterian element had been eliminated from the House of Commons, and the Westminster Confession consequently never received Parliamentary sanction.

Cromwell's "Ironsides." Meantime, the Puritan forces maintained a united front in the field of war. In the year of the Scottish alliance five Puritan counties north and northeast of London formed themselves into a union known as the Eastern Association for the purpose of raising and maintaining an armed force. In this union Cromwell was the leading spirit. He was given a colonel's commission and proceeded at once to recruit and organize a regiment of cavalry, which later proved so efficient in battle as to be nicknamed the "Ironsides" (an epithet first applied by Prince Rupert to Cromwell himself). In the seventeenth century and even later both armies and navies were often recruited by press-gang methods, that is, men were forced into the service, even kidnapped at times. In this way many vagabonds, men without employment, or friendless unfortunates, came into the ranks, and military efficiency was not always promoted. It was Cromwell's plan to enlist men of stability, character, and substance, and to pay them for their services. His recruiting officers were not able to depart entirely from the older methods; but in the choice of officers Cromwell was always careful to look for men of the higher and better type. Two years later when the Parliamentary forces were reorganized, Cromwell's ideas were applied as far as possible to the entire host.

Marston Moor. 1644. A year after its organization Cromwell's "lovely company" had an opportunity to match its training and efficiency against the valor and discipline of the best soldiers in the cavalier armies. The Scots and the Parliamentarians were besieging a royalist force in York. Prince Rupert hurried across the Pennine hills to relieve his fellow-cavaliers and succeeded in raising the siege. But the campaign was not to close without a fight. At Marston Moor, seven miles west of York, the retreating Parliamentarians halted and the contending forces met in what was perhaps the bloodiest

battle of the war. The "Roundhead" force of horsemen attacked the splendid cavalry of the gay prince and swept it off the battle field. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote Cromwell with true Puritan enthusiasm. Northern England was now completely lost to the Stuart cause, but the king's forces held out for another year in the west and about Oxford.

The New Model Army. Naseby. 1645. The next year Parliament proceeded to organize a new army along lines advocated by Cromwell. Inefficient soldiers were discharged; new men, chiefly of the Puritan type, were enlisted or forced into the service; the recruits were sought largely in the counties of the Eastern Association and were consequently the kinsmen and former neighbors of the men who had settled New England a decade earlier. This new army was also to a large extent officered by a new set of men, of whom many happened to be Independents. The New Model, as it was called, was made up largely, though not exclusively, of men whose religious enthusiasm was deep and enduring. They sang psalms, spoke at prayer meetings, observed the Sunday religiously, and respected the rights of peaceful Englishmen with regard to their persons and property. But they were also most excellent soldiers. The new force counted about 22,000 men. Sir Thomas Fairfax, a young but capable cavalry officer, was nominally in command with Oliver Cromwell as lieutenant general. The army was maintained for nearly twenty years, until it was virtually disbanded in the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

The New Model was ready in April and in June it completely crushed a royalist army at Naseby, where Cromwell's cavalry again was the deciding factor. King Charles lost more than half his forces and his partisans now realized that the Stuart cause was lost. After Naseby there were no very important battles: the task was now to disperse the royalist companies that remained at large, and to seize the strongholds that were still held by royalist garrisons. When the following spring opened, King Charles had no longer any effective armed forces in England.

The Highland rising. Early in 1644 when the Scottish army was crossing the Tweed, King Charles decided to carry the war into Scotland in the hope of forcing the Scots to recall their troops. Accordingly James Graham, recently created marquis

of Montrose, was sent north to raise the Highland clans in the king's interest. After several months of discouragement he was able to collect a small army and for a year fought the Covenanters with remarkable success. At the time of the king's defeat at Naseby Montrose was master of a large part of Scotland. But his followers were chiefly Highlanders whose loyalty was uncertain and who looked upon warfare chiefly as an opportunity to collect plunder. His army soon dwindled away and when General Leslie, after the victory at Naseby recrossed the border, he crushed the Stuart partisans at Philiphaugh near Selkirk. Montrose escaped and fled to the Continent.

The Irish "Confederation." King Charles had also hoped to secure some advantage from the uprising in Ireland; but in this too he was disappointed. After a year of planless warfare the Catholic leaders finally formed a "Confederation" with its headquarters at Limerick. The king had several regiments in Ireland under the command of an Irish Protestant peer, the marquis of Ormonde. Having a real need for this army in England he instructed Ormonde to negotiate with the Confederation with a view to securing a satisfactory settlement. This was a difficult task, for the Confederation was made up of hostile interests with conflicting purposes. The Old Irish wanted to strike for national independence, while the Anglo-Irish and the Norman landowners thought it wiser to retain some sort of connection with the Stuart dynasty. Many of the Irish barons had come into possession of monastic lands, and they feared that an Irish government dominated by the bishops and the native chieftains might decide to restore the monasteries and force a restitution of the confiscated lands. This faction was ready to negotiate with Charles I; but as a price of their support the leaders demanded the repeal of all anti-Catholic legislation. Unofficially the king agreed to these terms and a secret treaty was drawn up embodying nearly all the demands of the Catholic barons. But a few months later when the agreement came to light, Charles I repudiated the entire bargain.

The king's surrender. 1646. For about a year after the disaster at Naseby the luckless king wandered about in the vain hope that help would come from somewhere; but none came and one day in April, 1646, Charles I left Oxford and rode to

the Scottish army. He was with the Scots for less than a year. As he appeared to show no great interest in the Scottish purpose of forcing Presbyterianism upon the English, the disgusted Scotsmen began to prepare for a return to the north. Parliament had finally come forward with the money that had been promised in return for military assistance when the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into, and the Scots had no longer any reason for remaining in England. But before returning to Scotland, they handed the king over to Parliament.

The Parliament and the army in disagreement. Now that the English had the king at their mercy, the problem was what to do with him. Though the vast majority of all parties were anxious to have Charles I resume the kingship, few only were willing to risk an unconditional restoration. For two years the greatest confusion reigned in England. Parliament was Presbyterian and was unwilling to agree to religious toleration. The army was strongly Independent and demanded freedom for all manner of Christian worship, though many objected to "popery and prelacy." Parliament was in great fear of the New Model and was anxious to see it disband; but no provision was made for the payment of the wages that were in arrears. The soldiers mutinied and the army remained intact.

For some time both the army and Parliament carried on negotiations with the king; but to no purpose, as Charles found it impossible to be truthful in dealing with his subjects. The officers of the army drew up a scheme of limited monarchy which they called the "Heads of the Proposals" (1647), but these heads were not satisfactory either to the king or to Parliament. Charles had now become the prisoner of the army; for Cromwell, fearing that the king and Parliament might come to an agreement, had sent one of his officers to take charge of him. While Charles was actually a prisoner, he was deprived of nothing but his liberty; he enjoyed all possible comforts and was treated with all due deference. He found opportunity to continue his intrigues with English factions, with royalists in Scotland, and even with foreign powers.

The "engagement" and the Second Civil War. The Solemn League and Covenant had made it necessary to reorganize the executive authority at Westminster, inasmuch as the Scots would naturally desire some share in the management of the

war. In 1644 the control of military operations was assigned to a Committee of Both Kingdoms chosen by the Parliaments of the two countries. The Scottish members of this committee were not well pleased with the hostile attitude of the New Model toward Presbyterianism and entered into negotiations with the captive king. In December, 1647, Charles entered into an "engagement" with these commissioners in which he agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England for a period of three years and to help suppress Independency. After three years a Parliament freely chosen should be summoned to deal with the religious issue. In support of this plan Englishmen began to take up arms in various parts of the kingdom; a Scottish army invaded the north country, and the royalists rose in Wales. But the Second Civil War (1648) was not of long duration: Fairfax put down the rising in the southeast, while Cromwell crushed the Welsh revolt and drove the Scots out of the kingdom. The New Model was now supreme in England, but Oliver Cromwell controlled the New Model.

Pride's purge. 1648. As the Second Civil War had been kindled in the interest of Presbyterianism, the officers of the New Model now determined that Parliament should be transformed into an Independent body. In December the army entered the capital and established headquarters in Whitehall palace. Four days later (December 6, 1648), Colonel Pride, one of Cromwell's officers, acting on orders from General Fairfax, stationed himself with a force of soldiers outside the door of the House of Commons and proceeded to purge Parliament of its Presbyterian membership. One hundred and forty-three members were refused admission, forty-seven of whom were also placed under arrest. Fewer than a hundred members, all Independents, were allowed to retain their seats; these were the famous "Rump," which carried on the government for four years longer.

Trial and execution of the king. Voices within the army were now loud in demanding the life of the "man of blood," but Cromwell was anxious to save the king and apparently offered to restore him if he would surrender the substance of the royal power. Charles promptly refused the offer. Just before the close of the year the Rump brought charges against the king for treason. A court was organized and all the forms

of a trial were gone through. After a session of nearly three weeks, this court found Charles Stuart guilty and sentenced him to death. On January 30, he was beheaded. On the day of his death the handsome, dignified, kinglike man looked more handsome and dignified than ever before. Charles I, like his famous grandmother, Mary Stuart, died like a monarch.

The crowned heads of Europe heard the news of the long trial with amazement and horror; but no one dared to interfere. To invade England was a difficult task, and the efficiency of Cromwell's army was no secret. And yet, had it not been that Europe had just gone through a terrible war of thirty years, there might have been efforts to save Charles. But it was only three months since the treaty had been signed in Westphalia, and the English Independents were allowed to deal with monarchy as they chose.

The Commonwealth. 1649-1660. A week after the king's execution the Rump abolished the House of Lords, which body for some time had not been taken seriously, however, inasmuch as it contained only about thirteen members, most of whom were rarely in attendance. A month earlier monarchy had virtually been abolished, and in May England was formally declared to be a republic, or, as the English called it, a commonwealth. In place of the king a new executive was established in the form of a Council of State composed of forty-one members, all but ten of whom were also members of the Rump. This body is memorable for employing John Milton as one of its secretaries. Milton's duties as Latin secretary were not burdensome; but he also held an unofficial position as literary advocate and defender of the commonwealth against its many enemies, which included some of the choicest minds of Europe. It was while working in this double capacity, composing Latin documents and Latin treatises, that the great poet lost his sight.

The primacy of Cromwell. Since the council of state derived all its authority from Parliament and was made up so largely of men belonging to that body, it may be regarded as a Parliamentary committee only. But so few were the men who attended the sessions of the Rump that the members of the council really controlled the activities of Parliament. Oliver Cromwell, as a member of both these bodies and as commander of the victorious New Model, soon came to dominate the situa-

tion. Cromwell was a masterful man, strong, energetic, and resourceful. He could take in a situation at a glance, and was seldom in doubt as to the next step. It is probable that he at no time desired to become the ruler of England; but when circumstances forced the task upon him, he did not shrink from the burden. Cromwell was a Puritan but not a fanatic; he was stern and unrelenting, but he was also tolerant of the views of others and made no attempt to force his own religious opinions on those who disagreed with him.

The enemies of the republic. A sham republic like the Commonwealth of 1649-1653 could satisfy only the merest fragment of the English nation. The sovereign authority rested in the hands of a small group of fifty or sixty men, who had arrogated to themselves the executive as well as the legislative power. Moreover the Rump Parliament regarded itself as without responsibility to any official or to any electorate; it could be legally adjourned or dissolved on its own motion only. But behind it stood Cromwell's terrible army and England was weary of warfare; there were, therefore, no uprisings. Beyond the borders of the Commonwealth the dangers were many and serious: especially threatening were the situation in Ireland and Scotland and the attitude of the Dutch. On the death of Charles I, the crown, according to royalist ideas, went to the prince of Wales, who was now spoken of as Charles II. The young prince was an exile among the Dutch when he began his "reign," but he had partisans in Ireland and was actually accepted by the Scots as king the following year. If he were allowed to establish himself as king of Ireland and Scotland, it would be only a question of time as to when he would come with armies behind him to claim the English crown.

Cromwell in Ireland and Scotland. 1649-1651. Soon after the execution of Charles I, nearly all the contending factions in Ireland accepted the leadership of Ormonde and declared for Charles II. The royalist forces held the larger part of the island, even the greater part of Ulster having joined in proclaiming the new king. But the Parliamentarians still held Dublin and certain other strongholds in the eastern part of Ireland, and until Charles II should be able to enter the Irish capital his kingship would be of doubtful stability. To prevent Ormonde from seizing Dublin and overrunning the entire country,

Cromwell was sent to Ireland with a strong force, and by the terrible massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, followed by the devastation of a large part of Munster, he struck terror into the hearts of the Irish and crushed the revolt which had now continued for eight years.

Leaving the pacification of the interior country to his lieutenants, Cromwell returned to England and prepared to begin active operations against the Scots. At Dunbar he met his old comrade in arms, General David Leslie, who had commanded the Scottish auxiliaries at Marston Moor. Leslie did not wish to fight Cromwell, but the preachers of the kirk forced a battle. The Scottish army was carefully purged of all who were suspected of being lukewarm in religious matters, until only "ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit," remained to fight. In the battle the next morning the English saints completely defeated the sanctified Scotsmen. Leslie lost half of his army.

The battle of Worcester. 1651. The spirit of the Scots was not crushed. They crowned the young prince, raised another army, and in the campaign that followed carried the war into England. Down the west coast of England and southward the royalist army marched with Cromwell following in close pursuit. At Worcester the Scottish forces were completely destroyed. Leslie was taken prisoner, but Charles escaped and wandered off to France. Worcester was Cromwell's last and greatest victory, his "crowning mercy," as he called it. The independence of Scotland was lost: for nine years the northern kingdom was ruled from England.

War with the Dutch. 1652. The following year war broke out with the Dutch. The statesmen of the commonwealth, believing that an alliance with the Dutch Republic would strengthen the new régime in England, had tried to reach an understanding with the merchants who now controlled the United Netherlands. The Dutch had built up a commerce of vast dimensions and the English also hoped that through such an alliance they would be able to share more largely in the world's trade. The Dutch were not eager to accept the English terms and the negotiations failed. In a moment of irritation the Rump parliament now passed a Navigation Act which came

to be important for more than a century. This act provided (1) that European goods should be brought to England in English (or English colonial) ships, or in ships of the country producing the goods: that is, Spanish goods should be brought to English ports in English or Spanish ships; (2) that goods from America, Asia, and Africa should be shipped to England in English ships only; (3) that the English fisheries were to be reserved to English fishing craft. These laws cut deeply into Dutch commerce, since the act applied to the English colonies as well as to Britain. The inevitable result was war.

Parliament had no naval commander worthy of the name, but one was discovered in Robert Blake, who had been appointed general of the sea in 1649. Admiral Blake probably did more than any other man in history to make England supreme on the ocean. Like Oliver Cromwell he had no experience in the particular line of warfare in which he was to excel; but he possessed genius for naval warfare and ranks with the greatest captains of English history. The Dutch war was fought chiefly in the Channel and continued for a little more than a year. It will be seen that Dutch vessels coming from the south or west are compelled to sail up the Channel or make the long and dangerous journey around Britain. The Dutch fought to keep the Channel open, the English to keep it closed. After a series of engagements the Dutch navy was almost entirely ruined and when peace came the Dutch agreed to recognize the supremacy of England in British waters even to the point of saluting the English flag.

End of the Rump Parliament. 1653. While Blake was destroying the commercial supremacy of the Netherlands, Cromwell was carrying on a conflict with the Rump. This peculiar group had become more and more ridiculous in the eyes of Englishmen. Though elections had been held since January, 1649, in a few constituencies, the majority was still made up of members chosen thirteen years before and under vastly different conditions. The feeling was becoming quite general even in the army that the Rump ought to yield to a new Parliament. Sir Henry Vane favored recruiting the house by calling elections in the counties and boroughs that were not represented; but he wished that those who already held memberships should continue to hold their seats indefinitely.

The idea of a Parliament having life members did not appeal to Cromwell. On April 20, 1653, while the Commons were debating Vane's plan, Cromwell, who was present, suddenly rose, scolded the house in somewhat undignified language, and ordered the members out of the room. "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating." His soldiers began to file in and the members departed. The Independent army had thus put an end to the Independent Parliament which it had itself created by Pride's purge. Later in the day the council of state was also dissolved, and for some months England did not have even the pretense of constitutional government.

Cromwell as dictator. Cromwell was now the self-appointed dictator of the commonwealth, his power resting on the army. He felt, however, the need of some sort of a legislature, though he did not dare to trust the English electorate. Finally a sham Parliament was formed consisting of one hundred and forty members selected by Cromwell and his military advisers from a list of nominees chosen by the Independent congregations throughout the commonwealth. A small council of state made up chiefly of army officers was chosen to assist the dictator. But the government of soldiers and saints also failed. After having kept up a pretense for five months this Little Parliament was induced to surrender its authority into the hands of the dictator and adjourn (December, 1653).

The protectorate. One of the officers of the army, General John Lambert, now came forward with a written constitution, the "Instrument of Government," which Cromwell accepted and tried to put into effect without even pretending to consult the electorate. The Instrument consolidated all the three British states and established a republic with the sovereign power vested in a House of Commons and a president called the Protector of the Commonwealth. Between protectorate and kingship the difference was very slight. Cromwell held this presidency for life; he lived in Whitehall palace and also had the use of the other royal palaces; his household was elaborate and extensive; he had a large and splendid guard. It was the protector's hope and purpose to establish the government of the Commonwealth on a secure and satisfactory basis; but in this he failed.

The following year a Parliament was elected under the new

constitution, but the members very soon quarreled with the protector and Cromwell found it necessary to exclude from the house about one hundred who refused to pledge their support to the fundamental provisions of the new Instrument. But those who remained proved less tractable than the protector had hoped, and after an irritating session of less than five months Cromwell dismissed them (January, 1655).

Military government. The failure of the new scheme was followed by a series of plots and disturbances which kept the country in turmoil for several months. In his efforts to restore and maintain order Cromwell naturally turned to military methods. In August he divided England and Wales into twelve military districts and placed each in charge of a military governor with the title of major general. Primarily these major generals were police officials; their political functions were slight and occasional only. Each was in command of a small cavalry force with which he patrolled his district suppressing disorder wherever he found it. The soldiers were also charged with the delicate duty of enforcing the Puritan code with respect to public morals, especially public amusements. Horse racing and cock fighting were strictly forbidden; noisy gatherings on the Lord's Day were broken up; the use of profane language was punished; tippling was discouraged, and stage playing was made a criminal offense. For more than a year the major generals ruled England. Their methods were efficient, but the régime was exceedingly unpopular.

A new constitution. 1657. In 1656 Cromwell's government once more summoned Parliament. The country was at war with Spain; there was a growing deficit in the treasury; the resources of the exchequer were exhausted. Before the new Parliament was allowed to begin its session the council of state excluded nearly one hundred members on the plea that they had been improperly chosen. Those who remained proved quite tractable and seemed willing to legislate according to Cromwell's ideas. In 1657 this Parliament drew up a new constitution which strikingly resembled the traditional form of government of the English kingdom. This was called the "Humble Petition and Advice" and contained two important new features: it provided for an upper house in Parliament and made the protectorship virtually hereditary by permitting the pro-

tector to select his successor. Before the civil war the essential features of the central government had been the king, the Privy Council, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. By the Humble Petition and Advice the British Isles were to have a protector, a council of state, an upper house, and a House of Commons. The Puritan revolution was drawing to a close; the ship of state was drifting back to its traditional moorings.

The republic and the religious parties. Oliver Cromwell insisted upon two things that his Parliaments were loath to grant: control of the army and a large measure of toleration in religious matters. The Instrument granted freedom of worship to all the various Puritan sects, but not to Anglicans and Catholics. The Catholics were no longer fined so regularly as earlier for refusing to attend Protestant worship, but saying mass was and continued to be a criminal act. The Jews were once more allowed to settle in England, though on the condition that their religious worship should be carried on in private.

In the English church an extraordinary situation ruled. The houses of worship were still standing, and it was the will of the government that these should be used. Many pulpits were vacant, however, and to get these supplied with preachers of the proper sort, Cromwell's government appointed a commission of "triers" who were to examine candidates. The triers were not to investigate into the beliefs of the future pastors any further than to determine whether they were of the Puritan type; the important thing was to make sure that they were godly men and able to preach. Godliness was not easy to define; but clergymen who were quarrelsome, who frequented ale houses, who had a fondness for cards and dice, or who insisted on using the Prayer Book in the church service, were not to be regarded as godly men. Soon men holding various forms of belief were preaching in the churches that Laud had guarded so jealously: Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and men of other sects; — even some of the more moderate Anglicans were left undisturbed in their pulpits for a time. But in 1655 it was ordained that no Anglican clergyman was to continue preaching in an English church. For three years the sectarians were in complete possession; all general church government virtually disappeared.

A successful foreign policy. Though Oliver Cromwell's domestic policy may be regarded as a failure, in his dealings with foreign nations he was in the main successful. He sent Admiral Blake into the Mediterranean waters to teach the Barbary pirates of Tunis and Algiers a long-needed lesson, a task which the admiral carried out in his usual thorough fashion. For the Dutch as commercial rivals and recent enemies Cromwell could have no particular friendship, but he disliked making war on a Protestant state and managed to maintain peaceful relations with the Dutch Republic throughout his administration. At first he was inclined to seek an alliance with the Spaniards; but his terms included freedom for the English merchants to trade in the West Indies and freedom of worship for Englishmen everywhere in the Spanish dominions. The Spaniards objected to having "their master's two eyes put out," and the negotiations terminated in open war. Cromwell now transferred his attentions to France, the government of which was less intolerant. For a generation longer the foreign policy of England meant what it did in Cromwell's day: an alliance with France but strained relations with Spain and the Dutch Republic.

Jamaica taken from Spain. 1655. In the war with Spain Blake won several important victories; at one time he captured the Spanish treasure fleet laden with gold and silver from the American Indies and brought a considerable quantity of bullion to England where it was greatly needed. He was also the first to appreciate the importance of Gibraltar which the English occupied half a century later. But the most significant event of the war was a combined naval and military expedition to the West Indies for the purpose of seizing the rich island of Santo Domingo. The expedition sailed under the command of General Venables and Admiral Penn, the father of the founder of Pennsylvania. In its main purpose the venture failed; but Penn and Venables did succeed in taking Jamaica, an island which at the time was considered of doubtful value, but which after some years of development became an important part of the British empire and the center of a lucrative sugar industry.

Cromwell's colonial policy. With respect to colonial administration Cromwell believed in as little interference as possible.

This does not mean, however, that the empire was neglected. In Cromwell's day there were a few English stations in India and on the Guinea coast in western Africa, all of which were important centers for the trade in tropical products. The journey to India being long and tiresome, the East India Company was anxious to secure a half-way station where the crews might rest and secure fresh supplies; such a place was found in the strange and lonely island of St. Helena, which came into English possession in 1651.

In the development of the East Indian trade and stations Cromwell showed considerable interest. But actual colonies existed in North America only. In the West Indies, besides Jamaica, England had Barbados and several other islands in the Antilles group; on the mainland she had Virginia and Maryland and the five colonies of New England. There was also a settlement in the Bermudas. In 1651, the year of the Navigation Act, the commonwealth Parliament appointed a board of commissioners to control these new settlements. As New England was intensely Puritan, this board saw no reason for interference there, though it did make an unsuccessful effort to deprive Massachusetts of its royal charter. To the two southern colonies a frigate was sent, and the government of both Virginia and Maryland passed into the hands of Puritan officials (1652).

The material growth of the English colonies during the Cromwellian period was very great. Cavaliers who found the Puritan régime distasteful emigrated to Virginia by the thousands. In the twenty years following the execution of King Charles, the population of Virginia increased from 15,000 to 40,000. After the second civil war large numbers of the prisoners taken in battle were shipped to Barbados. The battle of Worcester added about a thousand to the population of New England. Jamaica grew very slowly at first; but Cromwell took a great interest in the island, and the rapidly growing population of the Lesser Antilles yielded a surplus that could be used in the development of the larger island.

Cromwell and the nation. Cromwell gave England a strong and efficient government but it was not according to the taste of his subjects. In his domestic policy he had ignored and violated too many English traditions to gain much popularity

for himself and his régime. The success of his foreign policy was also a source of weakness: the mercantile classes, though they had strong Puritan leanings, were less interested in the defense of Protestantism on the Continent than they were in the extension of English trade. To them the war with Spain was a mistake in that it endangered English commerce in the East and West Indies. Every day the rule of the protector lost in favor. The royalists looked upon him as a mere upstart. The republicans regarded him as a monarch in disguise, as a traitor to the principles of Puritanism. The peers were eager to resume their place in the government. Scotland and Ireland disliked being incorporated with England. In February, 1658, Cromwell dismissed his last Parliament, the sessions of which had degenerated into a quarrel. A few months later the great protector died.

The Puritan Revolution. The leaders of the Puritan Revolution had striven to embody the ideals of Puritanism in the British scheme of government, but in this they failed. They failed because English opinion was hopelessly divided and there was no party strong enough to organize the state on a constitutional basis. The cavaliers sought to restore the Stuart dynasty. The Presbyterians wished to restore monarchy and reorganize the church according to Presbyterian ideals, as had been virtually promised in the Solemn League and Covenant. The Independents, on the other hand, wanted a republic and were largely opposed to an established church. Revolutionary factions like the so-called Levellers were strong believers in democracy in society as well as in the state. Fanatical orators like the Fifth Monarchy Men were active in preparing for the millennial kingdom of Christ on earth, a task which involved the destruction of all institutions that might hinder the saints in their effort to set up the throne of Christ. The Independents established a commonwealth and united all the British Isles into a single state; but these changes were temporary expedients only. Cromwell was able to seize and retain the dictatorship because he had the support of the New Model army. This body, numbering more than 20,000 men distributed in forty or fifty camps throughout England and Wales, served to discourage rebellious movements, and Cromwell remained in authority till his death.

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CHAPTER XV

THE STUART RESTORATION AND THE WHIG REVOLUTION

Richard Cromwell. 1658-1659. With the death of Oliver Cromwell the republic perished. Shortly before his death the protector had designated his son Richard as his successor, but the new ruler, though a man of respectable abilities, had neither the advantage of a successful military career nor the training necessary for the conduct of the highest office in the land. He soon discovered that he was unequal to the demands of the time, and after a few months of trouble with the officers of the army and the extreme republicans in Parliament he resigned his office (May, 1659).

General Lambert and the Rump Parliament. For nearly a year the political condition in England was scarcely better than anarchy. In May the Rump Parliament reassembled and took charge of the government on the demand of the New Model army now led by General Lambert. This assembly seemed at first quite willing to serve as the agent of the military establishment; but in the autumn Lambert quarreled with the Rump and put a forcible end to its sessions. For a few weeks the government was administered by a Committee of Safety of twenty-three members, chiefly army officers, but also including a few members of Parliament and a few of the leading citizens of London. Before long General Lambert, who was an extreme republican, quarreled with his own committee and the rule of the army broke down. In December the Rump assembled once more and seized control of the government.

General George Monk. After the battle of Dunbar Oliver Cromwell had left an army of some 10,000 men in Scotland under the command of General George Monk. General Monk had accepted the authority of the Rump, but he soon became convinced that his interference was needed to end the anarchy. Whether he had already concluded in the autumn of 1659 that

the Stuart dynasty must be restored may well be doubted; but before long he came to realize that no other course was possible. In December he began to move the greater part of his army southward; in January he crossed the border and proceeded toward London. For a time civil war seemed imminent, but Lambert's attempt at resistance melted away. Early in February Monk entered Westminster where he found the members of the Rump anxious to learn his intentions. He gave due recognition to Parliament but forced it to readmit the Presbyterian members who had been excluded by Pride's purge. Soon afterwards the Long Parliament adjourned and closed its troubled career.

The Declaration of Breda. Before disbanding, the Long Parliament ordered the election of a new body usually called the Convention Parliament, from the fact that it was not summoned by a king. A few days after the meeting of this body, it received a message from Charles Stuart known as the Declaration of Breda: in this he promised to forgive the past, to overlook religious differences, giving "liberty to tender consciences," to pay Cromwell's soldiers in full, and to leave all in peaceful enjoyment of their property. These promises were, however, to be subject to the pleasure of Parliament and were carried out in part only. The Convention received the declaration with enthusiasm and on the same day resolved that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons." On the 25th of May Charles landed at Dover; four days later he was in London.

Charles II. 1660-1685. Charles II entered London on his thirtieth birthday. For nearly ten years he had resided continually abroad, dependent on his friends in France or on his relatives in Holland for shelter and subsistence. He had, therefore, learned a lesson which his father had never learned: that a king, if he wishes to live in comfort, must regard, to some extent at least, the wishes of his subjects. There was, consequently, no danger of an immediate repetition of earlier Stuart practices; for no matter what happened, the second Charles was determined not to resume his "travels." But England soon learned that good government was not to be expected from a man like Charles II; the dark stranger with the fine physique

who took possession of Whitehall palace in the spring of 1660 was able and intelligent; but he was also lazy, extravagant, and pleasure-loving. To the greater part of the English nation the new king proved a bitter disappointment.

Clarendon. Charles' first confidential minister was Clarendon, his lord chancellor, who for seven years directed the government of England. Edward Hyde (created earl of Clarendon soon after the restoration of the Stuart dynasty) was a man of sterling character and of high though somewhat rigid principles. He was devoted to Charles, whom he had followed into exile. But he possessed no real genius for statesmanship; no marked originality appears in his policies. His purpose was to restore not only the Stuart dynasty but the entire historic constitution, including the Anglican church. As the innovations of Charles I and archbishop Laud were not parts of the traditional scheme of government, they were to be given no consideration. Unfortunately, Clarendon was unable to realize the vast changes that had come over England during the generation that had just passed. In his devotion to earlier tradition he was also blind to the value of some of Cromwell's constitutional changes, such as the union of the islands into one state, the reform of the franchise, and certain improvements in Parliamentary representation. Clarendon wished to restore the system that prevailed on the eve of the civil war. In his opinion constitutional development ceased when Pym began to press for a vote on the Grand Remonstrance.

The Restoration. The acts passed by the Long Parliament during its first session had all received the royal assent and were of unquestioned legality. It was therefore impossible to revive the two courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission. Consequently the strong monarchy of Stuart times never was and never could be restored. Nor was it possible to restore the Anglican church to its old position as a dominating force in the nation. The moderate wing of the Puritan party might be depended upon to conform to the rules of the establishment; but a strong and influential minority was sure to resist its authority. It was further evident that political power could not be wholly restored to the classes that had wielded it prior to the Puritan revolt. The cavalier class had to a large extent been reduced to poverty. Much of the land

had passed to new owners. The civil wars had left the castles in ruins. The mercantile class had succeeded to much of the power and influence formerly held and exercised by the landed gentry. The England of the Restoration was a new England: the issues of the past had lost their attraction, and the nation was ready for more distinctly modern ideas, modern ambitions, and modern life.

The Restoration settlement. Meantime, the Convention Parliament proceeded to carry out the provisions of the Declaration of Breda. The Convention was a moderate body, composed largely of Presbyterians, and in most respects it legislated wisely. The army, with the exception of two regiments, was paid and demobilized. An Act of Indemnity was passed extending pardon to all who might be termed political offenders; but to this a long list of exceptions was added including the judges who had tried and condemned Charles I and a few other leaders of the commonwealth period. Several of these suffered death, some were imprisoned, and a few sought refuge beyond the seas.

The question of the forfeited lands was a far more difficult one. Lands that had been seized by the Parliamentary authorities as a punishment for loyalty to the king were restored to the original owners or to their heirs; but in many cases royalist landlords had been compelled to sell their estates to supply their own needs or to raise funds for the Stuart cause, and in such cases the purchasers were left in undisturbed possession. Lands that had been seized by officers of the law to satisfy the fines levied by Parliament on Anglican "malignants" were likewise left in the possession of those who held them at the time of the restoration.

The Convention also swept away what still remained of the feudal régime by abolishing the old feudal rights and dues. As the king lost an important source of revenue by this proceeding, the Convention granted him an additional income in the form of a tax on beer, spirits, and certain other beverages. It was believed that from the sources available the royal income would amount to about £1,200,000; but the sum actually collected fell far short of this total. To obtain additional revenue Charles II had to depend on the good will of Parliament.

The Restoration in the church. Charles and Clarendon were

now ready to take up the problem of the national church. In the confusion of the commonwealth period the organization of the Anglican establishment had all but perished. When the bishops returned to the House of Lords, it was found that seventeen seats were vacant, only nine bishops having survived from the time of the last primate, William Laud. A large part of the church membership had passed over to the "sects." As these bodies all dissented from Anglican practices and beliefs, their followers came to be known as Dissenters. As they refused to conform to the order of public worship prescribed in the Prayer Book, they were also called Nonconformists. It was clear that a Presbyterian Parliament could not be expected to restore and reestablish the Anglican church. Accordingly, Charles, in December, 1660, dissolved the Convention and ordered new elections. Eager to show their devotion to the Stuart dynasty, the electors gave their votes to men whose loyalty could not be called into question. The new, so-called Cavalier, Parliament was consequently almost wholly Anglican in its membership. Only a few Presbyterians had been able to retain their seats.

The Clarendon Code. By a series of acts called the Clarendon Code (though Clarendon, it seems, did not wholly approve of the measures) the Cavalier Parliament restored the supremacy of the Anglican church and refused to allow the dissenters the freedom of worship that the king had promised in the Declaration of Breda. At the same time these people were in large measure deprived of political rights and influence.

1. One of the earliest acts of the Cavalier Parliament was to purge itself of open dissent by forcing its membership to take the sacrament in the Anglican churches. This same "test" was now ordered to be applied to holders of municipal offices as well. A Corporation Act was passed which provided that only such persons as partook of the communion in an Anglican church should be allowed to hold membership in a borough corporation. In addition, members of such corporations were required to take an oath that "it is not lawful on any pretense whatever to take up arms against a king or by his authority against his person."

2. It was a well-known fact that among the clergy who officiated in the churches there were many who deviated in

preaching and more particularly in the use of ceremonials from the Anglican standards. By an Act of Uniformity these were given the choice between conforming or resigning their benefices. Approximately one-fifth of the English clergy, about 2000 in number, resigned their livings rather than conform.

3. The deprived Nonconformist ministers were not silenced; they continued to preach in homes and elsewhere outside the churches. Parliament therefore passed a Conventicle Act by which the attendance at such services was limited to five persons in addition to the members of the household where the meetings were held. A larger attendance was declared "a seditious and unlawful conventicle" and all present were to be punished with fine or imprisonment.

4. The strength of Non-conformity lay in the towns where the Conventicle Act could not be enforced without some difficulty. Accordingly a law called the Five Mile Act was passed requiring all dissenting clergymen to take the oath of non-resistance. Those who refused to do so were forbidden to locate nearer than five miles to any city or incorporated town, or to any place where they had formerly served as teachers or ministers of religion. In this way the dissenting pastors were separated from their flocks, and it was hoped that the lack of teachers and spiritual advisers would in time cause the Non-conformists to return to the Anglican field. The hope failed. To-day nearly one-half of the church-going population of England and Wales is to be found in the dissenting communions.

The Restoration in the colonies. One result of the Clarendon Code was to furnish large additions to the colonial population. The Conventicle and the Five Mile Act were rigidly enforced and severe persecution was suffered for several years. The situation soon became unbearable to many and an exodus of dissatisfied Englishmen, in some respects comparable to the great Puritan migration, began, this time chiefly to the newer settlements. When Charles II returned from the Continent he found that the English dominions in the New World comprised three separate colonial groups: several islands in the West Indies; the two southern colonies of Maryland and Virginia; and the settlements of New England. The English in the West Indies and the Chesapeake region had shown no excessive sympathy with the political ideals of the Puritan

movement. In these settlements the Restoration meant a speedy and peaceful return to the Stuart régime.

During the twenty years of the rebellion and the republic, the New England colonies had displayed a spirit of independence which the king's government could not wholly ignore. A confederation had been formed (1643); money had been coined without permission from the mother country; laws had been made and enforced against certain forms of worship that were not forbidden by English law. Cromwell had interfered very little in the affairs of New England; consequently these new commonwealths had come to regard the tie that bound them to the mother country as of only slight political strength. But as soon as the news of the restoration reached the New World, the American Puritans began to consider the advisability of recognizing the authority of the new monarch. In time all the colonies professed their loyalty, though Massachusetts showed some reluctance. In return for prompt obedience King Charles granted liberal charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island; but the colony of New Haven, as a punishment for harboring two fugitive regicides, lost its identity and was merged with Connecticut.

New colonial foundations. 1663-1681. New settlements were also formed. To a group of his friends, the chief of whom were Clarendon, Albemarle (Monk), Shaftesbury, and Governor Berkeley of Virginia, the king gave a large tract of land south of Virginia, which was generally called Carolina. More important territorial additions were made in the north. Between New England and the southern colonies lay the Dutch colony of New Netherland; it was necessary for the safety of the English settlements that this territory should be acquired. Early in 1664 King Charles made a grant to his brother James, Duke of York, covering Long Island and a considerable area of the neighboring mainland lying between the Connecticut and the Delaware rivers. Later in the year, while England and the Netherlands were still nominally at peace, the king sent Colonel Nicolls with two ships and some three hundred men to seize New Netherland. The Dutch did not resist; the English took possession, and the colony and its chief city were both renamed New York in honor of the new proprietor. Later in the same year that part of the duke's grant lying east of the

Delaware River was detached from New York and formed into the colony of New Jersey. Toward the close of the reign the famous Quaker chieftain William Penn received a large grant of land on the west side of the Delaware which was formed into the colony of Pennsylvania including for a time also the settlements on the lower Delaware. All the original "thirteen" American colonies with the single exception of Georgia had now been formed. Six of the twelve were organized or acquired during the reign of Charles II.

Religious toleration in the colonies. It is to be observed that the period of greatest interest in colonial expansion is contemporary with the legislation against dissent. At the same time one is somewhat surprised to find that the proprietary charter of Carolina (which was given by a government that supported the Clarendon Code) provided for religious toleration. In a few years dissenters came in large numbers to Carolina, to New York, and to the new settlements in New Jersey. The Quaker exodus to the banks of the Delaware is well known. The governmental policy of enforcing uniformity of worship in England while allowing toleration in the colonies proved to be a short-sighted one: it not only drove a dissatisfied element to America, but it also conveyed the idea that English laws were for England only. Consequently this policy may be regarded as one of the leading causes of the American revolt a century later.

Commercial expansion. The interest that the Stuart government showed in the colonies was closely allied with an active interest in commerce. A larger trade would mean a larger customs revenue and would consequently increase the income of the crown and reduce the king's dependence on Parliament. The field of English commerce was materially extended by the new colonial foundations in North America, and by the acquisition of the island of Bombay which came to England as a part of the dowry of the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza, who became queen of England in 1662. It was further extended by the organization of new trading companies. In 1670 a group of merchants and courtiers asked and received a charter permitting them to trade and plant settlements on the shores of Hudson Bay. This was the beginning of the Hudson Bay Company of which Prince Rupert was for some time the directing official. The duke of York was also financially interested in

this venture. The new company soon found that its activities would have to be limited largely to the trade in furs, in which it is still engaged. The duke of York also had a leading part in organizing the Royal African Company trading in Guinea, chiefly in negro slaves, which were sold to the sugar planters of the West Indies.

Restrictions on colonial trade. The statesmen of the Restoration were also anxious to bring English commerce more completely into English control. Though distinctly hostile to the legislation of the commonwealth, they made an exception of the Navigation Act in which they recognized an effective expedient in the commercial warfare with the Dutch. In 1660 this law was reënacted with the added provision that certain colonial products, among which were cotton, sugar, tobacco, and dye-woods, were to be shipped to English ports only. This act, for which Clarendon was chiefly responsible, proved of great importance to English merchants and ship owners. The English shippers were now reasonably sure of an active carrying trade, as the Dutch were no longer allowed to underbid them. Thus there came a growing demand for ships, the effects of which were felt in the various lines of industry that provided materials for ship construction. Later the English Parliament was tempted to make this condition permanent by placing unreasonable restrictions on colonial manufactures. A supplementary act of 1663 sought to enlarge the market for English wares in the colonies by providing that goods of European manufacture (with a few notable exceptions) were to be imported into the colonies from England only. In these various ways it was hoped to make the outlying parts of the monarchy a continuous source of profit to the mercantile interests of the mother country.

The restrictions on colonial trade were not felt very keenly for some time, it seems, as it was, after all, only natural that American commerce should seek English ports. Furthermore, there were certain compensations which made the condition quite endurable. Some of the more important colonial products had a great advantage in English markets over foreign merchandise in that they paid a much smaller duty. Thus the sugar planters of the West Indies and the tobacco growers of the southern colonies on the mainland found the various navigation acts a distinct advantage. On the other hand, the industries

of New England, which to a certain extent came into competition with those of the mother country, were seriously hampered by this same legislation.

Foreign policy and war with the Dutch. 1665-1667. Two facts determined the foreign policy of the reign: the ambition for a larger commerce and the hostility toward Roman Catholicism. During the first half of the reign the former principle was the controlling one; not till the court began to show a suspicious inclination to favor Catholicism did the subject of religion become of importance in the framing of foreign policies. In his attitude toward foreign powers Clarendon in the main accepted the ideas of Cromwell: hostility to the Dutch as commercial rivals, and friendship for France. This policy was agreeable to Charles, who disliked the Dutch for keeping his relatives of the Orange family out of power, and looked with especial favor on the ideas and methods of his great cousin, Louis XIV of France.

Soon after the annexation of New Netherland, the duke of York, who was interested in trading ventures on the coast of Africa, sent an expedition to Guinéa which seized a Dutch fort (Cape Coast Castle) on the famous Gold Coast. This led to a war with the Dutch in which the English fleet was only moderately successful (1665-1667). The disasters of this war proved too much for Clarendon, whose popularity had been waning for some time, and the faithful minister was forced to surrender his office and go into exile.

The Cabal. 1667-1673. Rising hostility toward France. Three years later we find the king consulting not one chief counsellor but a group of five called the Cabal, of which Anthony Ashley Cooper, the earl of Shaftesbury, was the most conspicuous member. With the Cabal the religious question comes into greater prominence, for not a single member of this famous group had a genuine interest in the established church. Charles was favorable to the cause of toleration which he wished to extend to his Roman Catholic subjects; his queen was a Catholic; his brother James professed Catholicism and later married as his second wife an Italian princess, who came to England with the hope of doing something for those of her own faith. The Anglicans of the Cavalier Parliament now began to suspect the court of treachery toward the English

church. At the same time the English nation was transferring its friendship from Catholic France to Protestant Holland. Europe was beginning to realize that its greatest enemy was Louis XIV, whose ambitions involved the extension of French authority over all the territory west of the Rhine. During the Dutch war France had not shown the expected friendship; and the treaty with the Dutch was followed by a Triple Alliance in which England, Sweden, and Holland united against the aggressions of Louis XIV.

The treaty of Dover. 1670. Though Charles II ostensibly favored the triple alliance, his secret purpose was to draw closer to France and the Catholic Church. He was at this time actively planning to transform his kingdom into an absolute monarchy, hoping at the same time to induce the nation to accept a slightly Anglicized form of Roman Catholicism. To accomplish this he needed the assistance of Louis XIV and accordingly made an agreement with him, the Secret Treaty of Dover, according to which, in return for French money and French soldiers, Charles was to assist in a partition of the Netherlands. Two years later Louis invaded the Dutch Republic and England joined in the declaration of war. The Dutch now called William of Orange, the young nephew of Charles II, to take charge of the government. On his command the Dutch flooded a large part of their country and the advance was checked. A little later the new Dutch leader succeeded in detaching England from the French alliance.

The Test Act. 1673. That William was able to break up this connection was largely due to the fact that a strong anti-Catholic movement had arisen in England, the leaders of which preferred not to make war on a Protestant country. The same year that saw the beginning of the last Dutch war also saw an effort on the king's part to suspend certain provisions of the Clarendon Code and other statutes against Catholics and Nonconformists by a royal declaration of indulgence. Protestant dissenters were to be permitted to worship in licensed chapels, Catholics in private homes. Early the next year Parliament met and forced the king to withdraw the declaration. This was followed by the famous Test Act which applied the principle of the Corporation Act to the higher offices of the state. It provided that no person should hold an office

under the crown who did not partake of the communion according to the rites of the English church. This forced the Catholics out of the ministerial offices, which was the intent of the act. James resigned his position as high admiral; a leading member of the Cabal was forced to surrender his portfolio. For a century and a half this peculiar law remained among the statutes of England.

Danby. The Test Act broke up the Cabal. For the next five years the earl of Danby held the reins of government. Danby was a politician of low principles, always servile to the king. In his domestic policies he adopted the ideas of Clarendon: a strong kingship and church uniformity; but in foreign affairs he preferred the friendship of Holland to that of France.

Shaftesbury. During the years of Danby's administration the great historic parties of modern England had their origin. The Cabal had stood with Charles for toleration; Danby enforced the ideas of the Clarendon Code. Accordingly the Anglicans of the Laudian type gathered around the chief minister, while the more liberal Anglicans followed the lead of Shaftesbury, who, since the fall of the Cabal, had been driven into opposition to the king and Danby. Anthony Ashley Cooper had begun his career as a royalist but had soon joined the Parliamentary forces; though not wholly a partisan of Cromwell and the protectorate, he remained loyal to republican ideals till he realized that the restoration of the Stuarts was inevitable. For twelve years he was the friend and trusted counsellor of Charles II; but when the Test Act was in debate he supported that measure, though he realized that this support would cost him the king's friendship. Shaftesbury was not attractive in person, but he possessed unquestioned abilities and was a real master in the art of political intrigue. On the subject of religious and personal freedom he held broad and liberal views and doubtless held them honestly; but his actions were too often directed by ambition and his methods frequently bore a suspicious look.

Whigs and Tories. As an opposition group Shaftesbury and his followers quite naturally came into collision with the royal prerogative, and consequently attracted a number of influential peers whose ambition was to center authority in Parliament and more particularly in the House of Lords. In time this

faction came to be known as Whigs, while those who accepted the constitutional ideas of Clarendon and Danby were nicknamed Tories. The Whig party took form during the years following the passage of the Test Act. The Whigs favored the dissenters, the mercantile interests, and the pretensions of the nobility in opposition to the royal prerogative. The Tories, on the other hand, insisted on the rights of the crown and the Anglican church; they had little interest in commerce but guarded jealously the rights and privileges of the landlord class. In the following century the Whig slogan came to be: "life, liberty, and property." Equally terse and effective was the war-cry of the Tories: "the king, the church, and the land."

An alliance with the Dutch. Soon the matter of foreign policy came to be confused with the religious issue. Secretly Charles continued to favor France; but Danby leaned toward a Dutch alliance and arranged the marriage of the princess Mary of York (who, after her father James, was next in succession to the English throne) to William of Orange, Louis' persistent enemy with whom he was still at war (November 4, 1677). This marriage, which came to have unusual importance for the history of England, was followed early the next year by an open alliance between the English and the Dutch. Louis was now in a difficult position. The new alliance forced him to come to terms with the Netherlands; but in the meantime his agents in London were busy intriguing and bribing Whig leaders, the purpose being to prevent Parliament from providing Charles with money for an army. As usual Charles was in sore straits financially; and two months after he had entered into the alliance with Holland, he forced Danby to write to the English ambassador in Paris instructing him to ask Louis XIV for financial assistance. This letter proved Danby's undoing.

Titus Oates and the "popish plot." The difficulties of Danby's government were further intensified by the revelation of an alleged conspiracy on the part of the Jesuits to assassinate the king and place his brother, the Catholic James, on the English throne. The "popish plot" was the invention of one Titus Oates who had at one time been an Anglican clergyman but had twice been removed from clerical office for wicked and improper conduct. Finally he became a Catholic and studied for a time in Jesuit schools. At the Jesuit college at

Saint Omer he learned that the Catholics were much dissatisfied with Charles II. In England he heard that the Jesuits had been holding meetings of a suspicious character. Such a meeting had actually been held in the apartments of the duke of York, but it is not likely that the murder of the king had been up for discussion.

Titus Oates published his charges in August, 1678; they were accepted at once and a panic seized and held the nation till July of the following year. It was discovered that one of the secretaries of the duke of York had been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with Jesuits on the Continent, and the conviction became almost general that Oates was telling a truthful story. During the winter months of 1678 and 1679 a number of innocent Catholics were tried for complicity in imaginary plots and convicted. King Charles, who probably knew the actual plans of the Catholics, might have saved the victims by speaking the proper word; but to do so would have amounted to a confession of aiding a conspiracy against the Anglican church.

Parliamentary opposition to the king. While the panic was still in the earlier stage the Cavalier Parliament met for its final session. To make sure that no Catholic should ever hold membership in the House of Commons a new test was provided: the members-elect were required to denounce transubstantiation, the invocation of the Virgin and the saints, and the sacrificial character of the mass. Obviously no Roman Catholic could make this declaration and no Catholic sat in the House of Commons till the oath of admission was simplified in 1829. This was the last important measure of the Cavalier Parliament. Acting on the suggestion of Louis XIV the English ambassador to Paris revealed the fact that Charles and Danby had actually asked for a loan at the French court. The House of Commons promptly impeached Danby, but before the trial could be arranged for the king dissolved Parliament. After having enjoyed legislative authority for seventeen years the Cavalier Parliament, once so intensely loyal to the king, found itself dissolved because of opposition to the crown and the government. Danby was dismissed with royal favor. Later Parliaments resumed the attack, but in the end Danby escaped conviction. While the panic and the persecution

were still on, a new Parliament was elected. Shaftesbury and the Whigs with an excellent organization and large campaign funds easily carried the day.

The Habeas Corpus Act. 1679. When the new legislature met, two leading measures were presented: a Habeas Corpus Bill and an Exclusion Bill. In the middle ages any subject of the English crown who had suffered imprisonment might apply to the king, either personally or through a representative, for an order directing the proper official to bring the applicant into court and explain why he had been deprived of his liberty. This was called the writ of *habeas corpus*, and in time it became customary for the courts to issue these orders without waiting for instructions from the king. Recent experiences with Stuart methods had convinced the English people that it would be advisable to enact this custom into a formal statute. Accordingly the Whigs under the leadership of Shaftesbury pressed for a Habeas Corpus Act which was duly passed and received the king's approval. The immediate purpose of the statute was to make it more difficult for the king to keep his political enemies in prison; but the application was much broader and the Habeas Corpus procedure still remains one of the most important safeguards of personal liberty.

The Exclusion Bill. The Exclusion Bill was concerned with the succession and was aimed at the duke of York. As James was an avowed Catholic, the Whigs wished to deprive him of his right to the English throne. To save the crown to his brother, Charles dissolved Parliament. The following two years saw two successive Parliaments in both of which the lower house was dominated by Shaftesbury and loudly demanded "exclusion." The lords, however, followed the lead of the moderate Lord Halifax who stood for hereditary rights. The nation soon began to feel that Shaftesbury's party had gone too far in its opposition to the king and the legal heir. The Whigs had not only wished to exclude James but some of them would also have excluded James' daughter Mary. Shaftesbury's own candidate for the throne was James Crofts, better known as duke of Monmouth, an alleged illegitimate son of Charles II. For his activities in this direction the earl incurred the undying wrath of the king and, what was even worse, was made the subject of Dryden's famous satire, "Absalom and Achitophel,"

in which Monmouth plays the part of the rebellious son and Shaftesbury that of the wicked counsellor.

Charles attempted to have action brought against Shaftesbury in the courts; but in this he failed; for London, where the earl resided, was strongly Whig, and no grand jury could be found that would bring charges against the Whig chieftain. Charles then proceeded to transform the government of the City; but this move led to no better results, for the wily intriguer managed to escape to Holland where he died a few months later (1683).

Execution of the Whig leaders. Charles was now thoroughly aroused and it became evident that the lazy monarch was possessed of remarkable abilities as a politician. Shortly after Shaftesbury's flight some of the Whig leaders were found to be plotting against the king's life; at the same time a number of prominent Englishmen, among whom were Monmouth, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, were conspiring to create a situation that would force the king to call a Parliament. Monmouth was forgiven, several of the others were executed. Lord Russell had been a consistent opponent of the king's brother James, having fought him because of his Catholic faith; such a man was not to be permitted to escape. A packed jury found him guilty of treason. Algernon Sidney had always been an opponent of monarchy; so intense was his political belief that he could not even approve the rule of Cromwell. He was convicted because of his republican opinions. As only one witness could be produced against him, an unpublished manuscript in which he defended his republican faith was permitted to serve as a second witness.

The second period of Stuart absolutism. 1681-1685. After he had dissolved the third Whig Parliament Charles II was done with Parliament and, for the time being, with Parliamentary elections. The remaining four years of his reign he devoted to a deliberate attempt to build up a despotism, a system in which constitutional organs could be used to carry out the commands of an absolute monarch. The despotism of Charles I had been founded on the authority of the Privy Council; that of Cromwell found its support in the protector's control of a friendly army. Charles II had no army worth mentioning, nor had his Privy Council any effective power, since the Long

Parliament had abolished its courts. But Charles discovered an effective instrument in the regular courts of the kingdom, the judges of which were appointed by himself and carefully selected from a group of lawyers who were willing to stretch the law in the king's favor. The best known of these was the notorious Jeffreys who presided over the court that tried Algernon Sidney; on many other occasions, too, did he earn the gratitude of the tyrannical king.

To punish London for supporting Shaftesbury a suit was brought against the corporation of the City ordering it to show by what right (*quo warranto*) it was exercising the functions of municipal government. Jeffreys and his associates on the king's bench did what was expected of them: they found a pretext for depriving the City of its charter, and the right of self-government was lost. Similar suits were brought against a number of other cities and boroughs with royal charters where Whiggism was in control. As the courts were then constituted, it was not difficult to convict the corporations of illegal acts. The charters were accordingly declared forfeited; new ones were drawn up; and new corporations were organized with Tories in control of the membership. As the municipal organizations ordinarily selected the borough membership in the House of Commons, the king hoped in this way to secure a Tory house, if he should ever be compelled to summon another Parliament.

Absolutism in the colonies. It was in the year 1683 that the hand of Stuart despotism lay most heavily upon the English people: this was the year that saw the execution of the Whig leaders and the remodelling of the borough corporations. In the following years the new political methods were extended to the colonies. The New England colonies were practically self-governing republics; and the control reserved to the king in the proprietary colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas was scarcely more than nominal. From the viewpoint of the king and his council the system was not an ideal one: Charles II was doubtless right in holding that the colonies could be rendered more profitable to the royal treasury and could be more easily defended against the Indians, if they were under the direction of one governor instead of a dozen. He was determined that New England at least should be subjected to a more effective royal control. In 1684 a *quo warranto*

suit was brought against Massachusetts. A colony that had coined its own money, organized a colonial federation, and had even declared war could scarcely plead that it had been constantly loyal and obedient; the result was that Massachusetts lost her charter. Two years later King James sent Sir Edmund Andros to Boston as governor of all the New England colonies and New York and New Jersey. It seems to have been the king's plan also to attack the rights of the proprietors Penn and Baltimore and to unite all the American colonies into a great vice-royalty under a single governor who was to carry out the king's ideas without the aid of an assembly chosen by the colonists. But this plan was never realized, for in 1688 the revolution came and the Stuarts were deposed.

Charles II and Louis XIV. During the last year of his life, Charles seriously considered calling another Parliament. There was a law that not more than three years should pass between the adjournment or dissolution of one legislature and the election of another; but Charles had felt strong enough to ignore this requirement. Charles II had a regular income, but it was too small for a spendthrift like the "merry monarch." Louis XIV sent remittances from time to time, but the amount proved insufficient. Charles, however, did not live to call another Parliament: in February, 1685, he fell ill and died. He had then governed England nearly twenty-five years, and most of the time he had ruled intelligently. On his deathbed he was reconciled to the Roman Catholic church, which he had secretly favored all through his reign. A priest was summoned; the king confessed his sins, of which he had many, and received the sacrament. When this was done and the attendants were readmitted, the sense of humor returned to the dying man; "he had been a most unconscionable time a-dying, but he hoped they would excuse him."

James II. 1685-1688. The king's brother, the duke of York, now ascended the throne as James II. Of all the Stuarts, James II was the least attractive. He is described as a tall, angular prince with a pock-marked face which also showed traces of a dissolute life. Most of the Stuarts were handsome, clever, and stiffnecked; of these characteristics James had inherited the last only, but this in a measure greater than was his due. Many of his dynasty had also been afflicted with impossible

purposes, the attainment of which they made a matter of conscience; that of James was to restore Roman Catholicism in England, and in the effort he ruined the Stuart dynasty for all time.

Mary of Modena. A few months before the Restoration while he was still in exile, James had secretly married Anne Hyde, who was maid of honor to Mary, princess of Orange, a sister of Charles and James. Anne Hyde was a daughter of Edward Hyde, and it was to give her family a higher standing in English society that Charles II created Edward Hyde first a baron and later an earl. Anne Hyde became the mother of several children, two of whom, Mary and Anne, lived to become queens of England. In 1673, two years after the death of Anne Hyde, James, who had become a professed Romanist not long before, married Mary Beatrice, a young Italian princess whose ruling passion was enthusiasm for the Roman faith. To bring a princess of this type to England in the year of the Test Act was indiscreet to say the least; but James was not famous for discretion.

The "Bloody Assizes." On the death of Charles II, King James and Queen Mary were accepted by the English people with a great show of loyalty, if not with enthusiasm. But soon after the accession two revolts broke out, one in Scotland and the other in southwestern England, in favor of the impossible Monmouth. Both were promptly crushed and punished with unusual severity. The pretender was captured and ended his career on the scaffold. Jeffreys was sent to the southwest to bring Monmouth's partisans to trial, and so ruthlessly did he punish the misguided peasants that the sessions of his court have become known as the "Bloody Assizes." More than a thousand were hanged or transported to the colonies; two women were executed (one was burned alive) for giving relief to fugitives. On the whole, however, these uprisings served to intensify the loyalty of the English people and even brought some popularity to the throne. If King James had not undertaken to undermine the Anglican church, he doubtless would have been permitted to rule England in peace till the end of his days.

James II made the usual promises to govern according to law and to maintain the church of England; but after a few months

his real purpose began to be evident. The uprising of 1685 gave him a pretext for enlarging the army and an opportunity to appoint several officers who were professed Catholics; when the Commons protested against such disregard of law, he adjourned Parliament.

Persecution of the Huguenots in France. The king's quarrel with the Commons over the annulment of the Test Act came only a few weeks after Louis XIV had revoked the Edict of Nantes and withdrawn all protection from the French Protestants. Those who still adhered to the Huguenot faith were now forced to seek refuge in Protestant lands, in Prussia, the American colonies, South Africa, and elsewhere. Many found homes in English towns where they came to be an important factor in the skilled industries. Soon the story of how the Huguenots had been made to suffer for their faith began to circulate throughout the land, and English Protestants of every party and faction began to fear that a king like James, who deliberately ignored and set aside the law, might place their own faith in a similar danger.

The "dispensing power." James II paid little heed to public sentiment, but he began, nevertheless, to feel the desirability of giving his appointments a legal sanction. He held that, as the statutes were made in the king's name, the laws were his laws, and he had perfect right to "dispense" with them in individual instances. He sounded the judges of the king's bench on this doctrine and finding four of them hostile to his views, he deprived these of their offices and appointed new justices on whom he could depend for a favorable decision. Before this packed bench a case was brought charging one Hales, a Romanist, with holding an office under the crown in violation of the Test Act. Hales pleaded that he had a dispensation from the king, and the court held that this was legal and sufficient (1686).

Catholic officials in the church; the Ecclesiastical Commission. If the king could appoint Catholic officers in the army, he could also, as head of the Anglican church, place Catholics in important church offices. That this would be a violation of propriety and good faith meant nothing to James II. A secret Romanist was made bishop of Oxford. The master of University College at Oxford became a convert to Catholicism and was

soon actively engaged in making converts of others; but he was allowed to retain his position. When the deanship of Christ Church College fell vacant, the office was given to a Romanist. The following year the twenty-five fellows of Magdalen College were deprived of their fellowships and expelled for refusing to elect a Catholic to the presidency of their college. Romanists were appointed to their places. Thus three important Oxford colleges were in the process of becoming Romanized.

The reign of James II was a period of great sorrow and perplexity for his Anglican partisans. During the years of Puritan rule, many churchmen had come to believe strongly in the divine right of kings; they had long taught that the will of the Lord's anointed should be accepted without criticism. Nevertheless, there were some who ventured to protest against the appointment of Catholics to office in a Protestant church. These objectors the king determined to silence. He accordingly organized an Ecclesiastical Commission, much like the High Commission Court that had been abolished by the Long Parliament, only its authority was not to extend to laymen. Jeffreys, who had once boasted that he could "smell a Presbyterian forty miles," was one of its guiding spirits. The first case to come before the commission was that of Compton, the bishop of London, who had refused to punish a priest for criticising the king's appointments. Bishop Compton was suspended. It was this same commission that expelled the fellows of Magdalen College. The commission also had occasion to discipline the authorities of the University of Cambridge for refusing to give a degree to a Benedictine monk who had refused to take the prescribed oath. Among those who appeared before Jeffreys and his associates on that occasion was the great scientist Isaac Newton, who was professor of mathematics. "Sin no more," was the warning of the notorious judge, "lest a worse thing happen unto you."

The Declarations of Indulgence. 1687, 1688. Realizing that he had made enemies of the Tory churchmen, James now turned for moral support to the Whig dissenters. In April, 1687, he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, a royal order suspending all the laws against Catholicism and dissent and granting freedom of worship to all. The old recusancy laws dating from

Elizabeth's time and the Conventicle Act with the other laws of the Clarendon Code were thus made inoperative. There was much iniquity in these laws; but if the king could set aside bad laws, he could also annul any other law. Moreover, his hands were not clean and his purpose scarcely honest. As the royal declaration was issued only a few days before the attack on Magdalen College, it soon became clear to most men that the king's professions of tolerance had a doubtful purpose behind them. The Anglicans, at least, were not to share in this new freedom. There were many strong partisans of the Stuarts among the dissenters, the most notable of whom was the famous Quaker chief, William Penn. These were in favor of accepting the royal gift, and their influence was strong with many, especially with Quakers and Baptists. But the great majority, the Presbyterians in particular, refused to accept a privilege denied them by the laws of the land. Among these the most prominent were Richard Baxter, a great Nonconformist theologian, and John Bunyan, a Baptist clergyman, famous as the author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, who had spent twelve years in Bedford jail for preaching to dissenting congregations.

A year later, James II issued a second Declaration of Indulgence in which he reaffirmed the earlier grant; he also ordered that this document should be read in all the Anglican churches. The church rebelled; only a very few priests obeyed the mandate. Seven bishops led by the archbishop of Canterbury joined in a petition to the king requesting him to excuse the priests from reading the declaration. Startled and angry the king replied: "This is a standard of rebellion. . . . I will have my declaration published." Legal action was brought against the bishops for "a false, scandalous, and seditious libel;" but the jury refused to convict. London went wild with joy; even the king's soldiers on Hounslow Heath cheered when they heard of the king's defeat.

Tyranny in Scotland. By midsummer, 1688, James II had alienated almost the entire English nation; even the Catholics, most of whom longed for peace rather than for power, hesitated to follow a king who showed so little discretion. In Scotland the situation was, if possible, even worse. Like the English the Scots had rejoiced in the restoration of the Stuart dynasty; but when the new government insisted on ruling the national church

through bishops, the Presbyterians showed a tendency to resist. They regarded the National Covenant of 1638 as a part of the national constitution, and on this they based their right to refuse obedience. In 1678, while England was in a ferment over the exclusion bill, actual civil war broke out between the extreme Covenanters of the southwest, to whom bishops were an abomination, and the supporters of the king, who found bishops acceptable. James, then duke of York, came to Scotland to put down the uprising. With the assistance of "Bloody" Claverhouse, a famous and capable soldier who led the royalist forces, and "Bloody" Mackenzie, a learned and active lawyer, who prosecuted the rebels in the courts, he made considerable headway. Torture and the gallows were freely employed. The more extreme Covenanters replied with a threat to assassinate any one who should interfere with their rights or their persons. Such was the situation early in 1685 when Charles died. After James had succeeded to the kingship the work of repression was carried on even more vigorously. A few months after his accession the Scottish Parliament enacted that persons who attended conventicles "were to be henceforth punished by death." The first two years of James' reign are known in Scotland as the "killing time."

Efforts to promote Catholicism in Scotland. In 1687, soon after he had entered upon his new policy of toleration in England, James II asked the Scottish Parliament for an act of toleration in favor of his "innocent subjects, those of the Roman religion." When this was refused, he dismissed Parliament and published a Declaration of Indulgence for Scotland, which extended freedom of worship to all but the more rebellious Covenanters. Otherwise, too, the king showed that he was determined to promote his own faith: as in England, he was purging the Privy Council of Protestant members and appointing Catholics in their stead. Mass was said in Holyrood chapel. The result was a truce between the Covenanters and the Episcopalians: they had now the common problem of how best to meet the aggressions of Romanism, which they feared and hated even more than they hated each other.

Mary of Orange, heiress presumptive. The hopes of the English and Scottish Protestants were centered about the king's oldest daughter, Mary, who was heiress presumptive to the

three crowns of Britain. Mary had been educated as a Protestant and, though her father and mother had both become reconciled to Rome, had remained true to her faith. At the age of fifteen she had been given in marriage to her cousin, William of Orange, who seems to have shown only slight anxiety for his wife's happiness. Mary had all the virtues that belonged to the higher type of womanhood, all except strength and an independent spirit; she seems to have been completely under the domination of her strong-souled husband. The leaders of the opposition to James II did not enjoy the thought of having the stern and silent Dutchman as their regent; but the Stuart king was becoming impossible and they were not sure that they could allow him to reign in peace many years longer.

The birth of a prince. 1688. In the spring of 1688, the fear spread that Mary might never become the queen of England. It was reported that the king had visited a holy well in Wales and had been assured that a son would be born to him and that the child would live and prosper. On June 10, the boy was born, to the great joy of James II, who had now an heir whom he could bring up in the Catholic faith, but to the great disappointment of the English people, who had been "waiting for better days;" for they now saw that their next ruler, too, was likely to be of the religion that England had repudiated. Moreover, it was rumored that the little prince had died, and that a spurious infant had been provided by the Jesuits to take his place. The story found wide credence: even the Princess Anne had her doubts. To her sister Mary in Holland, who was also keenly interested, she wrote: "I shall never now be satisfied whether the child be true or false. It may be it is our brother. . . . where one believes it a thousand do not."

William of Orange. Before the close of the month came the trial of the seven bishops, and a few hours after their acquittal a messenger set out secretly for Holland bearing a letter to William of Orange urging him to invade England at the earliest possible moment. The letter was signed by seven men of prominence, all of whom had personal grievances against the Stuarts. Russell and Sidney had kinsmen to avenge; Bishop Compton had been suspended from his episcopal functions. Most of the men who signed were Whigs, but Danby and Compton were Tories. The seven all pledged themselves "to attend your

Highness upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readiness as such an action is capable of."

William of Orange had long been deep in the secrets of the dissatisfied Englishmen. It is still a problem to what extent he was responsible for the Revolution, but it is quite clear that he was one of its chief promoters. Nevertheless, he responded to the invitation with some reluctance. James II was his uncle and father-in-law; the situation was, indeed, embarrassing. But danger was threatening from France; and while William cared little for the English crown, he was anxious to have the wealth and the military power of England at his disposal in the war that the ambitious and restless Louis XIV was about to bring upon Europe. He spent the summer and autumn in preparing a fleet for a pretended attack on the Danes, who were just then under French influence, but in reality for an invasion of his father-in-law's kingdom. Louis XIV warned James of his son-in-law's intentions and offered him the use of his own fleet; but the dense monarch was sure that his daughter would forbid the invasion and for a time declined assistance. In disgust Louis turned his attentions once more to the Rhine country, and soon the War of the Palatinate was blazing across the German frontier. The European fear of Louis XIV was an important asset in William's diplomacy: it was chiefly this that secured for him the friendly neutrality of the leading Catholic powers, Austria, Spain, and even the papacy, while he left his own land to dethrone a Catholic monarch.

William's invasion of England. 1688. In November the Prince of Orange finally set sail. So large was his fleet that it required seven hours to pass a given point. Easterly winds drove the armament down the Channel, and the landing was made at Torbay. Slowly the Dutch army (which also contained English, Scottish and Swedish companies) proceeded toward London. On Salisbury Plain King James had collected a large force, sufficient in strength to repel the invader, but weak in morale and lacking in loyalty. The soldiers who had cheered the acquittal of the seven bishops a few months before now deserted to the enemy. Danby raised the standard of revolt in Yorkshire and soon the rebellion spread to the neigh-

boring counties. The Princess Anne fled northward to join the rebels in the Midlands; while her husband, Prince George, following the example of John Churchill and other high officers in the king's army, found his way into the camp of the invader.

The discouraged king returned to London where he found his government in a panic. Some weeks earlier he had promised a complete reversal of his religious policy, and he still seemed willing to negotiate with the dissatisfied elements, even with his undutiful son-in-law. But the king who in other years had proved his courage on the field of battle could now think of nothing but flight. Just before Christmas he succeeded, to William's great relief, in making his escape to France, whither the queen and the little prince had preceded him a few days earlier.

The Second Convention Parliament. 1689. When the new year arrived England was facing a strange situation: there was no Parliament in existence and the king had deserted the nation. The problem was how to organize a government that would have at least the semblance of legality. On the day following the king's flight William had called together the members of the House of Lords, to which body he added such members of the Parliaments of Charles II as were in or near London at the time and certain members of the corporation of London. On the advice of this assembly William decided to refer the matter to the electorate and issued writs for the election of knights and burgesses to a second Convention Parliament. This body, which contained men of the most diverse opinions, from extreme republicans to Stuart partisans, finally passed four great measures which together constitute the Revolution Settlement.

1. **William and Mary joint rulers.** The first great problem was how to dispose of the succession to the English throne. A few voices were raised in favor of recalling the fugitive James, but this suggestion was received with little favor. Nor did the Convention care to consider a proposal to abolish the monarchy and establish a republic. A group of Tories led by Archbishop Sancroft proposed that James II should be allowed to retain the royal office, but that the government should be entrusted to a regency, as if the king were insane or otherwise incapacitated. It was clearly understood, however, that a regency

might not be able to maintain itself against an actual king; and the Tories fell back on Danby's plan, which would give the crown to Mary, the oldest daughter of James. But Mary was too dutiful a wife to accept a title which she could not share with her husband, and William gave Parliament to understand that unless he should be allowed to control the government of England, he would have nothing to do with English affairs. Parliament was consequently forced to adopt a plan for which Lord Halifax was the chief sponsor. Halifax argued that when James II fled from the land he virtually abdicated and that the throne was accordingly vacant. William and Mary were then declared joint sovereigns of the nation. It was further agreed that the executive authority should be entrusted to William; but till her death five years later Queen Mary directed the government of the kingdom the greater part of the time, as King William was frequently absent from England, usually in the Netherlands, of which he continued as chief executive.

2. **The Bill of Rights. 1689.** Before William and Mary were formally tendered the sovereignty, Parliament adopted a Declaration of Right, in which an attempt was made to justify the Revolution. Later this Declaration with certain additions relating to the succession was reënacted as the Bill of Rights. This famous and important document is made up of three chief parts. In the first place it contains a list of the principal sins that James II had committed against the nation. This is followed by a statement of the "ancient rights and liberties" of England, among which are mentioned the right of Parliament to control taxation, the army, and its own proceedings, the right of the Protestant subjects to bear arms, and the right of all Englishmen to petition for redress of grievances. The document also condemns excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel punishments. Finally the Bill of Rights provides for the succession and enacts that no Roman Catholic shall ever inherit the throne of England. It further enacts that any person who shall become a Catholic or marry a Catholic, "shall be excluded and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of" England and Ireland. The English king must remain a Protestant or lose his throne. A century later, when the Americans were forming new governments for the states and the nation, the form and the phraseology of

the Bill of Rights came to have great importance, and "bills of rights" are still prefixed to most American constitutions.

3. **The Mutiny Act.** In March, 1689, a mutiny in the army called attention to the fact that the provisions of the Petition of Right relating to martial law made it difficult to maintain discipline in the king's military establishment. A Mutiny Act was therefore passed authorizing the enforcement of martial law in the army. To make sure that there would be a session of Parliament the following winter, the duration of this act was limited to six months. Since then it has been reenacted annually and for a time it proved an effective means of compelling the government to have Parliamentary sessions every year.

4. **The Toleration Act.** When the temptation came to the dissenters in the form of the Declaration of Indulgence published by James II, their leaders received assurance from prominent Anglican churchmen that if they refused to yield, relief should come in due time through an act of Parliament. In 1689 this promise was redeemed by the passage of the Toleration Act, which granted freedom of worship under certain conditions to all Christians except Catholics and Unitarians. The act, however, did not excuse the dissenter from the obligation of paying the usual dues to the Anglican church, nor did it convey any political rights; the Corporation Act and the Test Act remained in force, and public offices were legally open to such persons only as partook of the communion in Anglican churches.

The Revolution in Scotland. 1689. The English Revolution had a close parallel in Scotland. On the request of more than a hundred prominent Scotsmen, William called a Convention Parliament for the northern kingdom. This body met in March, 1689, adopted a Claim of Right in imitation of the English Declaration, and offered the sovereignty to William and Mary. A new Parliament convened later in the same year abolished episcopacy and in the following year reëstablished the Presbyterian form of church government, though in a more moderate form than that of earlier times. The Westminster Confession was read and formally accepted as the standard of faith in the Scottish church. For more than a century the church had fought for the control of the state, and the state for the control of the church; this warfare was now past. Many Scotsmen refused

to accept William and clung to the fugitive James. Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, raised the standard of the Stuart dynasty in the Highlands and collected a force of some 3000 men. At Killiecrankie, in the first battle with the Whig soldiers, the Highlanders won a complete victory, but their great leader fell. No new chief coming forward to lead the movement, the Highlanders lost interest, and the revolt melted away.

The Revolution in the colonies. The revolutionary movement also extended to the American colonies. When the news came of the change of rulers in the mother country, local revolts broke out in several of the colonial capitals, and the system of the Stuarts came to an end. The men of Boston seized their viceroy, Sir Edmund Andros, and cast him into prison. In New York his deputy, Francis Nicholson, was deposed by the local militia. William Penn, as a loyal friend of the Stuarts, had some difficulties with the new rulers but was ultimately restored to his rights in Pennsylvania. In Maryland a disaffected Protestant element deposed the officials of Lord Baltimore and kept control till 1692 when the administration was taken over by a representative of the crown, though the Calvert family was allowed to retain its old proprietary rights to the soil.

Although the new rulers of Great Britain favored a closer union and a more effective control of the colonies, it was thought best to abandon the Stuart plan of a great colonial vice-royalty and to restore the legislative assemblies that had been suppressed by the Stuart kings. The political settlement in Massachusetts may be regarded as typical of the new policy. Inasmuch as Massachusetts had lost her charter by due process of law, William III decided that it need not be restored in its original form. Accordingly a new document was drawn up which was somewhat less liberal in its provisions than the charter forfeited in 1684. Self-government was in large measure restored; but the crown reserved the right to appoint the governor and to veto legislation by the colonial assembly.

The counter-revolution in Ireland. Except in the Scotch-Irish counties of Ulster (where counsels were much divided) the revolution did not extend to Ireland. On the contrary, the Irish replied to the invitation with a determined rebellion in

behalf of the deposed dynasty. It was the policy of James II to make Roman Catholicism the dominant religion in Ireland as well as in Great Britain; and here, where the ruling Protestant class was a relatively small minority, the task of reconstruction promised to be an easy one. The king found a willing agent in Richard Talbot, a zealous Catholic Irishman whose purpose in life, next to promoting his own fortunes, was to make Ireland a Catholic country in government as well as in religion. James made Talbot earl of Tyrconnell, gave him control of the royal forces in Ireland, and in 1687 appointed him lord deputy of the Irish kingdom. Tyrconnell lost no time in carrying out the Stuart policy. Catholics were placed in the important offices both local and central. Where vacancies did not already exist Tyrconnell secured resignations. Many of the Protestants who had lost their official positions fled the land and sought refuge in the Netherlands.

The battle of the Boyne. 1690. Some weeks after his arrival in France James II received a letter from Tyrconnell urging him to resume his kingship in Ireland. The fugitive king was not anxious to make the venture but no other plan seemed feasible and in March, 1689, he landed in the neighborhood of Cork. King James was loyally received by the native Irish; but in Ulster the Scotch-Irishmen prepared to resist him. Though somewhat reluctant at first they had finally decided to accept William of Orange as king of Ireland. At Londonderry they endured a long and terrible siege which told heavily on the resources and patience of the Stuart king. In 1689 William III sent an army into Ireland and the following year he took the field himself, to the great anxiety of the gentle Queen Mary, who thought with horror on the possibility that her husband might meet her father on the field of battle. Her fears were groundless. On the banks of the Boyne, not far from Drogheda, the Irish suffered a crushing defeat. It is told that when the disappointed James reached Dublin the same evening he remarked to Lady Tyrconnell: "Your countrymen run well, Madam." To which the lady replied: "I congratulate your Majesty on having won the race."

The treaty of Limerick. 1691. James II scarcely paused in his flight till he was once more on French soil. Under the leadership of Patrick Sarsfield, a soldier of ability and experience,

the Irish continued the struggle, and only after two years of desperate fighting was the rebellion put down. Peace was finally secured by the treaty of Limerick, in which the Irish Catholics were promised the same freedom in religious matters that they had enjoyed in the time of Charles II when the recusancy laws were not strictly enforced. It was also agreed that no unusual oaths should be demanded of the Catholics. William and Mary signed the treaty and doubtless intended to carry out its provisions. But the following year a Parliament was chosen in which the Irish Protestants had a great majority. This Parliament nullified the treaty chiefly by prescribing an oath that no Catholic could take. Thus the Protestants of the Anglican faith, though comprising but one-eleventh of the entire population, were able to seize control of the government and to keep it for ninety years. To the Catholic Irish the "Glorious Revolution" brought nothing but misery.

Results of the Revolution. The Revolution of 1688 is one of the most important events in English history. It closed two mighty contests which for several generations had hindered the English nation from developing into a power of the first class: the struggle over religion and the fight for political freedom. The Puritan did not win the supremacy, but he found toleration; and with this he was reasonably satisfied. The theory of divine right disappeared from English politics, for the facts were against it: no one cared to affirm that William III ruled by any other title than that given him by Parliament; and the same was true of the Hanoverian dynasty which ascended the throne (in 1714) by virtue of a later Parliamentary act. But though Parliament thus had become the supreme power in the state, the king remained, nevertheless, a mighty factor in the government, for the legislature had not yet discovered an effective organ through which to control the executive. Such an organ was developed a generation later, when circumstances threw the administrative power into the hands of the king's cabinet, and from that time on the House of Commons has been the actual sovereign in the British state.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Progress of the seventeenth century. The history of the seventeenth century is a long story of strife, contention, and intermittent warfare. This is particularly true of the earlier half of the century when the contending factions in all the British kingdoms forced the issues and plunged the isles into civil war. In a period of this character, when the passions of men are stirred to the point of battle, clear indications of human progress are frequently sought in vain. The age of the Stuarts is, however, not to be regarded as a period of marked decline: for even the earlier decades of the century, with all their waste of energy in strife and turmoil, show unmistakable signs of national advancement along many lines. One needs only to call attention to the great colonizing activities in North America, to which the unsettled conditions in the British kingdoms actually contributed.

More evident are the changes that came with the Restoration, when peace returned once more to the distracted land. The year 1660 is therefore an important landmark in the history of English progress. It marks the beginning of a new England, a nation inspired by new purposes and seeking to realize new ideals. Superficially considered the Restoration period is not an attractive age. The men who controlled the English government and directed the social forces of the country in the reign of Charles II appear to have been, for the most part, a jovial, somewhat dissipated, and not very serious company; still, in spite of their many defects they achieved much that came to be of lasting importance. They restored the English constitution in church and state; but they were wise enough to accept some of the more important results of the Puritan victory, and the development of English institutions was allowed to continue. They promoted colonial ventures in the New World and secured a territorial foothold in India. They helped to organize

new trading companies and to acquire new fields for English commerce. They were interested in the discoveries of science and helped to establish new institutions devoted to scientific research.

Charles II. Among those who did most to encourage these new interests, Charles II holds an honored place. Much cannot be said for King Charles either as a man or a statesman; he lived most of his life on a low plane. His education was respectable, but his learning was not remarkable. He had, however, an abiding interest in intellectual pursuits. He loved the drama and did something to promote the revival of music in the English churches. He listened to learned discussions in the Royal Society; he tried his hand at the art of dissecting the human body; at one time he looked through an "admirable long tube with which he viewed the heavens to his very great satisfaction," so great that he ordered one made for his own use. He had a private laboratory where he experimented with chemicals. He had his own menagerie, and he loved to study the behavior of bees. He helped to found the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, known everywhere as the place from which longitude still is reckoned by nearly all the geographers of the world.

The Restoration outlook. Thus there were among the educated classes of the kingdom a new interest in secular affairs and a new outlook upon the world. A corresponding change could be observed in the spirit of the common people. The new generation was beginning to look upon the world as a place that contained, after all, much that was desirable and even enjoyable; and they proceeded to enjoy as much as the circumstances would allow. The sports and amusements which the Puritan clergymen had condemned so vigorously were resumed. The theaters which the Long Parliament had closed in 1624 were reopened soon after the return of the Stuarts. The worldly-minded came out of their hiding places and resumed their old ways and their old manner of living. It was inevitable that in the reaction from the strait-laced existence which some of the more fanatical Puritans had sought to impose on their unwilling neighbors, there should be a loosening of morals and a common disregard for some of the stricter conventions; but it is not necessary to regard the social conditions of the Restora-

tion period as a triumph of the evil powers. England remained sound at heart, and in many respects ordinary human living was of a healthier character after 1660 than in the twenty years that went before.

Population. The population of England and Wales in the seventeenth century has been estimated at about five millions. It was gathered largely in the south, the east, and the Midlands: here were the larger towns, the chief industrial centers, and the most numerous farms. In the west and in the far north the country was thinly populated, and the rural civilization in those regions was still of a somewhat backward type. Throughout the Stuart period England continued to be an agricultural nation; three-fourths of the entire population still lived in the country, devoting their time and their strength to rural pursuits.

The peerage and the gentry. Under such conditions it was inevitable that the leaders of the agrarian elements should occupy a large and influential place in the social and political life of the nation. To a large extent this leadership lay in the hands of the English peerage, whose broad acres covered the greater part of the kingdom. But the peerage made, after all, a comparatively small group; scarcely more than a hundred families were represented in the House of Lords in the earlier years of the Stuart period. Furthermore the nobles did not spend all or even the greater part of their time in the country and were, therefore, not in the very closest touch with the needs and the wishes of the rural population. On the other hand, the class ranking just below the nobility, the so-called gentry class, was almost wholly identified with rural activities, and to this class of country squires fell the duty of representing the agrarian forces in the councils of the nation. In many cases the country gentlemen were quite wealthy, having far more extensive estates than some of the less opulent nobles. Richard Evelyn, the father of the famous diarist John Evelyn, "had 116 servants in liverys, every one livery'd in greene satin doublets." But the peers had the advantage of hereditary seats in the upper house, while the squires had to find a public career in the House of Commons.

The gentry class was not numerous, counting only a few thousand families. But the influence of the squires was far out

of proportion to their numbers, especially in their own localities. Holding the offices of justices of the peace, they were charged as of old with the cares of local government. In the civil war the gentry was divided: many of the country gentlemen were cavaliers and fought on the side of the king; but there were also vigorous Puritans among them, notably men like John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell. As a matter of fact, however, the gentry as a class was not in complete sympathy either with the Laudian Anglicans or with the more extreme Puritans. Laud emphasized the office of the bishop and the rights of the clerical order; on the other hand, those among the Puritans who still believed in a state church were inclined to favor an establishment of the Presbyterian type, with large powers of control and supervision assigned to the presbyteries. In either case the authority, or the influence, of the squires in the local churches would be somewhat circumscribed, as the priest or the presbyter would be forced to follow instructions received from authorities that did not recognize the voice of the country squire. Consequently the wealthy gentlemen farmers were pleased with neither faction.

The yeomanry and the farm laborers. Sharing to some extent with the gentry in the control of county affairs were the yeomen, or freehold farmers, who in many cases were men of real wealth. It is estimated that toward the close of the seventeenth century there were about 160,000 yeomen farmers in England. The voting population of the shires was made up almost entirely of the yeomen class. Next in rank were the tenant farmers, whose holdings ranged from twenty to 150 acres. Though frequently men of influence in their respective localities, the tenant farmers, not being freeholders, were not allowed to exercise the right of suffrage. The actual labor on English farms was performed in large measure by a class of agricultural laborers, who, having no land of their own to till, had no income but their daily earnings. This class was very numerous, comprising, as it did, more than one-third of the entire population of the kingdom. The wages paid for farm labor was usually very low, and the families of the agricultural laborers frequently lived in dire poverty.

Progress in agriculture. There were as yet no visible indications of the revolution in agriculture that was to come a

century later; farming by the old, time-honored methods was the rule everywhere. But though progress was slow and scarcely noticeable, certain changes were going forward which were not without importance for the years to come. Vegetables were being grown to a greater extent than earlier, and more attention was being given to the family garden. Potatoes, which thus far had not been used very much as a food, were gradually coming into favor. The farmers were learning that clover and turnips could be grown with profit in the process of crop rotation. The tendency to enclose commons and wasteland and to consolidate the acre strips of medieval times into pastureland and sometimes into larger fields continued, though the process was going forward at a slower pace than in Tudor times. There was also a noticeable tendency among the yeomen to sell their holdings and to move their families to some neighboring town or, perhaps, to the new settlements over the seas. Thus the ancient class of peasant proprietors was gradually passing into history and their places were taken by wealthy landlords whose interest in their farms frequently ceased with the receipt of the annual rent.

In the seventeenth century scarcely more than one-half of the entire area of the English kingdom was actually under cultivation. Early in the century an extensive project looking toward a substantial increase of arable soil was undertaken in the region of the Fenlands. The Fen Country is a low swampy tract at the head of the Wash, covering about 700,000 acres. The greater part of this area was a vast marsh with occasional patches of higher ground standing forth like islands. The Fenmen who occupied these islands were an ignorant and somewhat barbarous people who found a living by fishing, shooting fowl, and cutting turf in the marsh. When the engineers of the time began the work of draining the Fens, the Fenmen resisted and destroyed the dykes. In spite of this opposition a great deal of this land was, however, finally reclaimed; but the undertaking was not completely finished till a hundred years later.

Greater London. The most important single locality in the kingdom was the great municipal area called London. Then as now, Greater London was composed of the ancient City and a group of suburbs and other settlements lying beyond the old

City walls. In the earlier Tudor period the London area counted a population of perhaps 50,000; soon after the accession of Elizabeth it was found that the number had risen to a point above 100,000. The increase was due in some part to the economic pressure in the rural communities which forced a large number of farmers and agricultural laborers to move their families into the neighborhood of the City, where there was hope of getting employment in the various industries. This rapid growth naturally called forth a number of serious problems; for in these suburban settlements there was no efficient government, there were no arrangements in the interest of the public health, nor was there any assurance of a continuous and adequate food supply. Epidemics were frequent and terrible in the devastation of life. The great plague that swept over London and the neighboring villages in 1665 carried off at least 70,000 persons, or about one-seventh of the entire population. Several attempts were made to stem the tide that was flowing so unceasingly toward the capital, but without success. Most of those who found homes in London lived and continued to live under slum conditions; for the great city remained for a long time ill paved, ill drained, and almost without police protection.

Population of the London area. But after all has been said that can be said about the miseries of London, the fact remains that even in the Stuart period London was a wonderful city. Its place as the financial and commercial metropolis of the English kingdom was undisputed. During the reign of Charles II the City and its many suburbs could boast a population of about 500,000. Next in size were the provincial towns of Bristol and Norwich, each counting a population of barely 30,000. In the wider field of European commerce London had no serious rival except Amsterdam, which for a time threatened to take a place close to the great English metropolis. But in the course of time London has developed into a massive community with a population more than ten times as large as that of Amsterdam. The great fire that swept away so much of the City in 1666, though it checked commercial prosperity for a time, proved to be, in the end, a real blessing; for the fire made it possible to rebuild the town, and out of the ashes rose a new London, built of stone and brick, with finer churches, more

extensive wharves, more comfortable inns, and larger business houses.

As the recognized center of national life, London drew unto itself nearly all the choice intellects of the kingdom. In addition to these many also came whose talents were not equal to their ambitions, and whose success in the capital was only moderate. Many of these lesser intellects ultimately found their homes in Grub Street, which has since become a popular term for the dubious profession of hack writers and literary journeymen. But London drew its population not only from the counties of Great Britain but from the neighboring countries of the Continent as well. All through the Tudor period European exiles had sought and found refuge in London; especially prominent was the immigration from France and the Netherlands. The disturbed conditions on the Continent during the seventeenth century continued to add large numbers to the alien population of England. An event of first importance in this respect was the revocation of the edict of Nantes which sent thousands of French Huguenots to England and to the English colonies. Many of these refugees settled in London. In this century, too, a Jewry was established in the capital city. Since the days of Edward I Jews had not been tolerated in England. But Oliver Cromwell, whose policy was more tolerant than that of earlier statesmen, and who had great "sympathy with these poor people whom God chose," discovered that there was no law forbidding Jews to reside in England, and allowed them to settle wherever they chose. Soon large numbers came across the Channel, especially from the Netherlands. Charles II continued the policy of Cromwell in this respect, and by the close of the century the London Jewry was one of the more important Jewish settlements in Europe.

Break-up of Puritanism: the "sects." In the religious history of the English people during the period under review, the outstanding fact is the formation and disintegration of the great Puritan movement. So long as the adherents of Puritanism were in opposition to the government in church and state, their party maintained at least a semblance of unity. But when time came for these men to express their beliefs in a definite religious platform, it was found that the tendency, innate in Puritan thinking, to accord to the individual the right to shape

his religious faith according to his own judgment and conscience, had split the party into a number of warring fragments. Among these the Presbyterian faction was no doubt the largest and most coherent. But during the years of Puritan ascendancy a number of distinct religious movements developed and received recognition as "sects."

During the years of the Civil War, George Fox, a young shoemaker, was passing through a spiritual crisis out of which he came shorn of nearly all the conventional beliefs of his time. In 1647 he commenced his public career as a preacher and early in the next decade he began to organize his followers, called Quakers, into a Society of Friends. At a time when the masses were in rebellion against religious and political authority, it is not strange that there were those who also doubted Scriptural authority in its accepted form. George Fox taught that men should be guided not by a traditional faith but by an "inner light" proceeding directly from the Holy Spirit. In its earlier years the Quaker movement was somewhat disorderly; but the leaders soon brought it under control and in the course of time the Friends found an honored place among the Protestant communions in England.

A few years earlier (1644) the Baptist movement took definite form by the adoption of a creed to which several London churches subscribed. What is known as Congregationalism in the sense of a separate party within the Puritan movement may be said to date from the same decade. These and other related sects agreed in claiming self-government in religious matters for each local group of believers: hence the Puritans who had accepted the Presbyterian standards spoke of them as "Independents." Among the more prominent leaders who accepted "Independency" were Sir Henry Vane, John Milton, and Oliver Cromwell.

New habits of living; the coffee-house. In the second half of the seventeenth century certain changes were coming into the life of English society which tended to foster a healthier and more cheerful view of life than that of the preceding decades. Geographical information was becoming more widely diffused and more generally accessible, and there was a growing interest in the world outside the British Isles. The habits of living were undergoing important changes, especially in the

matters of food and drink. Chocolate was coming into the country from Mexico and the West Indies by the way of southern Europe. The increasing trade with India and other Asiatic lands resulted in an extensive importation of Oriental products, notably tea and coffee. These beverages soon came to be popularly used in place of the more highly stimulating drinks of the earlier centuries, ale and wine. Tea was believed to have an additional value as a medicine. Pepys reports that once on coming home he found his "wife making of tea which Mr. Pelling, the Pothecary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions." The cavaliers had a strong taste for coffee, and it is likely that coffee would have become the national beverage, if it had not been for the fact that tea could be smuggled more easily into the country and consequently could be sold at a much more reasonable price.

One result of the increasing use of tea and coffee was the appearance of an institution known as the coffee-house. This was a place where men could meet to drink the new beverages and talk over the affairs of the day, — politics, literature, or whatever the chief matter of interest might be. The first coffee-house was opened in the year 1652, and such resorts multiplied rapidly. Their importance in English life lay in the fact that they facilitated the forming of public opinion. Charles II regarded the coffee-houses as dangerous to the peace of the state and sought to suppress them. A royal order was issued to this effect, but the move was found inexpedient and the proprietors were soon allowed to reopen their houses.

Newspapers. Another institution that served the same purpose, though in a different way, was the newspaper. A newspaper in the modern sense did not yet exist; but there had for some time been certain publications that did attempt to relate the news of the day. This was done under great difficulties, as the government did not favor these ventures. Newspapers of a sort were first published in England in the reign of James I, at least as early as 1622. In the earlier period of the civil war they became more numerous and appeared with greater regularity; but government opposition was soon awakened and in 1662 stringent license laws were passed to regulate the new institution and to prevent the publication of certain kinds of political news. For some time the London Gazette (founded

in 1665 as the Oxford Gazette) was the only approved newspaper; but the political excitement occasioned by the rise of the Whig and Tory parties produced a demand for political organs, and the number of newspapers soon began to increase.

The fine arts. In the finer arts England made little progress during the seventeenth century. The paintings that we have from this period are chiefly the work of foreign artists, notably Van Dyck, whose portraits of Charles I and the various members of his family are widely known. Van Dyck spent nearly a decade in England and died in London shortly before the outbreak of the civil war. His place as the leading painter in the country was taken by Peter Lely, another Dutch artist, who spent the greater part of his productive years in England. Lely painted a number of excellent portraits, his subjects ranging from Cromwell and his stern associates to the worldly ladies of the court of Charles II. Unlike most of his Puritan friends, Cromwell took a real delight in the achievements of art; at the same time he insisted that the artist should not deviate too far from the realities of his subject. He instructed Lely to "remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything as you see me;" otherwise he would refuse to pay for the portrait. After Lely's death (1680) popular favor went to Godfrey Kneller, a talented German who was appointed court painter toward the close of Charles II's reign, a distinction which he retained for more than forty years.

The history of music during the Stuart period has many pages that are almost completely blank. The Puritan sectaries regarded music and musical instruments as of evil origin; it was therefore almost a Christian duty to destroy church organs, and during the years of the Puritan revolt many such instruments were deliberately destroyed. But with the Restoration came a new attitude toward all the arts, and the voice of English music was heard once more throughout the land. In the new choir there was one voice that rose above all the others, that of Henry Purcell, the organist of Westminster Abbey. Purcell is ranked "as the greatest composer of English birth that ever lived." He began his career as a composer at the age of eleven and has to his credit a long series of compositions ranging from simple melodies to musical dramas. He died a few years after the Revolution at the age of thirty-seven.

In the field of architecture the record is somewhat more satisfactory; for the seventeenth century produced at least two great builders: Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren. Neither of these men showed much originality in design; they worked on classical models which had become popular in Italy during the preceding century. Inigo Jones was closely associated with the earlier Stuarts and did his work during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Sir Christopher Wren began his career as a mathematician; but he soon abandoned this profession for that of architecture. His great opportunity came in 1666, when a large part of London, including the church of St. Paul's, was destroyed by fire. The new St. Paul's was designed by the great architect, as were a number of other churches (fifty or more) and a series of noble buildings of the secular type. In addition to being a great designer Sir Christopher was an accomplished engineer, a fact that was largely responsible for the successful achievement of his plans.

Natural science. In the various fields of natural science the history of the seventeenth century is a record of great and enduring progress. The century opens with Francis Bacon, the jurist and philosopher, and closes with the famous mathematician, Isaac Newton. Contemporary with Bacon was the eminent physician, William Harvey, who first demonstrated the circulation of the blood. It was known before Harvey's time that the blood in some way coursed through the body, but the movement was believed to be of a sluggish nature and to involve the veins only. The arteries were still regarded as existing chiefly for the passage of air. Dr. Harvey discovered after long experimentation that the circulation is also arterial. His theory met determined opposition at first, but before his death it had become quite generally accepted by the scientific world.

While Harvey was deep in the study of human anatomy, John Napier, a Scottish baron, was at work on a mathematical problem out of which grew the modern system of logarithms. Napier's purpose was to make easier the processes of multiplication and division. He announced his discovery in 1614, two years before Harvey began to teach the disturbing doctrine that the heart is the center of the circulatory system.

The Royal Society. During the decade of the civil wars a group of learned Englishmen who were interested in experimental

science began to hold occasional meetings to view and discuss the results of scientific investigations. This body, known at first as the "Invisible College," finally grew into the famous Royal Society for Improving Natural Knowledge. The purpose of the Society was to study the principles of mathematics, the behavior of physical forces, and the laws and forms of the visible world. The Royal Society was chartered in 1662, and three years later began to publish its *Transactions*, which extend in a continuous series to the present day.

Among the promoters of the Royal Society were Christopher Wren, John Evelyn the diarist, Charles II, who showed an intelligent interest in both arts and sciences, and Robert Boyle, a country gentleman, who devoted his energies to experimental research. Boyle was primarily a chemist; but as the boundaries of that science were not yet drawn, Boyle, like many other scientists of that time, frequently found himself working outside his chosen field. He improved the air-pump, investigated the nature of sound, made important discoveries in the field of gases, and studied a great number of other subjects. But science in the seventeenth century still found it difficult to rid itself wholly of earlier ideas: Boyle was a believer in alchemy and gave much thought and energy to the still rather fruitless task of transforming baser metals into gold.

Isaac Newton. Of all the members of the Royal Society in the earlier decades of its existence, the most famous was Isaac Newton, the Cambridge professor of mathematics, who was admitted to membership in 1671. Newton's active work as a student of natural philosophy began soon after the Restoration. In 1687 he commenced publishing his *Principia*, a celebrated work in which he developed the law of gravitation. But it was other and earlier discoveries in mathematics and physics that gained him a place among the philosophers of the Royal Society. While at work on the problem of gravitation he devised a new mathematical method which he named the method of fluxions, but which has since become known as infinitesimal calculus. Newton's most enduring work as a scientist was done during the reign of Charles II; in the next reign he was drawn into the current of politics and for some time proved very useful as a member of Parliament and as a government official.

Literature in the earlier years of the century. The history

of English literature in the seventeenth century may be most conveniently divided into three periods with 1620 and 1660 as the dividing dates. The first two decades of the century do not exactly belong with the following years; they are rather a continuation of the great literary age that began at high noon in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. William Shakespeare and his nearest rival, "rare Ben Jonson," did their best writing in the reign of James I. George Chapman and the literary firm of Beaumont and Fletcher were actively at work in the same period. One naturally thinks of the Elizabethan age as an age of poetry; but there were also prominent writers in those days who cultivated English prose. Among these were Francis Bacon and Sir Walter Raleigh, who sought to conquer the tedium of prison life in the Tower by writing a history of the world.

The English Bible. But by far the most important prose work of the entire Stuart period was the "Authorized Version" of the Bible. The one important result of the luckless conference at Hampton Court was the appointment of a commission to revise the text of the Holy Scriptures. There were several versions current at the time. Though Tyndale had translated the greater part of the sacred book, he had been unable to complete the undertaking. In part of the work he had been assisted by Miles Coverdale, an Augustinian friar, who brought out a complete translation of his own shortly before Tyndale's death. Coverdale also assisted in the preparation of the "Great Bible," which Cranmer ordered to be placed in all the churches. During Mary's reign the English exiles at Geneva prepared another translation and in this, too, Coverdale had a part. The English Catholics who gathered about William Allen in Douai and Rheims also took up the task of preparing a version: this is known as the Douai Bible, and is still the standard among English-speaking Catholics.

In the violent religious debates of Elizabeth's time all parties appealed to Scripture, and many a good soul was perplexed to find that the divine word had not been understood in the same way by all the translators. Consequently there was little opposition when a Puritan scholar proposed that the translations be given a careful revision. A body of forty-seven scholars was appointed to undertake the task. After several years of labor the translators had their version ready for the public in 1611.

It proved to be very largely a revision of Tyndale's work. The new translation, known as the "King James version" was never "authorized," but its merits were so great and so evident that it soon displaced all other versions among the Protestants.

Literature in Puritan times. After the death of William Shakespeare (1616) a new spirit and a new interest took possession of the English people. The controversy between the king and his Puritan opponents was growing more violent every year; and the great thinkers of the age were inevitably drawn into the conflict. During the forty years that closed with the Restoration the literary output was devoted almost entirely to religious and political subjects. In form it is chiefly prose; in manner it is learned, controversial, and bad-tempered; most of it deserves to be forgotten. And yet, even in this period there were men who wrote for the future. In the stormy decade of the thirties John Milton produced some of his finest verse. After the death of King Charles a disappointed royalist, Izaak Walton by name, found comfort in writing a genial volume of prose which he called the *Compleat Angler*. Walton's book grew out of a long experience with its subject and occupied a large part of a long life; for the famous author and fisherman was born in 1593 and died in his ninety-first year.

The literature of the Restoration. In literature, as in so many other fields of thought and action, one sees a clear illustration of the two-fold character of the Restoration period. The court of Charles II delighted in comedy and in other literature of the lighter sort. It was in this spirit that Samuel Butler, an ill-natured versifier, wrote his famous satire on the Puritans, the poem *Hudibras*. The triumphant royalists found keen pleasure in the ludicrous adventures of the militant saints

"Who build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun,
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery,
And prove their doctrine orthodox
By Apostolic blows and knocks."

But the new age also produced the greatest writings of Milton, the famous allegory of Bunyan, the calm logic of Baxter, and the strongest verse of Dryden. If Butler represents one

phase of Restoration thought, Bunyan clearly represents another. In Bunyan's writings we have the best expression of the new Nonconformist spirit, disillusioned by victory, chastened by defeat, but strong and serene in hope and faith, a spirit that has not wholly departed from English life.

John Milton. John Milton reached manhood about the time when the quarrel between the king and his Puritan subjects began in real earnest; but he took no part in its earlier events. During the years of personal government he was passing the time quietly, spending most of his days in his father's house. These years saw the production of *Comus*, *Lycidas*, and a group of lesser poems. During the Civil War he was engaged largely in controversial writings. His service to the cause of the commonwealth as Latin secretary and pamphleteer has been referred to elsewhere. Milton opposed the restoration of the Stuarts, believing that a republic was still possible; he barely escaped prosecution when the Restoration had become a fact. During the earlier years of the new reign he was deep in thought on theological questions, especially "man's first disobedience;" out of these reflections grew *Paradise Lost*, the most stately literary product of the English language. Toward the close of his life the great poet, himself by "cloud and ever-during dark surrounded," wrote the story of the blind Hebrew giant in *Samson Agonistes*. John Milton died in 1674, at a time when the forces hostile to Puritanism appeared to be victorious in every field. It must have seemed to him that all his earlier labors in favor of religious toleration, freedom of speech, and popular government had been wholly in vain. But the seed had been sown, and a decade later the harvest began to ripen.

Richard Baxter. During the sorrowful years of the Clarendon Code the greatest single force among the Nonconformists was neither Milton nor Bunyan but Richard Baxter, a Presbyterian divine who is now remembered chiefly as the author of *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. A man of moderate views, Baxter remained for a long time within the establishment; but his leanings toward Presbyterianism finally placed him outside the Anglican fold. In determining the attitude of the dissenting sects toward the government and the older churches Baxter's voice was almost decisive. Important, too, is the fact that he

contributed largely to the failure of Charles and James to secure toleration for Catholic worshippers. Among his other distinctions was a trial before the redoubtable Jeffreys. "I can deal with saints as well as sinners," Jeffreys is said to have remarked, and Baxter was sent to prison, where the aged man remained for more than a year.

John Bunyan. While Milton was composing his great epic John Bunyan was putting in order the materials for a wonderful allegory, the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan was a tinker by profession; for a time he had been a soldier in the Parliamentary army; during the closing years of Cromwell's administration he had been identified with a Baptist congregation at Bedford, which he finally served as minister. In the year of the Restoration he was thrown into prison for illegal preaching and remained in confinement for nearly twelve years. Though Bunyan's work was apparently put into final form during a later and briefer sojourn in prison, the thoughts, the imagery, and the framework were doubtless worked out during the earlier period of his prison life. Bunyan's work differs from Milton's poetry in almost every essential respect. His theme is the religious experience of the Nonconformist; his story is told in the simplest English prose. It is to be remembered that Bunyan saw the world through the barred windows of Bedford jail, and that what he saw was particularly the sinfulness of Restoration society. From one point of view the *Pilgrim's Progress* is therefore a picture of social life in the later Stuart period; but the picture is incomplete in that it fails to reveal the better and more agreeable side.

Political philosophy. The conflict between the Stuart kings and the Parliamentary opposition finally came to involve the entire problem of sovereignty. It was generally assumed that somewhere in the state there must be found a source of final authority; but as to where this sovereign power was located there was no general agreement. The controversy gave birth to a notable series of writings on political theory, beginning with the *Interpreter*, a small volume by Cowell, a Cambridge reader, in which the royal prerogative was exalted to a point where it met the ideas of the author's sovereign, James I. Cowell's work was, however, not relished by Parliament; and following the lead of Edward Coke, who believed and taught that sovereignty

resided not in the king's prerogative but in the common law, the House of Commons ordered the *Interpreter* to be publicly burned.

Thomas Hobbes. Greater as a political thinker than either Cowell or Coke was the noted philosopher Thomas Hobbes, best known as the author of the *Leviathan*, in which he compares monarchy to the great monster referred to in the Book of Job. Hobbes revived the old doctrine of a political compact and made that the basis of his system. He held that when government was first formed the people entered into a compact with a ruler, or a ruling power (which might be one or many), and by that act surrendered all authority to that person or power. This authority they could not resume. Hobbes wrote his book in Paris whither he had fled from the wrath of the Long Parliament, and published it in 1651. His work was not well received at first either by the royalists or by the militant republicans. The followers of monarchy could not accept a theory that would base government on popular consent; while the commonwealth men disliked the emphasis that Hobbes placed on the absolute power of the executive.

Robert Filmer. More satisfactory to the royalists were the writings of Sir Robert Filmer, a staunch believer in "divine right," who derived the authority of kingship from the authority of the father over his family. The king's power is not only of divine origin, it is absolute and unlimited except as he is willing to limit it himself. Filmer's system is outlined in his *Patriarca*, which was published in 1680, long after the author's death; but his ideas were matured and circulated during the period of Puritan ascendancy at the time when Hobbes was busy describing the *Leviathan*.

Milton and Harrington. The republic found a staunch defender in John Milton, who wrote several eloquent treatises on the political issues of the day; but Milton had no clearly developed political theory, and his writings were not convincing. During the same years James Harrington, a republican of the gentry class, was writing a dull book called *Oceana*, in which he elaborated a plan for the government of an ideal commonwealth. Harrington emphasizes the importance of property and the property-holding class in any scheme of republican government. This was no doubt in accord with Cromwell's

own ideas, but another of Harrington's proposals, — that there must be frequent rotation of office in a republic, — could not appeal to a dictator, and it was some time before Harrington was allowed to publish his book.

John Locke. But it was not until John Locke had prepared his great defense of the Revolution that the theory of divine right and absolute monarchy found a refutation that satisfied the English mind. Like Hobbes, Locke believed in a government formed by an original voluntary compact; but unlike Hobbes he believed in two such compacts: one in which the state was actually formed and another in which the new state entered into an agreement with its king or executive. If the king did not live up to the terms of this agreement, he lost his right to govern. It was clear that James II had ignored all the constitutional limitations on the monarchy; consequently the Revolution of 1688 was a perfectly legal and proper movement. Locke's political ideas were published in *Two Treatises on Government*, in the first one of which he attacks Filmer's ideas as outlined in the *Patriarca*, while the second is in part devoted to a refutation of the arguments advanced by Hobbes in the *Leviathan*, but in larger part to an exposition of Locke's own political theory. The *Treatises* came to have an importance extending far beyond the politics of Great Britain, for two generations later they became the political textbooks of the American revolutionists.

The national debt. Toward the close of the century a series of important developments appeared in the fields of economics and finance. One of the more prominent results of the Whig Revolution was the outbreak of war with France, the first war in a great series which was to continue with intervals of peace for more than a hundred years. An important result of the first of these was a national debt, the first in the history of England. Earlier all wars had been financed by the king himself; if the royal income was not sufficient to meet the increased expense, the king would secure subsidies from Parliament, or he might borrow money from the goldsmiths and other money lenders. But William III (who was regarded by many Englishmen as a usurper) found it difficult to secure loans; and in 1692 Parliament began to borrow money for the use of the government. The following year the government began definitely to

ask for loans in the name of the English nation and not of the English king.

The Bank of England. 1694. A year later Parliament chartered a new institution, the Bank of England. An institution of this sort had been suggested some years earlier by William Paterson, a canny Scot with a taste for ventures in finance. The plan was not original with Paterson, however, as it had already been tried out successfully by Dutch financiers. It was Paterson's belief that it would be found more convenient to borrow in large sums from a bank than in small sums from a large number of lenders. Moreover, a bank would be a safer place in which to deposit cash than the shops of the goldsmiths. In spite of strong opposition Paterson's arguments prevailed and the bank was formed. In return for its services to the government the Bank of England was permitted to issue bank notes which passed freely as currency. In time Paterson's bank grew to be the most important bank in the world.

Mercantilism. The medieval belief that gold and silver are the only real wealth was still held in England when the seventeenth century closed. It was commonly known as the "mercantile theory." The Mercantilists taught that England should try to sell as much as possible abroad and buy very little in return; the difference between sales and purchases would then come into the country in the form of cash, and what was called the "balance of trade" would be favorable. It was thought that this result could be accomplished by legislation and by commercial effort along four lines:

1. All English goods should be carried in English ships manned by English crews. There would then be employment for native sailors, and the money paid out for transportation would remain in England. This demand was satisfied by the Navigation Acts, which did much to develop the English merchant marine. A new installment of these acts came in 1696. The naval victory at La Hogue was also an important event in the history of the merchant marine, inasmuch as it crippled the only power that could effectively prey on English commerce.

2. England, it was held, should try to raise enough grain at home to make unnecessary the purchase of food abroad. This meant that agriculture must be given particular attention. A move in this direction was the drainage operations in the Fen-

lands by which a considerable area was reclaimed for cultivation. Later in English history agriculture was "protected" by so-called corn laws, forbidding the importation of grain until English grain should have reached a fixed minimum price.

3. Export trade should be encouraged and import trade discouraged. This doctrine called forth much opposition to such companies as the East India Company which dealt very largely in imported goods, since there was no great demand for English products in the Orient. This hostility was particularly active among the more extreme Mercantilists, sometimes called the "Bullionists," who contended that the export of the precious metals reduced the economic strength of the nation. But since a large part of the Asiatic imports was again sold to other European countries and generally at a profit, the East India Company was usually able to meet the opposition with fair success.

4. Inasmuch as it was necessary to provide employment for all, the economists of the time looked with favor on every form of industrial expansion. Throughout the seventeenth century the old well-established English trades were pretty much at a standstill. Parliament had from time to time passed laws to encourage industry, but without striking results. A change came soon after the accession of William and Mary. English industry took on a sudden development which continued with increasing vigor into the following century. This growth was due, however, not to any form of legislative encouragement but to natural economic causes, and consisted chiefly in the establishment of a series of new trades, which had only quite recently sought to obtain a foothold in English industry.

Huguenot traders and artisans. An important element in this growth was the immigration of merchants and refugees from other lands who came to England in constantly growing numbers during the later decades of the seventeenth century. Most numerous of all these various groups were the French Huguenots who began to come to England in the days of James II. Many of the Huguenots were wealthy and experienced business men; others were trained artisans working in some of the finer trades. They brought capital, business ability, skilled workmanship, new methods, and new industries into English commercial and industrial life. The Huguenots were hatters and weavers; they

were expert jewelers and clock makers; they were skilled in the manufacture of paper, cutlery, and fine glass. On the whole they were well received in England, for they did not, as a rule, come into competition with the native manufacturers. The French weavers were not much interested in wool: their looms were built for other materials, cotton, linen, and silk.

Trading companies. With the development of these newer forms of trade, the English colonial ventures began to take on new meaning and new importance. For the new industries called for raw materials (silk and cotton, for example) that were not produced in the British Isles. The British ventures over the seas were still in part commercial and in part territorial. The famous trading companies of the Tudor period, the Muscovy Company, the Eastland Company, and the merchants in the Levant, were still operating in the Arctic, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean Sea. The East India Company was building up an immense trade in the Orient. Later in the century came the Hudson Bay Company and the Royal African Company with stations in British America and on the shores of Guinea. The activities of these companies covered a vast stretch of coast line and penetrated far into the interior. Most of them enjoyed privileged positions in the countries where they traded; and two of them, the traders in India and those operating in the neighborhood of Hudson Bay, eventually added large territories to the spreading area of the British realms.

Colonial possessions. When James I came to the throne the English had no actual territories outside the British Isles. Claims had been made to Newfoundland, to Guiana, and to various other territories, but every attempt to form settlements had failed. Successful colonization began in North America, first on the American mainland, and later in the West Indies. The Spaniards had taken possession of the Greater Antilles, but the Lesser Antilles were not yet occupied by people of European stock. On these little islands grew up a series of settlements, that at Barbados being the most important. Barbados was settled in 1625, St. Kitt's the same year, and several of the other islands a few years later. In these islands sugar culture became the most important industry, and soon the West Indies were counted among the most valued and interesting possessions of the British crown.

A new foreign policy. When the seventeenth century came to a close, the English people stood ready to undertake even more extensive operations in the colonial field. The Revolution of 1688 had forced the adoption of a new foreign policy, which made possible further expansion, more particularly in the New World. The older policy of Cromwell and the Stuarts was now definitely reversed; a close alliance was entered into with the Dutch republic against Louis XIV and France. So long as there had been an actual alliance or a friendly understanding between England and France, the British empire was hindered in its growth in the two most promising regions of the colonial world: India and America. French interest in India dates from the earlier years of the Restoration period, when a French East India Company was organized under royal patronage. A few years later French explorers began the advance of the French flag into the vast prairie lands west of the Alleghany Mountains: La Salle and Marquette came to Canada in 1666 and began their activities in the Mississippi valley a few years later. The French claims north and west of the Alleghanies limited English settlement to a narrow strip along the Atlantic between Canada and Florida. But after the events of 1688 the American West was no longer the territory of a friendly power; and in due time the English crossed the mountain barriers and carried the English flag to the banks of the Mississippi River.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE BEGINNING OF THE LONG DUEL WITH FRANCE

William III. William of Orange is described as a dark, sad-faced man with striking though not handsome features. "His eyes are fire; his nose aquiline; his cheeks hollow, the mouth large with irregular and extraordinarily long teeth and a pointed chin . . . the length of the face is out of proportion with his stature." His personality suggested the eagle and there was much of the eagle's nature in his make-up. Physically he was weak — he was almost an invalid; but he possessed a powerful intellect and a strong, stern, patient will. He was a fair general and a remarkable diplomat: all the forces that were opposed to the restless ambitions of the Bourbon dynasty looked to the prince of Orange as their leader and guide.

The Jacobites. William III was the last great king of England. Since his day the rulers of Britain have not been famous for outstanding abilities of any sort. But the greatness of the sour Dutchman was not appreciated by his British subjects; that a ruler of his type should be popular with Englishmen was not to be expected. That he was lacking in flesh and blood was bad enough; what was worse, he was a foreigner who looked at the world from the Dutch point of view. Moreover, he brought Dutchmen across to England and placed them in desirable offices; and his policy of foreign warfare was very expensive. Soon after the accession of William and Mary a party began to form, known as the Jacobites, who were quietly agitating for the return of the Stuarts. In time the Jacobite following grew to be quite strong, especially among the Highlanders, who looked upon William as a representative of the English influence, which was very hateful to them. Most of the Jacobites were willing to restore the fugitive James, though only on condition that he would promise unswerving loyalty to the national church; others, doubting the value of the Stuart word, suggested a formal abdication in favor of little Prince

James, of whom excellent reports were being circulated. But James did not abdicate.

For a time Jacobitism was a real danger, though in the end the agitation accomplished nothing. The difficulty was that, while the Stuart partisans in England were willing to send money to the royal family in exile and to drink toasts to the "king over the water," they shrank from the thought of rebellion and contented themselves with occasional passive resistance. Many of the leading men of the time, even high government officials, were in correspondence with James Stuart and his son; but very few cared to come out openly for another restoration.

The policies of the new king. King William lived for a single purpose: to secure the independence of his native Netherlands



by crippling the power of France. For thirty years he served as the head of the Dutch republic, — thirty years of almost continuous conflict with Louis XIV, now on the battlefield, now in the field of diplomacy. It was the ambition of King Louis to extend France eastward, at least as far as the Rhine, which the French were in the habit of regarding as their "natural boundary." Along the upper course of the Rhine, in the region of Alsace, Louis was making notable progress. His acquisitions before 1689 were chiefly at the expense of the German empire

and the Spanish monarchy; but if the plan to make the Rhine the eastern boundary of France were to be completely realized, it would mean territorial losses to the Dutch, for the lower course of the Rhine ran through the United Netherlands.

The League of Augsburg. 1686. In 1685 the male line of the electors of the Palatinate became extinct, and Louis XIV at once began to plan the annexation of these territories to his French kingdom. As the Palatinate bordered Alsace on the north, its annexation would mean an important advance of the Bourbon frontier policy. To curb the ambitions of the "Grand Monarch" the kings of Spain and Sweden, the emperor, and certain other German princes had formed a Continental alliance, known in history as the League of Augsburg. Even the pope adhered to the League, for the plans of Louis XIV were not only a danger to the peace of Europe but a menace to the authority of the Roman see. In 1682 an assembly of the French clergy, acting on the king's suggestion, had affirmed that the authority of the pope was spiritual and not political, and that he had no control over the administration of the church in France. Consequently, when William of Orange invaded England to dethrone a monarch who was striving to bring his kingdom back into the Catholic fold, the venture had the approval of the Roman curia; for James was counted a friend of Louis. And at the Continental courts it was held supremely important to prevent an active alliance between France and England.

The War of the Palatinate. 1689-1697. In the autumn of 1688 King Louis sent an army into the Palatinate with orders to devastate the land. The orders were executed with great cruelty, and large parts of the country were left a complete wilderness. The following year the League of Augsburg was transformed into a Grand Alliance by the adhesion of Great Britain and the Netherlands, and war was declared on France. This war, called the War of the Palatinate (or, in America, King William's War), continued for eight years. There was fighting all along the French frontier, with no very decisive victories for either side; but the English were interested chiefly in the warfare in the Channel and in the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium). There were also raids along the American frontier and an organized American attack on the French settlements

in Acadia. Acadia was taken but was lost again the following year.

Louis XIV had built up a powerful navy, more powerful than the combined fleets of England and Holland, with which he hoped to destroy English commerce and perhaps invade England. But in 1692 Admiral Russell met the French at Cape La Hogue and won a decisive victory. For six days the English and their Dutch allies fought or pursued the French, taking and destroying many ships. This was the greatest naval victory that the English admiralty had won since the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Great Britain was once more saved from invasion. Louis XIV now lost interest in his fleet and threw all the available energies of France into the war across the eastern frontier. In the earlier years of the conflict the honors of the war remained chiefly with the French, whose great general, Marshal Luxembourg, was more than a match for William III. The campaign of 1693 was particularly disappointing to the Grand Alliance, culminating, as it did, in the defeat at Neerwinden, where William's army barely escaped complete destruction.

William and the Whig Junto. 1694. The military failure in the Netherlands created a most unfavorable impression in England, where the feeling against the new régime was daily gaining in strength. It is likely, however, that the king's ill fortune on the battlefield was due in some measure to the inefficiency of the English government. Seeing that Whigs and Tories had joined in the movement of 1688, it was only natural that William should choose his ministers from both parties, or without respect to party affiliations. The result was that there were much disagreement and frequent quarrels in the royal council chamber but no consistent policies and no energy in political action.

William now sought the advice of the earl of Sunderland, an elderly politician of low principles but keen political insight. Sunderland had served Charles II in the days of the later Stuart despotism; under James II he was almost prime minister and enjoyed the king's undivided confidence, though at the same time he was secretly intriguing with William of Orange. Sunderland advised the king to select all his higher officials from the same political party. Accordingly, late in 1693 William discharged his Tory ministers and filled their places with Whigs.

Four men, the so-called *Junto*, forming an inner circle in the new ministry, virtually controlled the administration. The most prominent of these was Lord Somers, a lawyer of conspicuous abilities who had served as counsel for the defense in the famous case of the seven bishops. Admiral Russell, the victor at La Hogue, was given charge of the admiralty. Charles Montague, whose abilities in the field of finance were widely recognized, was made chancellor of the exchequer. Thomas Wharton, a somewhat brilliant but thoroughly unprincipled politician, made the fourth member of the *Junto*; his importance in the combination lay chiefly in his remarkable skill as a political organizer.

The drift toward Cabinet rule. The Whig members of the House of Commons now developed a new interest in the government, for the king's ministers, having offices to dispose of, were in position to reward those who showed real zeal for partisan Whiggery. The sessions of the House began to show a more regular attendance than earlier, because the party in power felt that it must give loyal support to the ministers and keep them in office. William's decision to discharge his Tory advisers was an important, though wholly unconscious, step in the direction of cabinet government; for it proved that a government can be carried on more efficiently when the ministers are in agreement as to political aims with the stronger party in the House of Commons.

The problem of the Spanish inheritance. When peace was made (at Ryswick in 1697) both England and France were greatly in need of a period of rest. Though the war had continued for eight wearisome years, neither side had been able to achieve a decisive result. The great Luxembourg had died two years before; and for a time it had seemed as if the fortunes of war had deserted the standards of the Grand Monarch. But the chief consideration at Ryswick was not the exhaustion of the belligerents but the need of time to prepare for another war that seemed sure to come. Charles II, the degenerate king of Spain, whose death had seemed imminent for a number of years, was nearing the close of life. He had no children and the question was what would become of the Spanish inheritance. This was indeed vast: it comprised the kingdom of Spain with the Balearic Islands; the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and

the duchy of Milan in Italy; the Spanish Netherlands; Cuba, Mexico, Central America and the larger part of South America; and the Philippine Islands. Three princes claimed the right to inherit the crown after the death of Charles II. Louis XIV claimed the entire monarchy for the dauphin, whose grandmother was an aunt and whose mother was an elder sister of the Spanish king. The elector of Bavaria asked recognition for his young son Joseph, whose grandmother was a younger sister of Charles II. Leopold of Austria, whose mother was an aunt of the Spanish king, demanded the crown for one of his sons. From the standpoint of heredity the French claim was the best; but when Louis XIV married the Spanish princess he and his queen solemnly renounced all pretensions to the Spanish inheritance not only for themselves but for all their heirs.

A peace party in England. William III had no direct interest in the Spanish lands, but he was anxious to prevent the union of the French and the Spanish crowns, since this would create a monarchy so extensive and so powerful that the peace and liberties of Europe would be seriously threatened. He also wished to avoid another war for which he was at the moment ill prepared. The dissatisfaction with William's policies and government had finally taken the form of a peace party made up of Tories and opposition Whigs, which was actively reducing the standing army from 87,000 to 10,000 and finally to 7000 men (1698). The reduction was justified as a measure of economy, but it also found strong support in the English fear of a standing army as a menace to civil liberty.

The partition treaties. William then proposed to Louis that they should get together and settle the matter for the Spaniards. Louis agreed and the two monarchs calmly proceeded to dispose of territories to which neither had any right. A "partition treaty" was secretly negotiated giving the entire Spanish empire to Joseph of Bavaria with the exception of the Italian possessions and a small bit of northern Spain, which were to be divided between France and Austria to relieve in a measure the pangs of dynastic disappointment. But a few months later (February, 1699), Prince Joseph died and the treaty failed. A new agreement was then drawn up which would give to France all the Italian territories of the Spanish dynasty, a part of which Louis XIV expected to exchange for the neighboring

duchy of Lorraine. The remaining territories of the Spanish crown were assigned to the Archduke Charles, a younger son of the Emperor Leopold.

The Act of Settlement. 1701. The second partition treaty was signed in March, 1700; in July the question of the British succession began to take on a lively interest. William and Mary had no children; according to the Bill of Rights the crown was therefore to go to the Princess Anne, and it was generally expected that William, the young son of this princess, and the only one of her many children who survived infancy, would eventually ascend the English throne. But in July Prince William died, and it seemed quite likely to many that young Prince James Stuart, who was now twelve years old, would some day prove a powerful candidate for the crowns of Britain. But the "Old Pretender," as he came to be called, was the guest of Louis XIV, with whom England would probably soon be at war, and he seemed to be unyielding in his devotion to the Catholic faith. To prevent his accession, a Tory Parliament in 1701 passed the Act of Settlement, which provided that, in case both Anne and William III should die without heirs, the crowns of England and Ireland should pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and to her heirs "being Protestant." The electress was the granddaughter of James I, and sister of Prince Rupert who had fought so gallantly for Charles I in the English civil war. There were more than forty men and women of Stuart blood who stood nearer the throne than Sophia; but they were all professed Roman Catholics, and Parliament was determined that the ruler of England should be of the Protestant faith. There was, however, little enthusiasm for the stately electress who was finally chosen; she was already in her seventy-first year, and it was not likely that she would ever wear the English crown. All the sovereigns of England since Queen Anne have held their crowns by virtue of this Act of Settlement.

Philip V in Spain. Meanwhile the second partition treaty had also failed. Shortly before his death (which occurred November 1, 1700) Charles II disposed of his many crowns by a will, according to which Philip of Anjou, a younger son of the French dauphin, was appointed heir to the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies, on the condition, however, that the kingdoms of France and Spain should never be united

under a common ruler. If Philip should ever accept the French crown, he would have to abdicate the Spanish kingship. Louis accepted the terms of the will, and a few weeks later the young Bourbon prince was enthroned at Madrid as Philip V.

The Spanish policy of Louis XIV. England thought with fear on the vast increase of power that had come to the Bourbon dynasty, but the Tories were reluctant to go to war. Though eager as always to block the plans of his great adversary, William III was helpless, for in Holland as well as in England public opinion favored the maintenance of peace. It is therefore probable that, if Louis XIV could have forgotten his rôle as the Grand Monarch, the War of the Spanish Succession would not have attained the dimensions of a European conflict. But the French king promptly proceeded to act as if he and not his grandson were the heir to the Spanish crowns. To secure their frontier the Dutch had been allowed by the treaty of Ryswick to assist in holding certain fortresses near the French border of the Spanish Netherlands. These fortresses Louis XIV now seized. The Dutch garrisons were sent back to Holland and the power of France was carried to the boundaries of the United Provinces.

Even more disturbing to the English mind were certain orders that now came from Versailles respecting the right of trade in the Spanish-American colonies. Since the days of the Elizabethan seamen the Greater Antilles with the neighboring shores of Mexico and South America had been regarded as an unfailing source of wealth. From the very first years of Spanish power in the New World, the government at Madrid had sought to control the commerce of the West Indies in the interest of the mother country, and had therefore forbidden Spanish merchants in the colonies to trade with foreigners, except when authorized to do so by royal warrant. Spain, however, did not have the resources, either military or industrial, to make its monopoly effective; and in one way or another Dutch and British wares in considerable quantities found their way into Spanish-American ports. The methods employed by the British merchants who traded on the Caribbean shores were nearly always illegal and very often violent; but the profits were large and consciences were easy on the Spanish Main.

Drifting toward war: the Grand Alliance. So long as the

Spanish government was unable to enforce its regulations, the commercial buccaneers were satisfied to trade as outlaws; but when it became evident that the French government, in return for a share in the American trade, intended to place its naval strength at the disposal of the Spanish admiralty, there was much concern in mercantile circles in England. For a year the country had suffered keenly from commercial depression, and it was generally felt that the nation could not afford to lose its trade in Spanish America. Observing that public sentiment was veering strongly toward a renewed hostility to France, William III proceeded to organize another "grand alliance" in opposition to the Bourbon dynasty. While negotiations to this end were still going forward, an event occurred which created an entirely new situation. In September, a few weeks after the Act of Settlement had become a law, James II died. Louis XIV immediately proclaimed Prince James king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Thus began the reign of James III, a pretense that the Old Pretender kept up for sixty-five years. The proclamation was deeply resented in England; it was regarded as an insult that could not be borne with patience; and the entire nation rallied to William's support.

Queen Anne. 1702-1714. A few months later William was thrown from a horse and suffered such severe injuries that after an illness of two weeks he died (March, 1702). The horse had stumbled over a mole-hill and the Jacobites could now drink a new toast "to the little gentleman in black velvet who did such excellent work in 1702." William III was succeeded by the Princess Anne, who bore the crown for twelve wearisome years. Queen Anne was almost wholly wanting in the qualities that distinguish a ruler: she had no personal charms and no talents of any sort, least of all those that are necessary to success in politics or diplomacy. From her husband she could expect no assistance: Prince George realized that he had no abilities of the sort required in the field of administration, and he had a well-founded suspicion that the nation was also aware of the fact. In Anne's day the conduct of the government was largely in the control of favorite ministers. At the same time "Good Queen Anne" was a factor that her ministers could never afford to ignore. She strove to maintain an intelligent interest in the affairs of state, was very careful in the choice of officials, and

guarded the rights of the sovereign with jealous care. The queen was devoted to the established church; as the churchmen were nearly all vigorous Tories, her own leanings were in the same direction. Consequently, whenever possible, she selected Tories as her chief advisers.

Marlborough. King William's death on the eve of a great war, the greatest that Europe had witnessed up to that time, was a serious blow to the enemies of France. But William's preparations were complete; he had even selected the general who was to lead the forces of the allies: John Churchill was the greatest military genius of his age; he was also a statesman of the higher class. Churchill had been high in the favor of James II, who raised him to the peerage as Baron Churchill; but in 1688 he had deserted to William. Soon after the accession of William and Mary he was created earl of Marlborough; the ducal title was added early in the next reign. He was not always faithful to the Dutch king, but William appreciated his usefulness and forgave him. To Anne he was always loyal. During the first half of the new reign the handsome duke was virtually the ruler of England: the management of the great war and the control of foreign affairs lay in his hands. Marlborough was necessarily absent with the army most of the time; but he had two efficient agents in London, his friend Sidney Godolphin, the lord treasurer, and his wife, Sarah Jennings Churchill.

Godolphin. Sidney Godolphin was a politician of much experience and somewhat unsteady political affiliations. As lord treasurer he was the chief minister in her Majesty's government, which position he held for eight years. At the time of his appointment he was classified, like Marlborough, as a moderate Tory; but the Tory members of Parliament were not enthusiastic for the war and after 1706 Godolphin began to show Whig leanings. As a consequence he suffered a decline in the queen's favor, and in 1710 he was dismissed and succeeded by Robert Harley. Though anything but an attractive man, Godolphin was an honest and fairly efficient administrator. His chief duty was to finance Marlborough's operations in the Continental war, and in this he succeeded beyond expectations.

Sarah Jennings Churchill. The Duchess Sarah was a talented woman of great beauty with a domineering disposition

and an ungovernable temper. She had been a childhood companion of the queen, and while Anne was still a princess Sarah's influence with her royal mistress was almost unbounded. When Anne became queen, the favorite's power began to wane; but her influence remained an important factor for some years yet. In her earlier years Anne had needed a guide; now she needed a sympathetic friend and comforter: she was in constant ill health; her domestic bereavements had been many; her dull but good-natured husband died in 1708; and the claims of her brother (James III) disturbed her conscience and peace of mind. Such a friend she found in Abigail Hill, later Mrs. Masham, a cousin of the imperious Sarah, but of a totally different character. Mrs. Masham shared the sorrows of the tearful queen; incidentally she also shared her political secrets and helped her to make up her mind in important state affairs, especially in making appointments to office.

The War of the Spanish Succession. The War of the Spanish Succession began with an invasion of northern Italy by an Austrian army in 1701. In May, 1702, two months after the accession of Queen Anne, England joined in the war on the side of the Grand Alliance. The allies had not been able to agree on a very specific program at first; but they hoped to regain the barrier fortresses for the Dutch republic and to secure the Spanish possessions in Italy for the Hapsburg dynasty. There was also the hope that the English might be able to enlarge their dominions in the West Indies. But as the war progressed an understanding was reached that there should be no peace until Philip V should be willing to retire from the Spanish throne in favor of the Archduke Charles of Austria.

The war continued for nearly twelve years and involved in its wearisome progress nearly all the countries of western Europe. The battles were fought for the most part in northern Italy, in the Spanish Netherlands, and in southern Germany. The allies also tried to operate in Spain, but the Spanish people remained loyal to Philip V, and the Austrian cause made little progress on Spanish soil. The English forces were engaged almost wholly in the Spanish Netherlands, where Marlborough won a series of brilliant, though not very decisive victories. Only once did he fight a campaign elsewhere. This was in the summer of 1704 when he made a swift dash into southern Ger-

many to forestall an attack on Vienna. In August he joined forces with Prince Eugene, who commanded the armies of the emperor, and marched eastward through the Danube valley toward the village of Blenheim where a large French and Bavarian force was holding a strong position. In the battle that followed the enemy suffered a disastrous defeat: out of 50,000 engaged only some 25,000 escaped. Marlborough's losses were 12,000. The victory called forth great rejoicing in England which was further intensified by the news that Admiral Rooke with a combined English and Dutch fleet had seized the rock of Gibraltar only nine days earlier.

Two years later Marlborough defeated the French at Ramillies, and the greater part of the Spanish Netherlands was cleared of hostile troops. In 1708 the French suffered another great defeat at Oudenarde. Marlborough at once pushed forward across the French border and laid siege to the important city of Lille, which capitulated after an investment of four months. The following year Marlborough carried through his last important campaign and fought a bloody battle at Malplaquet just across the French frontier. At Malplaquet the allies lost 20,000 men and the French a somewhat smaller number; nevertheless, the allies had won a complete victory. The war continued four years longer, but the military operations after 1709 were not of striking importance.

Naval victories: Gibraltar. On the naval side the outstanding events were the capture of Gibraltar in 1704 and the taking of Minorca by General Stanhope in 1708, soon after the battle of Oudenarde. Minorca was regarded as an important acquisition because of the fine and spacious harbor at Port Mahon and its strategic situation on the route to the French base at Toulon. Among the considerations that had determined the English to enter the war was a fear that the Bourbon kings might attempt to interfere with British trade in the Mediterranean as well as in the Caribbean Sea; they were therefore anxious to seize and hold both Gibraltar and Port Mahon. A feeble attempt was also made to fight the French in America, and Acadia, renamed Nova Scotia, was added to the British dominions (1710); but plans for the capture of Montreal and Quebec were without success.

Negotiations for peace. After the defeat at Oudenarde and

again after the battle of Malplaquet, Louis XIV expressed a desire to end the war and negotiations looking toward peace were initiated. Louis was now past three score and ten; his desire for conquest had subsided; he had come to realize that the available resources of his kingdom were nearly exhausted; and he was willing to accept terms that seemed honorable. But when the allies demanded that he should assist in driving his own grandson from the Spanish throne, his sense of honor was outraged, and the war continued.

Meanwhile the English were also becoming weary of the interminable conflict. After the victory at Blenheim the Whigs, who were the more aggressive in supporting the war, gradually gained control at Westminster. In 1708 the Tory members of the government were dismissed and for two years the Godolphin ministry was confessedly a Whig administration. But Queen Anne had no confidence in Whigs and in 1710 she dismissed Godolphin and his associates and gave the lord treasurer's office to Robert Harley, who had served with Godolphin prior to 1708. Closely associated with Harley was Henry St. John, also a former minister, who now returned to the queen's council as secretary of state.

The end of the Grand Alliance. The new Tory ministry lost no time in making overtures to France with a view to withdrawing from the war. Private negotiations began before the close of 1710 and a preliminary treaty was agreed to a year later. Circumstances were now such that the war could no longer be continued on the old basis. Early in 1711 the Archduke Charles, whom the allies had striven so long to place on the Spanish throne, succeeded his older brother as hereditary ruler of the Austrian lands. To unite Spain and the Empire under one personal ruler would be almost as dangerous as to unite France and Spain. Consequently the Grand Alliance fell apart, and each belligerent began to think of his own interests only. In England the Tories with the queen's aid proceeded to tighten their grip on the government. Marlborough was accused of embezzlement and relieved of his command, though no attempt was made to prove the charges. A new commander-in-chief was appointed, but acting under orders not to fight he achieved nothing but defeat and disgrace.

The peace of Utrecht, 1713. The long war closed with the

peace of Utrecht, a series of treaties negotiated and signed at Utrecht in 1713. On the whole the allies had a right to claim the victory. Philip V, the Bourbon prince, retained the Spanish throne, but he was forced to surrender some of the most valued outlying possessions of his crown, those in Italy and the Netherlands, all of which, except the island of Sicily, were transferred to his Austrian rival, the emperor Charles VI. England received extensive territorial and commercial compensation. Spain surrendered Gibraltar and Minorca to the British crown, and since that day the English have been a power in the Mediterranean. France acknowledged the English rights to Acadia, Newfoundland, and the great fur-bearing regions about Hudson Bay; the English also acquired the French half of St. Kitts, a little island in the West Indies. Spain further allowed England the monopoly of the importation of slaves into Spanish America for a period of thirty years: this was the famous *asiento*. A company was organized to carry on this trade in which many prominent Englishmen including the queen became stockholders. Spain also agreed to allow a single British ship to trade each year at the Isthmus of Panama. The provision limiting the trade to a single ship the English avoided by sending a whole fleet of merchant vessels to the Isthmus but allowing only one ship to enter the port: this ship would make a series of trips between the fleet and the harbor until all the cargoes were disposed of. Louis XIV renewed the promise made in the peace of Ryswick to recognize the Protestant succession in England; he even promised that the Stuart prince "who had taken the title of king of Great Britain" should be expelled from France and should no longer receive assistance in any form from the French government. The magnificent pride of the Bourbon king was broken. The pretender withdrew to Lorraine.

England and Scotland. The most important event in the reign of Queen Anne was the union of England and Scotland into a single kingdom of Great Britain. Since the accession of James I (1603) the two countries had been governed by a common king but were otherwise distinct monarchies. A personal union is, however, not always a workable arrangement. The king's foreign policy is quite likely to be dictated by the interests of the larger kingdom; and in the eyes of the nations

the weaker state sinks in importance. The Stuarts resided at Westminster and governed Scotland through a deputy called a royal commissioner. This was a form of absentee rule that the Scots did not enjoy.

Economic conditions in Scotland. Scotland had never been a wealthy country. Only the resources of the soil had been developed, and the Scottish soil is poor. The civil wars of the seventeenth century had ruined agriculture in many of the valleys, and poverty was everywhere. In 1689 the religious conflict ceased, and the energy that had been wasted in destructive strife now sought employment in commerce. But the laws of England stood in the way. English merchants had the monopoly of all the trade with the American colonies and the plantations in the West Indies. In the Orient the East India Company had long been firmly established and refused to share its privileges even with English traders. Nor could Scottish merchants trade to advantage in England because of English tariff regulations. On the other hand, whenever the larger kingdom went to war, Scotland was forced to lend assistance.

There were Scotsmen who believed that, if a Scottish trading company could be chartered and organized, it would find no difficulty in securing fields of adventure that were not wholly under the control of companies already established. William Paterson, who had traded with some success in the West Indies, was prominent in the agitation for such a venture; and in 1695 the Scottish Parliament authorized the formation of a company to trade in Africa and the Indies. It was Paterson's plan to interest English capital in the venture and in this he was quite successful. But when it was noised abroad in England that a new East India Company was being formed, the mercantile interests rose in protest. The English merchants were induced to cancel their subscriptions, and Paterson's company, when actually formed, proved to be an exclusively Scottish concern.

The Darien Venture. 1698. On Paterson's suggestion the new company decided to locate a colony at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama, "the key of the commerce of the world." In the summer of 1698 a small fleet carrying 1200 settlers sailed to the Isthmus. The venture ended in disaster. The expedition was poorly provided with food, and as the English government

had warned the plantations not to assist the Scottish company in any way, no provisions could be secured from the West Indies. The tropical climate of "New Caledonia" soon proved too severe for the Northerners, and those who survived the heat and the pestilence had to surrender to the greater strength of the Spaniards who had prior rights to the Central American territories. After two years the venture was given up, but not before the Scottish nation had suffered a loss of 2000 lives, several ships, and £200,000 in money. The company had hoped for active support from William III, and "Wilful Willie," who had never been popular in Scotland, was now disliked more than ever. But it seems clear that the English government, which at the time was anxiously seeking and devising plans to preserve the balance of power in Europe by securing a peaceful succession to the Spanish monarchy, could not afford to endorse an invasion of Spanish territorial rights.

The Scottish Act of Security. 1704. When the English Parliament passed the Act of Settlement (1701) and fixed the succession on Sophia of Hanover, no effort was made to secure joint action by the northern kingdom. Scottish pride felt the slight very keenly. On the death of William the Parliament at Edinburgh accepted Anne as queen; but two years later it passed an Act of Security which provided that on the queen's death the Scottish Parliament should elect as her successor a Protestant member of the Stuart dynasty, but that this should not be the accepted heir to the English crown, unless England in the meantime should have guaranteed the independence of Scotland and the Scottish Parliament and the security of the national trade, colonies, and religion. The exigencies of war compelled Queen Anne to accept this measure, and in 1704, just before the great victory at Blenheim, it became a law.

Somers' Act. 1705. The English government replied with a statute known as Somers' Act which gave to all Scotsmen except those actually residing in England or serving in her Majesty's forces the status of aliens; it further forbade the sale in England of Scottish cattle, sheep, linen, and other products, unless the northern kingdom should accept the English Act of Settlement. The law was not to go into force, however, before Christmas, 1705.

The treaty of union. 1706. It had now become clear to

all thinking men on both sides of the border that the Scottish people would soon be forced either to insist on complete independence or to consent to a closer union with England. William III had urged such a union and Queen Anne's government had pursued the same policy. Finally in 1705, after long hesitation, the Scottish Parliament agreed to an "Act for a Treaty with England" looking toward a more complete union. The queen appointed a joint commission of thirty-one members from each kingdom; and in April, 1706, the commissioners gathered at Westminster and began their work.

The English members insisted on the formation of a single kingdom with a single Parliament. These conditions the Scots were reluctant to accept: they wished to retain their Parliament and maintain the independence of their country. But in the end they were forced to yield. In return they secured for all Scotsmen the rights of trade enjoyed by Englishmen anywhere in the world. Trade between the two countries was also made free. The new combined kingdom was to be called the Kingdom of Great Britain and the electress of Hanover was accepted as heiress apparent to the British throne. In the new Parliament Scotland was to be represented by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners. As Scotland at the time had a population perhaps one-seventh as large as that of England, it seems that the representation in the House of Commons (which now counted 558 members) was far too small. It was further provided that each of the two countries should retain its own church and its own system of law. To make the new arrangements somewhat more palatable to the Scots it was agreed that England should pay, as an "equivalent," a sum of about £400,000, in part to liquidate certain debts and in part to indemnify those who had participated in the Darien venture; if there should remain a surplus, it was to be used to encourage fisheries and to promote manufacturing.

The struggle in the Scottish Parliament. It was hard for Scotland to accept the union. Excepting a few independent members, the Scottish Parliament was divided into three parties. (1) The court party, a group of men professing Whig principles, was favorable to the new treaty. This faction was led by the duke of Argyll, the head of the great clan of the Campbells, and by the Marquis of Queensberry who was royal

commissioner for Scotland and as such represented the queen's authority in the northern kingdom. (2) The Jacobites were strenuously opposed to the treaty, but the Stuart pretender was still closely associated with the French court, and as long as Marlborough was winning victories in Belgium the Jacobite cause was admittedly hopeless. (3) The most effective opposition came from a strongly patriotic group of men who refused to surrender national independence. Andrew Fletcher, the leading advocate of the earlier Act of Security, a republican and a most intense patriot, fought the proposed union with all his eloquence. Outside Parliament the feeling was intensely hostile to the new arrangement. In Edinburgh and Glasgow conditions bordered on civil war. Remonstrances poured into Parliament objecting to the barter of national independence "for some hogsheads of sugar, indigo, and stinking tobacco of the plantation trade," but to no purpose. The greater part of the peerage supported the treaty and its various provisions were all accepted by fair majorities. The English Parliament passed the act in the form in which it had been approved at Edinburgh and with very little debate. When the treaty had finally been touched by the royal scepter (the Scottish symbol of final ratification by the sovereign) the chancellor of Scotland is said to have remarked that here was the "end of an auld sang."

Ireland. The same years that brought union to Great Britain, additional strength to England, and economic freedom to Scotland marks the beginnings of a condition in Ireland that was but slightly better than slavery. The treaty of Limerick was never carried out. The Anglican Protestants in Ireland were determined to stamp out rebellion and planned to do it through systematic repression. This was the purpose of a series of infamous acts passed by the Dublin Parliament and agreed to by the Privy Council in London. For some of these laws the great war was responsible, since it had been the experience of Britain that whenever the English kingdom had serious difficulties, the Irish would be sure to rise in rebellion.

1. The Catholics deprived of political rights. The Catholic Irish were deprived of all political rights. To begin with, an oath of allegiance was prescribed for all office holders which no Catholic could take, since it included a denial of Catholic doctrine. The Irish Parliament thus became an exclusively Protes-

tant body. Eleven years later (1704) a similar oath was framed for those who wished to vote at Parliamentary elections. After that year no Catholic Irishman could vote; three-fourths of the voting population were in this way disfranchised, and this condition remained for nearly ninety years, or until 1793, when the franchise was restored to the more prosperous class of tenant farmers. It was further enacted that only those could hold office who took the sacrament in the Anglican church. This closed all the offices to Presbyterians and other Protestant dissenters as well as to Catholics. The Irish Test Act did not, however, originate in the Irish Parliament but in the English Privy Council and is credited to the influence of Sidney Godolphin.

2. **The third confiscation.** More Catholic land was confiscated. Although the Irish leaders had been led to believe that their lands were secured by the treaty of Limerick, the government proceeded to carry out a policy of confiscation, the third in the history of the island. More than a million acres were seized on the plea that the holders had rebelled against the sovereign. Only one-seventh of the land now remained in the possession of Catholic owners, though the Catholic element constituted more than three-fourths of the entire population.

3. **The Penal Laws.** The Irish Catholics were deprived of the ordinary civil rights. A series of laws called the Penal Laws were enacted, some of which remained in force for nearly a century. These made it extremely difficult for any Roman Catholic to acquire and hold land; he could not lease his farm for more than thirty-one years, and if a Protestant could prove that the profits of a Catholic tenant exceeded one-third of the rent, the Protestant could take the land from him. The oldest son of a Catholic could get possession of his father's land by becoming a Protestant; in the same way a dissatisfied wife could get one-third of her husband's property and separate maintenance. No Catholic might teach in any school or act as the guardian of a child; and if a child professed Protestantism, it had to be surrendered immediately to a Protestant guardian. No Catholic was permitted to own or possess fire-arms; and if a Protestant offered him five pounds for his horse, if he happened to have one, he was forced to sell it. The penal laws were never strictly enforced; the Protestants were too few

and the native Catholics too numerous. They served chiefly to emphasize the miseries of a rural population that had been robbed of its right to the land.

Ireland reduced to a dependency. More significant were a series of acts passed by the Parliament at Westminster which in great measure ruined the foreign trade of Ireland and retarded the development of Irish industry. Though Ireland was in theory an independent kingdom, it was in reality a dependency of Great Britain. The two countries had a common king; but the ruler resided in England and governed Ireland through English officials. The office of viceroy or lord lieutenant was, indeed, usually filled by the appointment of some prominent member of the Irish peerage; but the real governor of Ireland was not the lord lieutenant but the lord deputy, who was nearly always an Englishman and naturally devoted to English interests. Moreover, by Poynings' law the English Privy Council was allowed an effective veto on legislation by the Dublin Parliament. Even more important was the fact that the English Parliament claimed and frequently exercised the right to legislate for the Irish kingdom. The ruling classes in Ireland acquiesced in these conditions, for without the support of the English or British government they could not hope to continue in control of the island.

The ruin of Irish trade and industry. During the seventeenth century the English government had tried at times to control the economic development in Ireland, but the interference did not become serious and direct before the reign of William III. The Navigation Acts of the Restoration period had practically ruined Irish trade with the English colonies by forbidding the direct importation into Irish ports of the more important West Indian products, such as sugar, cotton, tobacco, and dyes. In 1666 a severe blow was struck at the Irish cattle trade by an act forbidding the importation of Irish cattle and dairy products into England. For the time being this act discouraged cattle raising, and the Irish farmers now began to turn their attention more generally to sheep and wool. English capital soon began to find its way to the island, and before long the trade in woolen cloth promised to grow into an important industry. The English merchants, however, did not enjoy the prospect of Irish competition in foreign ports and

asked for legislation to remove the new danger. The blow fell in 1699 when the English Parliament forbade the exportation of Irish woollen manufactures to any country except England and Wales. Later acts dealt in the same ruthless fashion with other Irish manufactures, and throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century no market was open to the Irish merchant except that of Great Britain, where he was handicapped by hostile duties and tariff regulations.

Though this legislation was dictated chiefly by commercial jealousy, it was also due in part to a fear that if the English king should be in position to draw on the resources of a rich and prosperous Irish kingdom it might become difficult for the English people to maintain and preserve the principles of civil liberty for which they had fought so strenuously throughout the Stuart period. In the end the destruction of the Irish industries proved detrimental to English commerce. Irish weavers to the number of 20,000 or more emigrated to foreign countries where they set up their looms and helped to establish an industry in competition with that of Great Britain. The growing miseries of economic life drove other thousands to leave the island and to seek new homes in the American colonies, and thus began the great stream of migration that has added so many millions of Irish and Scotch-Irish to the population of the United States.

Harley and St. John. In the spring of 1714 the queen's health, which had long been frail, failed rapidly, and the question of the succession to the crown took on renewed interest. A Tory ministry was in control of the government, and in the event of the queen's death a Privy Council with strong leanings toward Toryism would proclaim the new sovereign. The Act of Settlement had been passed by a Tory Parliament; but in the course of Queen Anne's reign many of the Tory leaders had drifted in the direction of Jacobitism, and it was doubtful whether they would honestly try to carry out the law that gave the English throne to the Hanoverian family. Robert Harley and Henry St. John, who had controlled the queen's government since the fall of Godolphin and his Whig associates in 1710, were both Tories, though of a moderate type. Harley was a cousin of Mrs. Masham whose influence with the queen he had used persistently to undermine the power of Godolphin

and Marlborough. As lord high treasurer Harley was the queen's chief minister and had the direction of the general policy of the government. Though a man of remarkable talents as a political manager, he had little capacity for real statesmanship, and was apparently content to drift with the current of events. Henry St. John (better known as Lord Bolingbroke) was a younger, more brilliant, and more energetic man. He was an effective orator and an astute politician, but he was restless, unreliable, and treacherous. It was he who had the largest share in negotiating the treaty of Utrecht. Bolingbroke was Harley's chief lieutenant, but he was also his chief rival.

The new Tory peers. Though in a minority in the House of Commons after 1710, the Whigs still controlled the House of Lords. To secure a majority for their party in this body, Harley and his aids induced the queen to create twelve new peers. On January 1, 1712, nine of these new lords, one of whom was the insignificant Mr. Masham, took their seats, and Tory control was complete in all the divisions of the government. It is worth remembering that this precedent for packing the House of Lords was set by the Tories. In 1832 and again in 1911 the conservative elements had occasion to regret this, for their opponents were able to force legislation through a hostile house merely by threatening to do what Harley and St. John had taught them to do.

The problem of the succession. It is generally believed that Queen Anne in her declining years had come to believe that her half-brother James was the rightful heir to the British throne; but Parliament had decreed otherwise and she took no step to set aside the Act of Settlement. In June, 1714, the aged electress of Hanover (she was eighty-three years old) died, and her son George Louis succeeded as heir apparent to the English crown. It was quite generally known that the Elector George suspected the Tories of Jacobite sympathies and that he was already in alliance with the Whig leaders. The death of Anne would therefore mean the downfall of Harley's ministry. As usual Harley was sorely perplexed, for he did not know whether the Catholic James would prove acceptable to the nation. Moreover, both Harley and St. John had posed as strenuous champions of the Anglican church against the Protestant dissenters, and it seemed somewhat inconsistent to favor the Stuart pre-

tender who was not only a confirmed Catholic but also a professed believer in religious toleration.

The last days of Queen Anne. Bolingbroke had no such scruples. He seems to have urged immediate action of some sort, perhaps looking toward the accession of the Stuart prince. On July 27 he forced the dismissal of his hesitating chief, and for a few days the young intriguer was at the head of the British government. What his plans were cannot be known precisely, but, whatever they were, fate did not permit him to carry them out. On July 30 the queen suffered a stroke of apoplexy and two days later she passed away. While the queen lay dying, Bolingbroke and his associates in the ministry were deliberating in the royal cabinet. Soon they were joined by three dukes of the Hanoverian party, Shrewsbury who had Tory leanings, and Argyll and Somerset who were rated as Whigs. The dukes demanded that the lord treasurer's office be filled and Shrewsbury was chosen for that position. At the bedside of the dying queen the new treasurer received the symbol of his office, the white staff. Shrewsbury and his allies now called in the other members of the Privy Council, and the control passed out of Bolingbroke's hands. On the queen's death the council promptly proclaimed George I as having succeeded to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland.

George I. 1714-1727. George I, the "wee German lairdie" that the Scottish Jacobites sang about, was a middle-aged prince of moderate abilities and few personal attractions. He brought little to England but a group of Hanoverian favorites, uncouth personal manners, and a dense ignorance of British affairs. He came intending to enjoy the new kingship and apparently he succeeded in achieving his purpose. As government at best is a bothersome affair, George I determined to have as little to do with it as possible. George II, who succeeded his father in 1727, was a slight improvement as a ruler but scarcely as a human being. The two Georges disliked each other cordially and with good reason. In order to appear as unlike his sluggish father as possible, the younger George strove to become English and made constant, though not always discriminating or elegant, use of the English language. But he, too, was coarse, vulgar, rude in manners, and uneducated. He was anxious to have a real share in the government of the king-

dom, but in this purpose his ministers balked him, and he was compelled to be satisfied with remaining a showy figurehead.

The Jacobite rising of 1715. The elector waited more than a month before he set out for his English kingdom. When he finally did arrive at the capital there was much display and much official rejoicing. The masses, however, showed little enthusiasm for the new dynasty, and it was not many months before the Hanoverians had become extremely unpopular. Many of the Jacobites now believed that the time was surely ripe for a revolt in favor of the Pretender James. King George had been in England only a year when the Jacobite leaders raised the standard of the Stuarts in the Highlands. A little later there was a rising in the northern counties of England. The Jacobite forces in Scotland were at first reasonably successful; in November they fought an indecisive battle with the forces of the government at Sheriffmuir, where one-half of each army defeated the opposing half of the enemy's army. But the same day the Jacobite partisans in England were crushed at Preston, not far from the border. Early in January the pretender landed in Scotland, but he was too late in coming. Winter made operations difficult and the religious question caused continuous trouble. The shy, silent, disconsolate prince was not the sort of a leader that the Highlanders had imagined. James soon realized that his cause was lost. In February he secretly left his Jacobite followers and embarked for France. The rising melted away.

Whigs and Whiggism. For half a century the first two Georges wore the British crown. During this period the actual rulers of the kingdom were the chiefs of the Whig party, of whom Sir Robert Walpole was the most notable. The cardinal doctrine of Whiggism was that Parliament and not the king should be the controlling force and the ultimate ruler of the nation. With the earlier Hanoverians on the throne, this doctrine came to be a political fact: neither George I nor his son made any attempt to oppose the will of Parliament. The Whig leaders were chiefly peers or members of the more aristocratic families; their aim seems to have been to center as much power and influence as possible in the House of Lords. The peers were great landowners and were influential with their tenants, some of whom had a right to vote. They also controlled a large num-

ber of the English and Scottish boroughs. Consequently they were able to get their young sons, their friends, or their faithful henchmen elected to membership in the House of Commons. Practically, therefore, Whiggism in the eighteenth century meant the rule of the kingdom by a limited number of aristocratic families.

Cabinet government. It was while monarchy was weak and the Whig leaders all-powerful that England developed her modern system of government, the so-called Cabinet system. This form of government is one of the most important contributions that England has made to the science of politics; it has been widely copied and in some form has been accepted by nearly all the European states. Under Cabinet rule actual control of the government is in the hands of a group of the more important ministers (now about twenty in number), who act as a unit on all matters of real importance. The chief of the Cabinet is the prime minister. The king appoints the prime minister and may legally select whomever he chooses. In practice, however, he has little choice; for custom demands that he shall always select the recognized leader (if such there be) of the party that commands a majority in the House of Commons.

The other members of the Cabinet are selected by the prime minister. Ordinarily he chooses them from among the political chiefs of his own party, assigning to each one some important office or department, such as the exchequer, the admiralty, the foreign office, or some other department. The prime minister resides at No. 10, Downing Street, an old house in Westminster that Robert Walpole, the first prime minister, purchased and made his official residence. The meetings of the Cabinet are usually held in this building and are directed by the prime minister as presiding officer. All the members of the Cabinet are at the same time members of Parliament, in the deliberations of which they take a leading part. Usually about one-half of the membership is drawn from each house. They are also members of the Privy Council, and every formal meeting of the Cabinet at which any action is taken is regarded as a meeting of the Privy Council. On such occasions the presiding officer is not the prime minister but the Lord President of the Council.

The Cabinet system was of long and slow growth. During the early years of the Restoration period a small group of officials under the leadership of Clarendon acted in a measure as a "cabinet council:" the king frequently consulted them as a group. After the fall of Clarendon the five members of the Cabal formed a similar body, though it had no recognized leader or chief. The king was still in control; he could ask the advice of these ministers singly or as a body, or he might refuse to consult them. After the rise of political parties the sovereign very soon found it necessary to select all the more important ministers from the same party. The Whig Junto was such a group of four able and influential ministers on whom William III for some time depended for assistance and counsel. Earlier kings had sometimes called their chief advisers together for informal conferences in the royal cabinet; in William's reign these cabinet councils became a regular part of the administrative routine. They were, however, not cabinet meetings in the later sense, for the king usually presided and directed the discussion. In the days of Anne it became customary for a small group of the higher state officials, called the "lords of the committee," to meet informally for the purpose of preparing the business to be taken up in these cabinet councils. The queen was usually present at the meeting in the cabinet but not at the conferences of the lords of the committee.

Robert Walpole. 1721-1742. Being wholly unacquainted with English methods and politics, George I was glad to leave the details of government to his ministers. These were all Whigs, and the more prominent among them continued the custom of meeting regularly in cabinet council to discuss the business of the kingdom. The new king understood very little English, and there seems to have been only one prominent Whig politician in England who was able to converse with him in German; it was therefore only natural that George I should prefer to remain absent from the Cabinet meetings. For some years there was no recognized leader in these conferences, but finally, in 1721, Robert Walpole assumed the leadership and retained it for twenty-one years. Walpole directed the general course of government, presided over the cabinet councils, secured the appointment or the dismissal of his ministerial colleagues, and presented and defended the measures of the government

in the House of Commons. He distinctly disclaimed the title of prime minister, doubtless because the term was already in current use, meaning the chief adviser of the French king who was an absolute monarch, which George I was not.

The South Sea Company. Walpole's opportunity came with the failure of the South Sea Company in 1721. This company was organized in 1711 and was given exclusive rights to trade in South America and the islands of the "South Sea." Two years later it became a great slave trading agency under the provisions of the *Asiento* treaty with Spain. The company also arranged with the government to look after the details of the national debt. The creditors of the state thus became the creditors of the South Sea Company; but the managers of the enterprise hoped to pay these new debts with company stock sold to the creditors at inflated values. It was believed that the venture would be very profitable, and the price per share of the stock rose in 1720 to many times the original value.

Toward the close of that year the scheme suddenly collapsed. The king's ministry fell a few months later, for it was responsible for the deal by which so many of the nation's creditors had been induced to invest in stock of little value and had thus been defrauded of their honest dues. Walpole had publicly opposed the Company; but this fact had not prevented him from buying heavily when the stock was cheap and selling freely as it advanced in price. Having a well-deserved reputation as a financier, the shrewd minister was assigned the task of saving what was possible from the wreckage. In this he was fairly successful; something, at least, he was able to save for the shareholders. At the same time he made secure his own position and that of his party.

Character and statesmanship of Robert Walpole. In private life Robert Walpole was a country gentleman from Norfolk. In the seventeenth century this country was famous for strenuous Puritanism; but the Walpoles do not seem to have inherited Puritan principles. Sir Robert was good-natured and amiable; but like his king he was coarse and rude in speech and manners. His most evident mental characteristic was a great fund of ordinary common sense. He had no ideals and no dreams; he was rarely stubborn and usually knew whether or not it was advisable to yield to the opposition. When he became

prime minister he had already served a long apprenticeship in public life, having held public office continuously for a period of nearly twenty years.

Robert Walpole proved to be an able, though not a remarkable, statesman. In his policy he aimed at two results: to strengthen the position of the new dynasty and to promote the economic prosperity of the nation. This policy accorded with the needs of Great Britain at the time; it was also one that promised the greatest profit to the Whigs. Walpole was particularly anxious to promote commerce, and commercial expansion could not fail to benefit the mercantile classes in the cities, which were strongly Whig in political sympathy. So long as the Hanoverians remained at Westminster, the Whigs might be reasonably sure to continue in control of the government. Should the dynasty fall and the Stuarts return, the Tories would without question take over the administration.

Thirty years of peace. The prime minister saw clearly that what England needed most of all was a long period of peace, both at home and with her neighbors. During the one hundred and eleven years of Stuart rule, the nation had enjoyed no real rest: it was a period of much foreign warfare and still more discontent and turmoil at home, even civil war and revolution. But after the coming of the Hanoverians the country had nearly thirty years of almost unbroken peace. Louis XIV lived only two years after the peace of Utrecht. His successor, Louis XV, was a child, and during his minority a royal cousin, Philip of Orleans, directed the government as regent of France. For some years after the close of the great war Spain was the disturbing element in European politics. In the treaty of Utrecht she had lost some of her most valuable possessions, all of which her statesmen were eager to recover. Her king, Philip V, though he had solemnly agreed that Spain and France should never be united, could not forget that he was a grandson of the great Louis, while the young Louis XV was only a great-grandson. Fearing that the Spanish king might attempt to displace him in the regency, Philip of Orleans entered into an alliance with England to maintain the settlement of Utrecht.

Walpole's foreign policy. An aggressive prime minister could easily have brought on another European war, for many of the Whig leaders wished to continue the policy of William III, which

would mean constant interference in Continental affairs. But Walpole, whose motto was "let sleeping dogs lie," successfully resisted all the major temptations for nearly twenty years. In his efforts to maintain the principles agreed upon at Utrecht and to preserve the peace of Europe he had the effective assistance of the chief minister of the French king, the aged Cardinal Fleury, who also believed in European peace. Walpole maintained a small standing army, though not a very efficient one. To the navy he paid such little attention that the ships soon became unseaworthy. When trouble with Spain finally became unavoidable, the British admiralty was utterly unprepared to meet the enemy.

Walpole's domestic policies. There were two dangerous elements in the English kingdom which the prime minister also preferred not to stir to action: the Anglican churchmen and the dissenters. The founders of the Whig party had stressed their belief in toleration, and the Whigs in the main continued faithful to this principle. Some of the leaders in the eighteenth century were even willing to repeal all the laws, the Test Act and the rest, that kept the dissenters from holding office. Many dissenters had tried to evade these laws by an occasional visit to an Anglican church, where they heard the service through and partook of the communion: this was called "occasional conformity." The practice exasperated the Tories, and toward the close of Queen Anne's reign the government succeeded in passing a measure forbidding any one who had received the sacrament in an English church to attend a conventicle within the following twelve months. This, it was hoped, would put a stop to all forms of spurious conformity.

Eight years later the Whigs repealed the Occasional Conformity Act, and dissenters could once more enter office by occasionally taking the "test." But the Test Act was still law, and a large section of the Whig party refused to allow its repeal. At the same time it seemed impossible to close the offices entirely to the dissenters. In 1727 Walpole induced Parliament to pass an Indemnity Act by which dissenters who had held office in defiance of law were granted a full pardon. This strange law was reenacted annually for one hundred years.

The churchmen hated and feared the dissenters, and the favors that the Whigs showed their opponents drove the Anglican

clergy almost to a man into the Tory party. Many of the priests even became Jacobites. The government consequently found considerable difficulty in its effort to fill the higher offices in the church, especially the bishoprics, with suitable men, that is, churchmen holding Whig principles. The Whigs believed firmly in the spoils system; furthermore, a Tory bishop meant another Tory member of the House of Lords. Occasionally Walpole was able to find candidates of unquestioned excellence: the philosopher George Berkeley received his appointment from the Whig minister; but on the whole the "political bishops" of the eighteenth century were a real grievance to the church. Many of them were good business men, but in the spiritual life of the people they showed a perfunctory interest only. With the Tory priests, whose leaders and shepherds they were supposed to be, they were frequently on hostile terms. It is not strange that the English church in the eighteenth century suffered a marked decline.

Scotland in Walpole's day. Toward Scotland Walpole pursued a policy of conciliation. The union had very soon become extremely unpopular north of the border; especially was there great dissatisfaction with the new forms of taxation, which to the Scots appeared like the impositions of a foreign government. Scotland had, indeed, forty-five members in the House of Commons; but these were apparently all in the pay of the government, or rather of Walpole, and felt compelled to consent to Walpole's financial measures. The government of Great Britain derived most of its revenues from three forms of taxation: customs, excise, and stamped paper. The customs taxes were ancient and well established and were levied chiefly on imported goods. Stamped paper had to be used for nearly every form of legal document and could be purchased from government officials only. The excise was a tax on certain classes of domestic manufactures. This financial expedient had been introduced into England from Holland during the commonwealth period and was retained by the statesmen of the Restoration. Then as now alcoholic liquors were a favorite subject for taxation by excise methods. There was a tax on malt in England which Walpole sought to extend to Scotland. The new levy called forth determined opposition in the Lowland cities; in Edinburgh the feeling rose to the point of rioting. The brewers of that city

agreed to brew no more ale, and they kept up their strike for a week; they resumed brewing only when ordered to do so by the local courts. The government refused to repeal the malt tax, however, though the rate was fixed at the low figure of three pence per bushel. But it did not prove very profitable north of the border, for the Scots discovered that whiskey made an effective substitute for ale, and the manufacture of malt liquors decreased in importance.

The Scottish Highlands. After the Jacobite rising of 1715 the Whigs took up the problem of how to prevent future trouble in the Highlands. The many revolts in that restless region had been due, not so much to Stuart partisanship, as to rivalries and jealousies among the various tribes and clans. In the south-western Highlands, occupying the isles and peninsulas of Argyll, lived the powerful clan Campbell. Between the Campbells and the neighboring clans to the north and northeast there were feuds and enmities centuries old. The Campbells were uncompromising Presbyterians and Whigs like their Lowland neighbors to the south; consequently they were firm partisans of the Hanoverian dynasty. The hostility of the other clans to the Campbells naturally drove some of them into the Jacobite camp.

The important thing was to allay this feeling of hostility and to bring peace to the Highlands. Walpole acted with his usual practical wisdom. He sent a force of English soldiers into the Highlands, not so much to overawe the clans as to build roads, bridges, and forts. The work began in 1725 and continued for eleven years; in all forty bridges and 250 miles of road were built. The purpose of the new roads was to make it possible for the king's armies to move more swiftly through this rugged country in times of rebellion. They served, however, another and more useful purpose: they made it easier for the Highlanders to travel into the Lowland country and dispose of their cattle and other surplus products. Improved facilities for travel also helped to develop new interests and brought a wider knowledge of the world into the Highland valleys. As a result the clan feeling began to subside, and in the course of time the Highlands became as peaceful as any other part of Great Britain.

Walpole's political methods. In his dealings with Parliament Walpole employed methods, which, though effective, reveal an utter disregard for ethical principles. Political morals in the

eighteenth century were of a low order; there was much corruption in public office; honesty seems to have been an exceptional virtue. Members of Parliament received no salaries; and there were many members, often younger sons of noble families, whose income was slight or insufficient for their personal needs. These found it difficult to resist the tempter who came with offers of money or favors for a vote or other forms of political support. Walpole reduced bribery to a system: he knew whom it was necessary to buy and how much to offer. At one time he is said to have pointed out a group of members in the House of Commons with the remark that "all these men have their price."

The opposition: Pulteney and Bolingbroke. The cynical prime minister had not been long in control before a Parliamentary group began to form in opposition to his régime. This opposition was wholly factious; it stood for no principle of government; the only bond that united the members of the group was a cordial dislike for the prime minister. Walpole had no desire for strong men in his Cabinet; if an able and independent politician by accident got into a ministerial office, he was likely to find himself dismissed after a brief tenure. To some extent the opposition was made up of Tory members; but the majority were Whig politicians whom Walpole had forced out of desirable offices and of young ambitious members who yearned for official appointments but feared that the door of opportunity would remain closed so long as Sir Robert carried the keys.

The leader of the disgruntled Whigs was William Pulteney, a brilliant debater whom Walpole had deprived of a ministerial office. But the intellectual chief of these "Patriots," as they called themselves, was Lord Bolingbroke. After the accession of the Hanoverian George, Bolingbroke found it unsafe to remain in England; early in 1715 he fled to the Continent and joined the pretender, whom he served for a few months as secretary of state. But James "III" did not trust Bolingbroke and soon dismissed him. Bolingbroke on his side now lost interest in his Stuart sovereign and made plans to return to England. Soon after his flight he had been attainted by Parliament; but in 1723 he was pardoned, though not restored to his seat in the House of Lords. Failing in his effort to form a political alliance with the prime minister, he very soon joined

with Pulteney in the publication of the *Craftsman*, a weekly periodical the purpose of which was to fight Walpole and to hold him up to ridicule. Ten years later the opposition received a notable addition in William Pitt, a young man of twenty-six who after a few years gained recognition as the foremost Parliamentary orator of the age. Pitt with five or six others of about the same age formed a group that Walpole called the "Boys." All these allied themselves with Pulteney and the Patriots.

George II. 1727-1760. In June, 1727, George set out on a journey to Hanover but died before he reached his beloved city. Since any one who enjoyed the confidence of the father would necessarily incur the hostility of the son, it was believed that Walpole's career had come to a close. Steps were actually taken to depose him; but George II soon found that the prime minister was indispensable and restored him to his high office. At court the most influential person was Queen Caroline, a woman of great tact and excellent sense in practical affairs. Little King George, who freely expressed the greatest contempt for any man who seemed to be ruled by his wife, was completely under the queen's control. Queen Caroline was a firm friend and supporter of Walpole. After her death (1737) his position began to lose its former stability.

The war with Spain. 1739. In the year of the queen's death the merchants of London complained to Parliament that the coast guards of Spain were unduly officious in their search for smugglers in the West Indian waters. Walpole realized that British traders had only limited rights in Spanish America and hoped to reach a satisfactory agreement with Spain through diplomatic channels. But the British people were tired of the long monotonous peace and called for war with the Spanish monarchy. There was at the time an English sea captain by the name of Jenkins, who asserted that some years earlier, while returning from Jamaica, he had been overtaken by a Spanish coast guard and had suffered the loss of an ear. Whether Captain Jenkins actually lost his ear in this way may be doubted; but when he told his story to the House of Commons, illustrating his account with what looked like a human ear, English passions were aroused and Sir Robert was given the choice of retiring from office or declaring war on the Spaniards.

The end of the Walpole régime. The War of Jenkin's Ear

began in 1739 but soon became confused with a greater conflict, the War of the Austrian Succession, and was almost lost sight of as a separate war. England had a few victories on the sea but none of decided importance. When peace was finally made, the English failed to get what they demanded in 1739. The enemies of Walpole, who had forced him into war against his better judgment, soon began to blame him for the failure to bring the struggle to an early close. In 1742 Walpole finally resigned, and the leadership of the king's ministry passed to the learned Lord Carteret, who had conversed in German with George I.

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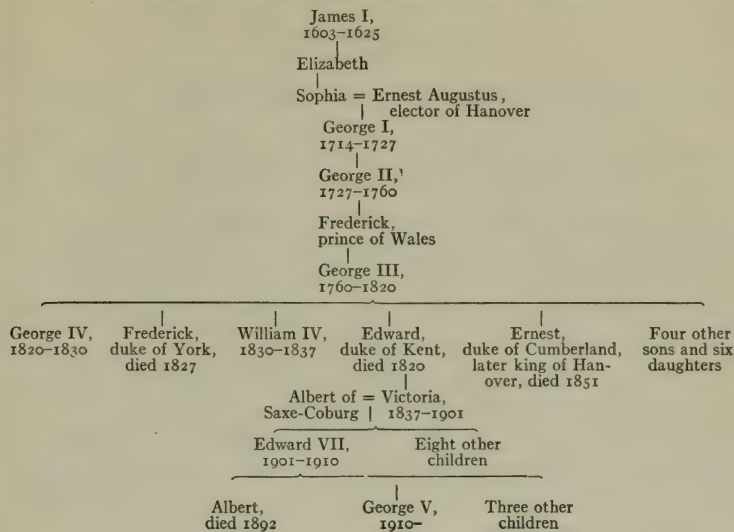
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THE GENEALOGY OF THE HANOVERIAN DYNASTY



CHAPTER XVIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Colonial rivalry. The great conflict between England and France did not close with the treaty of Utrecht; it was merely transferred to a wider field. The two nations were commercial rivals and commerce in those days was closely associated with colonial ventures in America and the Orient. In those distant regions the rivalry continued until France in 1763 was forced to withdraw from the colonial field.

Growth of the British empire. The first half of the eighteenth century was, therefore, a great age in the history of the British empire. In the development of British dominion over the seas three distinct lines now come into prominence: (1) the rapid growth of the English colonies on the North American seaboard; (2) the rivalry between England and France in other parts of America, particularly in the vast plain lying west of the Appalachian Mountains; (3) the competition between the various European trading companies operating in India and other parts of southern Asia. In all these fields the course of events ran in the direction of British control. British imperial power rose to the highest point thus far attained in the treaties of 1763, when the French accepted defeat and surrendered nearly all their possessions over the sea to the kingdom of Great Britain.

The treaty of Utrecht had added large areas to the English colonial empire in the New World, each of which had its peculiar value or importance. Newfoundland was valuable for its fisheries; Nova Scotia chiefly as it provided protection for New England; the Hudson Bay country for its fur trading possibilities; St. Kitts for its sugar fields. In the eighteenth century the little islands in the West Indies were regarded as of peculiar importance; for they provided a large part of the European sugar supply. The twelve (later thirteen) colonies on the Atlantic seaboard were, on the other hand, regarded

with only moderate interest by the politicians and the economists of the earlier Hanoverian period. To Walpole and his associates the settlements on the American mainland were important chiefly as providing governorships and other desirable offices which might be bestowed on worthy Whigs who could not be conveniently provided for nearer home. Not till later in the century did it dawn on the British people that the truly valuable part of the British empire in North America was this same colonial area where the English race was finding its second home.

The colonial immigration; Germans and Ulstermen. Before 1700 these colonies were almost wholly English in population. Other nationalities like the Dutch, the Swedes, and the French were also represented, though in slight numbers. But this situation was soon to change, for early in the following century two new peoples began to arrive in large numbers: the Germans and the Scotch-Irish. Germans had begun to emigrate to Pennsylvania soon after the founding of that colony; but the movement did not attain appreciable importance until the armies of Louis XIV had devastated the Rhenish Palatinate in 1689 and the following years. During the first decades of the eighteenth century several thousand homeless Palatines drifted down the Rhine valley and across to England, whence the greater number were transported to the American colonies. The movement continued for a number of years; and by 1727 the stream of immigrants had risen to great strength. Many of the Germans settled among the foot hills and in the valleys of the Appalachian ranges, particularly in Pennsylvania; but Palatine settlements were also founded in New York, Maryland, and Virginia.

Soon after the conclusion of peace at Utrecht (about 1715) the Scotch-Irish began to leave their homes in Ulster in large numbers to find new homes in the American colonies. The toleration that the Protestant dissenters enjoyed in England had not been extended to Ireland. As in England there was the grievance of the Test Act, which excluded Presbyterians as well as Catholics from civil and military offices. Both countries also had a Schism Act (credited to Bolingbroke and passed in 1714) which provided that no one could be employed as a teacher in either a public or a private school unless he had

received a license from a bishop of the established (Anglican) church. The Ulstermen were further annoyed by Parliamentary restrictions on Irish trade, notably by the attempt to prevent certain lines of Irish industry from coming into competition with those of England.

New settlements on the American frontier. During the reign of George II the Scotch-Irish immigration was keeping pace with the movement from the Rhine lands and other parts of Germany. Like the Germans the Scotch-Irish settled in the Appalachian valleys, only they went farther inland and showed a tendency to drift farther southward. It is estimated that during the half century preceding the American Revolution 150,000 Ulstermen found new homes on the American frontier. In the years 1728-1729 there were failures of crops in Ireland with famine as the result. Thousands of Catholic Irishmen now joined their Presbyterian neighbors in the New World.

Georgia. 1733. While the frontier was thus being steadily pushed westward, the area of settlement was also extended toward the south. The last of the "thirteen" American colonies was founded during Walpole's ministry. In the eighteenth century and even as late as the third quarter of the nineteenth it was common practice in western Europe to imprison those who were unable to pay their debts. The most notorious of the prisons for debt in England was the Marshalsea in Southwark, where the inmates lived in unrelieved misery, but conditions were not much better in the other hostleries of this type. An English officer, James Oglethorpe, who had become deeply interested in the English debtor class and more particularly in those who were wasting away in these prisons, proposed to relieve the situation by leading a colony of these unfortunates across the sea. The government received the plan favorably. Between the Carolinas and Florida lay a wide stretch of unoccupied territory which the English claimed and wished to secure by actual settlement. Farther inland the country was occupied by the great Cherokee nation and related Indian tribes; and the English government had for some time shown an interest in efforts to divert the Cherokee trade from Spanish to English merchants. The ministry of Robert Walpole helped to finance the new undertaking. The "trustees" of the proposed colony were given a strip of territory south of the Savannah

River to be named Georgia in honor of George II. Early in 1733 Oglethorpe appeared in America with his colonists and founded a settlement at Savannah. It was soon discovered that a more thrifty class of settlers must be secured if the venture was to prove a permanent success. These were found in immigrants from the Scottish Highlands and in Protestant refugees from Austria and southern Germany, who soon began to come in growing numbers.

Growth of colonial population. These movements across the Atlantic to the new lands in the West were particularly strong during the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century. In a little more than a generation (1700-1740) the population of the thirteen colonies increased from 250,000 to approximately 1,000,000. It should be noted that the immigration movement pushed the frontier steadily westward and southward toward the settlements and trading posts of France and Spain. This rapid extension of the area of English occupation would, it was clear, bring new financial responsibilities to the mother country, notably on the side of military defence. Consequently, it seemed right and proper to many Englishmen that the American colonies should be required to contribute to the national treasury, as were all the other subjects of the British king. But Walpole thought differently: his experience with the Scots had probably taught him that taxation by distant authorities was difficult to enforce.

English and French in America. The English settlements on the Atlantic seaboard about the middle of the eighteenth century covered a broad strip of territory about one thousand miles in length and more than 300,000 square miles in area. Extensive as these dominions really were, they were small in comparison with the vast French empire to the west and the north. New France comprised the great basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, Canada and Louisiana. The French government first began to show a serious interest in the North American mainland in 1603 when a company of merchants was organized to colonize Canada. The earlier ventures failed, however, and the history of Canada as a colonial establishment really dates from 1608, when Samuel Champlain founded a settlement at Quebec. Champlain was a naval officer with a strong taste for adventure, who had come out to

Canada in 1603. For nearly thirty years after the founding of Quebec he continued his operations in the St. Lawrence valley carrying the lilies of France as far west as Lake Huron.

Two generations later French missionaries and explorers, among whom Father Marquette and the Sieur de la Salle were the more prominent, reached and explored the Mississippi River (1673-1682). For the next twenty years little was done to utilize and develop these vast territories; Louis XIV was at war with William III and was too much occupied with conquests in the Rhine valley to take a real interest in the wild prairies of the Mississippi. But with the coming of the eighteenth century the French began to establish permanent settlements in this region, and Louisiana became a reality. By 1735 they had established a chain of forts, trading posts, and settlements extending from Quebec to New Orleans and including stations at Montreal, Niagara, Detroit, Vincennes, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, Rosalie (Natchez), and other points.

The Appalachian barrier and the routes across. Between the English and the French dominions lay the broad barrier of the Appalachian ranges; but the steady stream of migration flowing into the English colonial ports threatened to pass this barrier and spread over the plains beyond. It was clear to both the French and the English that the colonial rivalry in the New World would inevitably culminate in war. The danger of friction lay chiefly along five great routes, one by sea and four by land.

1. In the seventeenth century the French had built up a stronghold at Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia) from which they threatened the peace of the New England colonies. In the War of the Spanish Succession a force of English regulars and colonial troops had captured Port Royal, but the French withdrew to Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, where they built up a great fortress second only to Quebec in strength and importance.

2. The natural route of invasion from Canada ran south from Montreal along Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. The French establishments along the upper stretches of this route were a perpetual menace to New York and the neighboring settlements.

3. Another important route was the trench of the Mohawk

River which forms a natural highway from the Hudson valley westward to the Great Lakes. As this route ran through the region occupied by the great Iroquois confederacy of Indian tribes (who were at peace with the English), the Mohawk highway was a danger to Canada rather than to New York.

4. From the headwaters of the Potomac River there is a portage of only a few miles to the tributaries of the Ohio. Along this route the tide of settlement was likely to flow northward from Virginia and down into the Ohio basin. Here again the danger was more to the French than to the English.

5. English traders were beginning to find their way across the ranges of the Carolina country along the courses of the Broad and the Little Tennessee River into the rich valleys of the Cumberland and the Tennessee. There were also those who entered the West by a route around the lower extremity of the Appalachian barrier. By these various routes English and American traders had by the middle of the eighteenth century penetrated as far as the Mississippi River. This was a form of invasion which the French authorities could not allow to continue without protest.

India. In the eighteenth century the English also laid the foundation of their immense empire in southern Asia. Before 1750 the Honorable East India Company had no ambitions in India but to carry on a profitable trade; but after that year circumstances forced it to enter upon a career of conquest and to become a governing as well as a trading corporation. There is to-day in India a population of more than 300,000,000 souls. These are governed and held in control by a force of fewer than 100,000 British soldiers and officials. This is possible only because India is not a nation. The people of India are not homogeneous in any important respect, such as language, race, religion, or civilization. It is estimated that approximately two hundred nationalities occupy the Hindu peninsula, and that more than a hundred different languages are spoken within its borders. The greater part of this diverse population worships according to the rites of the Hindu religion; but the Mohammedan faith is also widely held.

When the Portuguese arrived in India at the close of the fifteenth century, there was no political unity in that country. But a generation later (while Henry VIII was king of Eng-

land) a Turanian horde invaded the Ganges valley from the northwest and established an empire with its center of influence at Delhi. The ruling dynasty, the Moguls or Mughals, did not control all of India before the second half of the seventeenth century, when Aurungzeb ruled in Delhi. Aurungzeb was a strong, capable, and masterly prince; but his reign was tyrannical and bloody, and after his death the great Mogul empire broke into fragments. For one hundred and fifty years to come emperors sat on the throne of Aurungzeb at Delhi, but their power was nominal only. They were shown all the deference due to Oriental royalty,—but their orders were not obeyed.

Portugal and her rivals in the Middle East. After the Portuguese had enjoyed a monopoly of the East Indian trade for nearly a century, the Dutch began to visit the Orient and a few years later (1601) the English entered into the competition. France, Denmark, the Austrian Netherlands, Prussia, and Sweden later tried to get a share of the Asiatic trade; but of these the French only had real success. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch and the English swept the Portuguese from the Indian seas. But the great field of Dutch activities was not in India but in Java and the neighboring islands of Farther India. Gradually the Dutch withdrew from the trade on the Hindu peninsula and left the French and the English as the chief competitors for the commercial good-will of the people of the Indian empire.

The Hindu rulers and merchants were anxious to cultivate the European trade, and the various East India companies had therefore little difficulty in securing sites for trading posts and warehouses. In these settlements the Europeans enjoyed extensive privileges, but the soil was regarded as still belonging to the sovereign who granted the lease. In the days of Aurungzeb the English East India Company was located at three principal points: at Bombay on the western coast; at Madras in the southeast; and at a point on the Hugli which was later named Calcutta. The region of the greatest commercial activity was the Coromandel coast in the neighborhood of Madras.

The French had an important station at Chandernagore, about twenty miles above Calcutta; but the chief center of

French activity was at Pondicherri, some ninety miles south of Madras. The influence of Pondicherri extended much farther inland than that of Madras, for the French understood the art of conciliating, impressing, and interesting the natives as the English did not.

Joseph Dupleix. In 1720 there came to India a man whose mind was constantly busied with large plans, and who possessed unusual abilities as a leader and organizer, the Frenchman Joseph Dupleix. Dupleix was sent out as an official of the French East India Company, and in time rose to become governor-general of the company's possessions in India. He remained in the East for thirty-four years; and with the slender resources that a niggardly administration in Paris placed at his disposal, he brought the power of France in the Orient to a point where it completely overshadowed that of the English rivals.

Dupleix's opportunity lay in the fact already noted that the Mogul empire had broken up into a number of virtually independent states. Some of these were governed by Mohammedan viceroys or governors (nawabs or nabobs) appointed by the emperor at Delhi; others were controlled by native Hindu princes (rajahs). Many of these viceroys sought to establish dynastic power; but in Dupleix's day the new thrones had not yet become firmly established, and the provincial boundaries were frequently in bitter dispute. The result was anarchy or chronic warfare. Of this situation the great Frenchman made good use. He organized and drilled a native army; he formed alliances with native rulers; he frequently assisted in placing doubtful pretenders on native thrones. In this way he made the French company a real force in the politics of India.

Passing of the men of peace. So long as peace was maintained in Europe there was comparative peace between the two great trading companies in the Orient. But about 1740 a new age began in the history of Europe and of the wider European world. The men of peace were passing from power: Robert Walpole fell in 1742; the aged Cardinal Fleury died the following year. At the same time the devotees of warfare were coming into the control of important European governments: Frederick the Great became king of Prussia in 1740; Maria Theresa inherited the Austrian lands the same year. Though

by nature the great Hapsburg queen did not love war as Frederick did, circumstances made her a constant disturber of the European peace. In England William Pitt was rising to influence. Pitt never went out with an army; but in the management of a great war he has, perhaps, had no superior. In 1740 a great series of wars began, which with intermissions of unstable peace continued to 1815.

The Austrian inheritance. The European problem in 1740 was whether a woman could inherit the possessions of the Hapsburg dynasty. These possessions were a group of states, kingdoms and duchies, each of which regarded the Austrian monarch as its direct ruler. This monarch was also emperor of the German lands. Maria Theresa was the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI. It was clear that she could not hold the German imperial title (she desired and finally secured that for her husband); but sixteen years earlier she had been accepted as the heiress in all the states held by the Austrian dynasty, and the rulers of Europe had subsequently agreed not to call her claim into question.

This arrangement was upset by Frederick II of Prussia who proceeded to seize Silesia, an Austrian province to which the Prussian kings had an old, though decidedly doubtful, claim. George II was a partisan of the Austrian queen; and after France joined in the attack on the Hapsburg monarchy he had the English nation with him. The British people also had a sentimental interest in the struggle, for it was Maria Theresa's father whom William III and Marlborough had planned to place on the Spanish throne forty years before.

The Bourbon Family Compact. Another factor in the situation was Spain with which England at the time was fighting the tedious and uninteresting War of Jenkins' Ear. Since the peace of Utrecht the rulers of Spain and France were both of the Bourbon family. In 1733 the two kings entered into what was known as the Bourbon Family Compact, a secret treaty of alliance which in some degree bound the two nations to united action in the case of a European war. The compact was directed chiefly against England, whose rapid development along colonial and commercial lines caused much uneasiness in Paris and Madrid. It was renewed after ten years and again in 1759. The great powers of western Europe were thus grouped

into two hostile camps: Spain, France, and Prussia against England, Austria, and the Dutch Republic.

The War of the Austrian Succession. 1740-1748. England did not enter the war at its beginning; but Hanover was fighting on the side of Maria Theresa against Prussia, and the British kingdom was soon involved in the German conflict. In 1744 the English government formally declared war on France, and the old duel was resumed. English armies fought chiefly in the Netherlands but with little success; on the sea, however, England was still winning victories. Admiral Anson repeated the famous exploit of Francis Drake and Cavendish in the days of Elizabeth; with a small fleet of six badly equipped and poorly manned vessels he rounded Cape Horn, took some valuable Spanish prizes in the Pacific Ocean and returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1744 after an absence of nearly four years. Admiral Vernon had some slight successes in the Spanish Main; in his fleet served Lawrence Washington, the older brother of George Washington, and in honor of his commander he named his residence Mt. Vernon. In 1745 a combined English and colonial force, recruited largely in Massachusetts, laid siege to Louisbourg and forced the garrison to surrender. The following year the French seized Madras and it looked as if British power in southern India was doomed. But when peace was made the French king restored Madras to the East India Company in return for Louisbourg, to the great disgust of the New England colonials who had justly regarded the taking of Louisbourg as a real and important achievement.

The war was formally closed in 1748 by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Maria Theresa was allowed to keep nearly all the Hapsburg possessions; but the loss of Silesia to "that wicked man" Frederick and of certain Italian districts to the Spanish Bourbons gave Austria a pretext for seeking another war which came eight years later. England received nothing for her outlay and her trouble.

The "Young Pretender" in Great Britain. 1745. Soon after England had officially entered the war, the exiled Stuarts began to plan for a rising in their favor. "King James III," whose capital was now in Rome, had little faith in the success of any such venture, and did not sanction the activities of his

son Charles Edward, the "young pretender." With a few followers Prince Charles landed in the western Highlands and called upon the clans to rally about the old standard. The chiefs responded with only slight enthusiasm, but a considerable force was collected, nevertheless. Prince Charles proclaimed his father king and marched upon the old capital. Edinburgh surrendered and once more there was a Stuart in Holyrood House. But thus far only the Highlanders were actively interested in the Stuart cause; the Lowlanders were indifferent and even hostile. Charles now determined to invade England and the clansmen reluctantly agreed to follow him. With a considerable force he crossed the border at Carlisle and continued southward as far as Derby. But there he found large forces prepared to meet him and a retreat became necessary. This continued into the northern part of Scotland and ended with the defeat of the Stuart partisans at Culloden Moor (1746). The pretender, after wandering about in the Highlands for some time, finally escaped to the Continent. This was the last attempt to revive the Stuart cause. The second son of "James III," Cardinal York, or Henry IX, as he claimed to be, was glad in the closing years of his life to accept a pension from George III.

A new order in Scotland. The "forty-five" meant more than the passing of an ancient dynasty; it marked the end of the old order in Scotland. Two years after the failure at Culloden a series of very severe laws were passed by the British Parliament with a view to making future risings impossible. The clansmen were forbidden to wear their peculiar national dress; the Highland chiefs were deprived of their hereditary jurisdiction in their clans; and the clan system soon broke down. At the same time the clergy of the Lowlands began to show a greater interest in the affairs of the Celtic brethren, especially on the educational side. Schools were scarce in the Highlands, but now a number of primary schools were established and after the passing of half a century it could be said that every parish in Scotland had its primary school. The Lowlanders had finally decided to give the Union their loyal support and to seek their share of the material opportunities that it offered. But it was realized that all Scotsmen must learn the English language if they were to have a share in these

matters, and the English language was soon taught everywhere throughout the Highlands.

Henry Pelham, prime minister. 1744-1754. After the fall of Walpole Lord Carteret conducted the government for two years; but his enemies of the Walpole group fought him openly and in secret, till he was forced to retire from office. Henry Pelham, one of Walpole's lieutenants, became prime minister in 1744 and served as such till his death ten years later. Like his great predecessor, Pelham was an advocate of peace and struggled manfully against the renewal of warfare after the treaty of 1748. Like Walpole, too, he understood and practiced the art of corrupting members of Parliament. In this part of his official activities he had able assistance from his more famous brother, Thomas Pelham, duke of Newcastle. Newcastle had served in Walpole's cabinet for nearly two decades and was prominent in the English ministry for more than forty years. Though an able and crafty politician, he was a failure as a statesman. Newcastle was always running about, but he accomplished little of permanent importance. His ignorance of geography seems to have been quite dense, and his ethical ideas were sadly confused. His wealth was large and he spent it freely to maintain his position in the government and to secure favorable action on the measures supported by the Cabinet.

The "Diplomatic Revolution." Scarcely had the War of the Austrian Succession closed before the rulers of Europe began to prepare for a new and greater war. The eight years that followed the treaty of Aix la Chapelle witnessed a "Diplomatic Revolution," which led to a new alignment of the European states. The two rival dynasties, the Hapsburg and the Bourbon, those of Austria and France, which had fought each other for generations, now unexpectedly formed an alliance. This was the work of Maria Theresa, who was anxious to detach France and Spain from her enemy Frederick II of Prussia. France on her side had now begun to realize that her most dangerous enemy was not the Hapsburg dynasty but the island state of Great Britain with which she would soon have to try conclusions in the colonial field. The French were therefore glad to accept the Austrian proposal, and added sanction was given to the alliance by the betrothal of Maria Theresa's youthful

daughter, Marie Antoinette, to the young dauphin, Louis of France.

The French sphere of influence in India. Even before the hostile powers in Europe were ready to renew the war, the truce had been broken in the colonies, first in India and next on the American frontier. Dupleix had employed the years following the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in strengthening the alliance of the French company with the native princes. One after the other the rajahs and the governors entered into relations with Dupleix until he had outlined a vast sphere of French influence covering the greater part of the peninsula south of the Ganges basin. In 1751 it looked as if European influence in the Middle East was to center at Pondicherry.

Robert Clive. But in that year there came into prominence in southern India a man who in many respects was greater than Dupleix. Robert Clive had this advantage over his rival: he was a great soldier, which Dupleix was not. Dupleix's father had sent him to sea to cure him of his lazy and dreamy habits. Clive was sent to India because in his youthful waywardness he made life a misery for his neighbors in old Shropshire. For three years he held an important clerkship in the East Indian service, but soon after the capitulation of Madras he found his way into the army of the East India Company. The opportunity of the young soldier came in 1751, when the company intervened in a dispute over the succession at Arcot. Arcot was the seat of a Nawab who ruled the Carnatic as the deputy of the viceroy of the Deccan. Since Madras lay within the boundaries of this province, the English traders were naturally anxious that the ruling nawab (from whom the East India Company derived its privileges and to whom it paid a yearly rent) should be one who regarded their activities with comparative friendship. But now Dupleix had succeeded in forcing a pretender into the nawab's office, and it looked as if the English might be driven out of the Carnatic.

On the suggestion of Clive the English took the offensive. With a small force the young captain marched upon Arcot, took the city, and held it against a large native army assisted by French soldiery. From that day French prestige in the East began to wane. Three years later Dupleix was recalled: the French company was anxiously urging peace in the Orient in

order that trade might revive and profits once more flow into the treasuries of the corporation, while Duplex was using the energies of the company in the extension of French influence. After his departure Clive was easily the most important European in the Orient.

The westward movement in America. In America as in India the rival nations were preparing for a new conflict. The Alleghany valleys were filling up; pioneer settlers always feel the need of much room; and the tide of settlement had begun to force its way across the mountains to the valleys and prairies beyond. The strong Iroquois confederation in central and western New York blocked the westward movement in that direction and the collision came at a point on the route leading to the Ohio, where the headwaters of the Potomac and the Monongahela rivers interlace. Both the French and the English claimed the upper Ohio valley. The French, however, were the first to take military possession of the region: in 1753 they began to build a chain of forts from Lake Erie to the forks of the Ohio, the present site of Pittsburgh. George Washington's famous journey to the French commander of these forts was in the autumn of that year. He was sent out by the governor of Virginia to demand that the French withdraw, a demand which was naturally refused.

Virginia at war. Braddock's defeat. 1755. The following April war broke out between Virginia and Canada, but the Americans were defeated and forced to abandon western Pennsylvania. The duke of Newcastle, who had just succeeded his brother as chief of the British government, responded to the call for assistance by sending two regiments of English regulars to Virginia under the command of General Braddock. Braddock's mission was to drive the French from the upper Ohio and incidentally to teach the American frontiersmen how to fight. Early in the summer of 1755 Braddock began his march into the disputed territory and reached a point only a few miles from the forks of the Ohio, where his army was ambushed and destroyed.

The Acadians sent into exile. 1755. Several other expeditions were planned for the same summer but all failed except one against the French forts on the border of Nova Scotia. This colony had been an English possession since the treaty of

Utrecht; but its inhabitants were principally French, and the English feared that the enemy might attempt to reëstablish themselves in the old Acadian settlements. To secure permanent possession brutal measures were decided upon. A few weeks after Braddock's defeat the French inhabitants were gathered together, placed on board English ships, and scattered through the Atlantic settlements. English settlers took the places of the exiled French and, though many of the Acadians found their way back to their old homes, Nova Scotia soon became a thoroughly British colony.

The Seven Years' War. 1756-1763. A year after the English disaster in western Pennsylvania Frederick II broke the peace in Germany and was soon engaged in a desperate conflict with the Austrian queen and her French ally. England became involved in this war on the side of the Prussian king. She was now engaged in three separate wars against the French. In India the English and the French East India Company had been fighting for supremacy almost continuously since Clive's attack on Arcot in 1751. In America the English colonists were struggling to conquer Canada and secure the West. In Europe the rulers of Austria and Prussia were fighting over German territory. In the last conflict, the great Seven Years' War, nearly all the nations of Europe were involved and several wonderful campaigns were fought, chiefly on German soil. But still more important were the campaigns fought by the French and the English on the far distant frontiers in the East and the West, for these were to determine the possession and the control of vast territorial areas and great commercial opportunities in Asia and the New World.

In Europe, as in America, the war began with disaster for the English. In June, 1756, the French seized the island of Minorca which the English had held since the peace of Utrecht. The English power in the Mediterranean crumbled before a single blow. The nation was aroused. It was a time when England needed real statesmanship in the government. But the administration was still controlled by the impossible Newcastle, whose mouthpiece and chief reliance in the House of Commons was a brilliant but corrupt politician, Henry Fox. Newcastle had never had the confidence of the English people, and after the loss of Minorca such a loud and threatening pro-

test rose throughout the country that the fussy old minister was terrified. Fox deserted him and the ministry resigned.

William Pitt. The nation now called for William Pitt, and George II found it expedient to heed the call. Pitt was the greatest Parliamentary orator of the age. He was known to be absolutely honest and incorruptible, and he was almost the only public man of national prominence who enjoyed such a reputation. The king, however, had long refused to admit "the Great Commoner" to his cabinet. As one of the leaders of the opposition in Parliament, Pitt had frequently fought measures that were dear to the king's heart; and there had been times when George II had felt (and perhaps with reason) that the keen sarcasm of the mighty orator was intended for himself and not for his ministers. Furthermore, Pitt's great administrative abilities were known to himself only. "I know that I can save this nation and that no one else can," is a remark credited to Pitt in 1756. Toward the close of that year he was admitted to office as secretary of state. But George II, who regarded himself as peculiarly fitted for military leadership, had certain plans for the war on the Continent which Pitt opposed. After four months of service the intractable minister was dismissed.

But it was not long before George II was compelled to recall Pitt to the Cabinet. An alliance was formed between Pitt and Newcastle and the two entered the ministry together. To this combination William Pitt contributed his splendid abilities; Newcastle his control of the Whig membership in Parliament. Pitt's intellect developed the necessary plans and measures; Newcastle's following secured their adoption by Parliament. The two men disliked and at times even despised each other, but neither could do without the other. Newcastle was to be nominal chief of the government, Pitt one of the two secretaries of state. As such he had the direction of foreign affairs and was given almost a free hand in the management of the war.

The English government now began to show unusual energy. Pitt was domineering and hard to please; he could not work well with other men; he was much afflicted with the gout — at times he was almost an invalid. But he was confident and vigorous and knew how to inspire the nation with his own assurance that victory could not fail to come. He planned

the campaigns and sought out the best possible men to carry them through. It had long been a Whig custom to give important offices as rewards to favorites and political henchmen. This custom ceased when Pitt came into power: his appointments were usually made on the basis of merit. He took a large view of the field of war, a view that included every part of the world where Frenchmen and Englishmen were likely to come into conflict. While King George regarded the struggle as an effort chiefly to defend and preserve his beloved Hanover, Pitt looked upon it as a war for supremacy in North America, in the Orient, and on the ocean. He sent soldiers and money into Germany that France might be kept busy in those quarters (and Frederick II kept the French generals exceedingly busy), while Clive, Amherst, Wolfe, Hawke, Rodney, and Boscawen seized the French colonies and destroyed the French fleet.

The war on the Canadian frontier. After a few months the results of Pitt's labors began to appear. The years 1758 and 1759 are among the most glorious in the history of English warfare. The victories of those two years were gained chiefly in America and on the ocean. Pitt's plans were especially concerned with Canada. The great minister planned four campaigns: one against Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, which remained a constant menace to the colonies in Nova Scotia and New England; another against the French forts on Lake Champlain, which closed the route northward from New York along the valley of the Hudson and Lake Champlain; a third in the direction of Fort Duquesne at the Forks of the Ohio, which controlled the upper stretches of the Ohio valley; finally, an attack on Quebec. By adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the colonial authorities Pitt secured their coöperation in all these movements. A large part of the forces used against the French in America was recruited in the colonies.

A "year of victories." Louisbourg fell in July before a combined land and naval attack directed by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen. The following month Fort Frontenac was seized and the English gained control of the southern shore of Lake Ontario. In November Colonel George Washington raised the British flag over the ruins of Fort Duquesne and the gate to the West swung open. A few months later

the fortress was restored and named Fort Pitt in honor of the great minister. New victories came with the following spring. Guadeloupe, an important colony in the West Indies, surrendered to the English in May. Two months later Fort Niagara, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga fell into English hands, and the way was open to Montreal and Quebec. In August Admiral Boscawen encountered the French Mediterranean fleet as it was on its way northward to join the Atlantic fleet at Brest in a projected attack on the English shores. The battle was fought at Lagos near the southern extremity of Portugal: the French suffered a decisive defeat. In September General James Wolfe, who had spent the summer in trying to reduce the great fortress of Quebec succeeded in forcing his able opponent, the Marquis Montcalm, to come out and fight him on the Plains of Abraham, a stretch of highland to the rear of the stronghold. Both generals fell, but the English were victorious. The next year General Amherst completed the conquest of Canada by compelling the surrender of the French forces at Montreal (September, 1760).

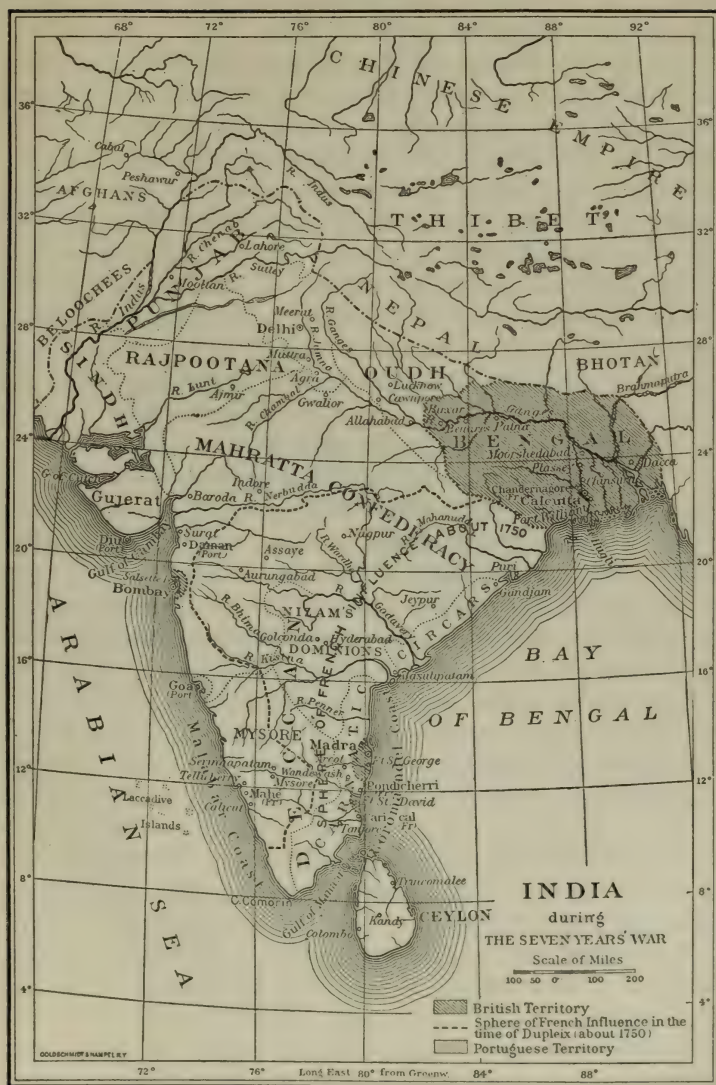
The "year of victories" closed with Admiral Hawke's defeat of the French at Quiberon Bay. The French maintained two great naval stations, one at Toulon on the Mediterranean and another at Brest on the Atlantic. The Toulon fleet had been ruined at Lagos; the Brest fleet was closely blockaded by an English fleet under Admiral Hawke, the greatest naval commander of the age. The autumn was stormy and Hawke was compelled to withdraw to the English coast. The French admiral now left the harbor of Brest, the plan being to use his fleet in an attack on Ireland for which a considerable force had been gathered at Vannes on the southern coast of Brittany. But before he had proceeded very far he encountered Hawke's fleet which had just returned to the Breton coast. In the battle that followed the French ships were scattered, destroyed, or driven ashore. France still had powerful armies which she could use against Frederick of Prussia, but against the island kingdom she was helpless.

War in Bengal. 1756-1757. The British success in America had a close parallel in India. Clive followed up the victory at Arcot with further expeditions until English influence was dominant over a large area in southern India. His success

seems even more wonderful when it is remembered that his forces were composed largely of native Sepoys, supported by a small number of Englishmen recruited chiefly from the lowest classes in London. From the Carnatic Clive had his attention turned to Bengal, where the prestige of the company had suffered a serious reverse. Early in 1756 Suraj-ud-Dowlah, a young Mohammedan fanatic, had come into power as viceroy of Bengal. Suraj-ud-Dowlah hated all Europeans and planned to oust the East India Company from his territories. Pretexts for an attack were easily found. In June the nawab proceeded against the trading post with a large army and seized the company's fort. Though he had graciously promised to respect the lives of the prisoners, he now ordered them to be confined, 146 in number, in the company's prison, a room less than twenty feet square, which has since been known as the Black Hole of Calcutta. When the doors were opened the following morning only twenty-three were still alive.

When the news of this barbarous deed came to Madras, the authorities determined to send an expedition to Bengal. Clive, who now held a colonel's commission, was placed in command. With 900 British soldiers and 1500 Sepoys he landed in Bengal just before the close of the year. He reëstablished the ruined factory, defeated the Bengalese army, and forced the frightened nawab to make suitable amends for his cruel treatment of the English garrison.

The battle of Plassey. 1757. Meanwhile news had come of the renewal of war in Europe. Clive now turned against the French at Chandernagore and forced the garrison to surrender. It is believed that the nawab was intriguing with the French, at least he had forbidden Clive to attack them. Angered at the aggression of the English he set forth with a large army to crush the hated foreigners. But there was treason in his camp, and his generals could not compare with Clive on the field of battle. In June, 1757, almost a year after the tragedy of the Black Hole, Clive's little army of fewer than 3000 men met a native host of more than 50,000 at Plassey about seventy-five miles north of Calcutta, and the Bengalese were put to flight. Suraj-ud-Dowlah fled and a native nobleman, who seemed willing to serve as the company's tool and who paid generously for the honor, was made viceroy of Bengal. The



influence of the East India Company now began to spread up the valley of the Ganges and Calcutta took the place of Madras as the center of British power in India.

Defeat of the French at Wandewash. 1760. A year later the French made an effort to recover their strength in the Carnatic but without success. In 1760 they were completely defeated at Wandewash by an English force under the command of Colonel Eyre Coote. Pondicherri was next invested and after a few months the garrison surrendered. French power in the great peninsula was now a thing of the past. After 1761 the East India Company had no serious rival in Hindustan. When peace was made Great Britain restored Pondicherri, Chandernagore, and various other points to the French, and these have since belonged to the French government. But the French possessions in India are mere trading posts. In area they comprise less than two hundred square miles.

The status of the East India Company in India. The victories of Clive and Eyre Coote had won for the East India Company an almost unassailable position in the Mogul dominions; but the company was still merely a great trading concern and not in any sense a sovereign power. Sovereignty, or what practically amounted to sovereign authority, was acquired in 1765 by a grant from the emperor at Delhi. In that year and in that transaction the British empire in India was born. What the great shah conferred was the *dewani* of Bengal and two neighboring districts, by which is meant the right to collect the revenues in those territories. Thus the company became enrolled among the ministers of the emperor at Delhi, exercising a function that gave wide authority. Technically the company served the nawab of Bengal and the emperor at Delhi; but in reality its officials were practically independent rulers, for behind them stood the growing power of the British empire of which the East India company had become an important part.

Threatened war with Spain. In the meantime a new war had broken out in western Europe. In 1759 Charles III succeeded to the many crowns of the Spanish monarchy. Charles was more energetic and aggressive than his melancholy predecessor, Ferdinand VI. He promptly renewed the Bourbon compact with Louis XV of France. William Pitt, realizing

that war with Spain was sure to come, was eager to strike the first blow. But in England, too, there was a new king. George II had died in the autumn of 1760, and his successor, George III, was anxious to negotiate a general peace. For a year Pitt labored with the king, urging him to secure the advantages of an early declaration of war; but George was obdurate; his thoughts were on peace, not on war.

The closing campaigns. In the summer of 1761 William Pitt planned his last campaign, an attack on Martinique, the only important possession still remaining to the French in the West Indies. In January an English fleet commanded by Admiral Rodney appeared before the forts of Martinique, and less than a month later the French governor surrendered the island. Nearly the whole series of the Lesser Antilles was now under British control.

The resignation of William Pitt. With the actual preparations for this campaign William Pitt had, however, little to do. In October the great minister had suddenly resigned from the Cabinet. A new government was organized under the leadership of Lord Bute, a Scottish nobleman who had long been a close friend of the young king. Three months later the new government broke with Spain, and a war began which continued till the close of the year. The Bute ministry sent out two expeditions: one against Havana and the other against Manila in the Philippine Islands. Havana fell in the summer; Manila was taken in the autumn. When peace was made Havana was exchanged for Florida; Manila was restored to Spain without condition.

The treaty of Paris. 1763. After a period of protracted negotiations extending over nearly two years a treaty was finally signed at Paris in February, 1763. In this treaty England received great additions to her empire. Her supremacy in India was recognized, and her boundaries in America were advanced to the Mississippi River. The island of Minorca was restored to her, and Great Britain resumed her place as a power in the Mediterranean. England further received several small islands in the West Indies, but the more important English conquests in that quarter, Martinique and Guadeloupe, were restored to the French. The greatest changes wrought by the treaty were on the mainland of North America, from

which the French withdrew entirely. Canada and nearly all the territory east of the Mississippi were added to the British dominions. Louisiana was transferred to Spain. France was allowed to keep the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon near the southern coast of Newfoundland, but as fishing stations only; these still remain a French possession.

But great as the territorial acquisitions of Great Britain were, there were Englishmen who felt that too many of Pitt's conquests were being restored. William Pitt opposed the treaty in the House of Commons in a speech criticising especially the restoration of French possessions in India and the West Indies. Not until Newcastle through his old accomplice Henry Fox had made an extensive purchase of Parliamentary votes did the friends of the treaty care to ask a formal approval of the preliminary terms. But the sentiment for peace was overwhelming and before long the three wars that had raged so long in Europe, in India, and in North America, were officially brought to a close.

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CHAPTER XIX

THE REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

George III. 1760–1820. George III was the grandson of George II. At the time of his accession he was twenty-two years old and for nearly sixty years he wore the crown of the British kingdom. Prince George had been a most excellent and proper youth and was in this respect such a contrast to his royal ancestors that he promised to become a popular king. There was also the important fact that he was born in England and took evident pride in his British nationality. The year after his accession he married a German princess, Charlotte of Mecklenburg, who had all the domestic virtues that her royal husband appreciated so highly but few of the other qualities needed in an English queen. George III was a man of the best intentions: he strove manfully to be a model king; but the task was too much for him. Like his Hanoverian ancestors he could be firm and resolute when he chose to be; but his resolution was not always founded on good sense. His intellect was not vigorous; his thoughts were often vague; his speech was rambling and stuttering. On several occasions the strain of government was too severe for his frail intellect and his mind wandered off into darkness; during the last nine years of his life he was hopelessly insane.

His father, Frederick the prince of Wales, having died when George was only twelve years of age, the young prince received most of his education under the direction of his mother, who came from a little absolute monarchy in Germany. Her training was summed up in the repeated admonition: "George, be a king." George took the advice to heart and resolved to be a real king, such as William III had been. Between his father and his grandfather there had been constant hostility. The opposition to Walpole had centered about the prince of Wales; at his residence the followers of Pulteney and Bolingbroke had frequently gathered to discuss measures and to plan courses

of action. Bolingbroke's ideas were the accepted political philosophy of this group, and George III tried to realize these in his methods of government. The "patriot king" should be above party, he should be free to select his ministers from any political group or faction, and they should be held responsible to him alone. The king ought, indeed, to govern according to the constitution; but monarchy had a right to more extensive powers of initiative and was entitled to greater discretionary authority than the Whig theory would seem to allow. It was not the purpose of King George to establish an absolutistic régime like that of contemporary France, or to imitate the personal monarchy of the Stuarts: he wished merely to regain the power which, since the days of William III, had passed from the king to the Cabinet or, more correctly, to the prime minister.

George III and William Pitt. The new king realized that no experiment with strong government according to the theories of Bolingbroke was likely to succeed while the nation was still at war. Until peace could be made he would have to be satisfied to leave the substance of power in the skilful hands of William Pitt. Consequently King George was sincerely anxious for a speedy peace. An early peace, however, was not a part of Pitt's plan. England was roused; her enemies were beaten; her navy was in an excellent condition; and William Pitt held that peace should not be made until all the possible rivals of Britain were thoroughly humbled. A war with Spain seemed inevitable and the great minister urged that England should take the initiative. King George was anxious to retain Pitt in his service; Pitt had been a "Patriot" Whig and had expressed his belief in Bolingbroke's political theory; perhaps he could be useful in carrying out the new plans. But on the subject of peace and war the two men were in complete disagreement, and the great statesman found it expedient to resign (1761). His successor, the earl of Bute, was a man of no great ability or political ambition. His ministry, which endured for a little more than a year only, had for its special task to bring the troublesome war to a close. When this was accomplished, Bute resigned.

Factional differences in the Whig Party. The year 1763 saw the king free to begin his experiment with a stronger king-

ship. In many respects the times were favorable for such an undertaking. The king was popular. The Cabinet was friendly. The party which had robbed the monarchy of its ancient rights and prerogatives was split up into factions. One of these, the so-called Old Whigs, was led by the Marquis of Rockingham, who, though a highly respected peer, was wholly wanting in the qualities necessary to political leadership. The most prominent member of the Old Whig following was Edmund Burke, the famous Irish orator, who entered the House in 1765 as the representative of an English borough. Another and somewhat larger group of Whigs was led by the duke of Bedford. The Bedfordites were conservative and showed some leaning toward Toryism. Later they came to be known as the "Bloomsbury gang," and acquired the reputation of being for sale, though always as a group. A small number of able and vigorous Parliamentary leaders rallied around William Pitt; but the great "Commoner" was temperamentally unable to work with men whose opinions were at variance with his own, and could, therefore, not count on a strong following. A fourth faction looked for leadership to George Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law, a narrow politician with excellent intentions but a sluggish and prosy mind.

George III did not enter upon any opposition to the Whigs, nor did he try to reorganize the remnants of the old Tory party; he proceeded to build up a following of his own, which soon came to be called the "King's Friends." Though the king's faction readily absorbed such Tory elements as were still in existence, the larger part of the membership held to the Whig tradition. Circumstances, however, soon forced the entire group in the direction of Toryism, for it was scarcely possible to accept the ideas and the purposes of George III without taking Tory ground.

The king's political methods. To secure the support of these men, the king and his political agents made use of extremely questionable methods. Sometimes the royal favor would take the form of titles, honors, or decorations. When something more substantial became necessary the king would give offices or other forms of income. If these considerations should prove ineffective, the appeal was made in cold cash. In his political methods King George, whose honor in private life

was unimpeachable, proved a zealous follower of the two great devotees of corruption, Walpole and Newcastle.

Problems of imperial organization and defense. After the treaty of Paris and the resignation of Lord Bute, the ministry was reorganized with George Grenville as prime minister. Grenville had no capacity as a statesman and for the task at hand he was utterly incapable. This task was nothing less than to form a new constitution for the British empire. The British possessions were as diverse as they were extensive. Some of the colonies, like Virginia and Barbados, were a century and a half old; other settlements, like Nova Scotia, were comparatively new. New England was English; Canada was French. The West Indies were tropical; the colonies along the North American coast lay wholly within the temperate belt. The territories of the two great trading corporations, the Hudson Bay Company which operated in regions bordering on the Arctic, and the East India Company which dealt in tropical products, were also under the English flag. The problem was how to find a form of organization or to create some organ of authority that would bring all these possessions into proper relations with the home government, one that would be efficient and satisfactory and at the same time not too expensive. So far as history can determine, there was no statesman or politician in England in the earlier years of George III's reign who had the wisdom and the energy necessary to find a solution for this problem.

The American West; the Proclamation Line. The most urgent feature of the new situation was the question what to do with the American West. By the treaty of Paris Great Britain had come into possession of half a million square miles of forest and prairie land extending from the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River. This great area was occupied almost exclusively by Indian tribes. At a few points American pioneers had crossed the mountains and had established outposts on the western slope. These were the vanguard of a strong and vigorous element in the older settlements which was eager to come into control of the beautiful lands beyond the frontier.

From the point of view of his Majesty's government the Western problem presented four distinct aspects. (1) The con-

viction was quite general that the old duel with France would be resumed, that sooner or later the French king would attempt to regain his lost possessions. It was therefore necessary to strengthen the military forces in America, especially along the colonial frontier. (2) This new military establishment would serve to protect the older colonies, and these ought, therefore, to contribute toward its maintenance. (3) An attempt ought to be made to win the old allies of the French, the Western Indians, to the English allegiance; to accomplish this it might be advisable for a time at least to forbid colonization on the hunting grounds of the Red Men. (4) There was also a hope that a profitable Indian trade might be developed, and to this end it was proposed to place all the trading activities in the West under imperial control.

The course of action which was ultimately adopted by the Grenville ministry was outlined by Lord Shelburne, a young Irish nobleman, who served for a few months as president of the board of trade. In October, 1763, it was announced that a line, subsequently known as the Proclamation Line, would be run along the Alleghany watershed and that settlement west of this line was forbidden. It was apparently not in either Shelburne's or Grenville's plan to close the West permanently; the progress of settlement was to be stayed only until satisfactory arrangements could be made with the neighboring Indian tribes for a part of their land in return for compensation. Moreover the government believed that it was undesirable for the time being to plant settlements very far into the interior, as the distance and the mountains would make protection difficult.

Colonial defense. The Stamp Act. 1765. The act that located the Proclamation Line was not popular in America, but even more unpopular was Grenville's theory that the colonies ought to share in the expense of maintaining an army on the frontier. The authorities in London estimated that twenty regiments would be required, for the frontier was long and the settled area was extensive. But just after an expensive war the English taxpayers would not be likely to relish the outlay that a military establishment would call for. It was therefore determined to force the Americans to share in the expense and the expedient finally adopted was a tax on stamped paper.

This form of tax was new in the colonies and proved so unpopular as to be almost impossible to enforce. In some of the larger American cities the merchants signed agreements not to import certain British products after January 1, and preparations were made for an extensive boycott of British wares.

The Stamp Act received the royal assent in March. In July King George, who had never cared for Grenville and was much annoyed by his interminable speeches when he came to present business to his august sovereign, dismissed the ministry. After trying in vain to interest Pitt and his following, the king reluctantly turned to the Old Whigs, and Rockingham undertook the duty to form a Cabinet. The new government induced Parliament to repeal the offensive act. But Rockingham proved unable to develop a constructive policy of any sort, and when he, in his turn, was dismissed a few months later, the problem of how to maintain an army in America was still without solution.

The ministry of Lord Chatham. William Pitt had finally agreed to form a Cabinet along the lines advocated by Bolingbroke, one that should be constructed without reference to party or faction. But the great Commoner (who was now created earl of Chatham) did not actually succeed in building a government on a very "broad bottom;" his ministry was of the coalition type and had to find support in two or three of the leading factions in Parliament. Chatham saw three great problems awaiting solution and announced his policies accordingly. (1) He wished to form an alliance with Russia and Prussia to balance the Bourbon Family Compact of the ruling dynasties in France and Spain. (2) He believed that the East India Company should be deprived of its character as a governing corporation and that its territorial possessions should be taken over by the British crown. (3) He hoped to deal with the American problem in a way that should satisfy all the chief interests involved. Of these questions the third was the most insistent at the time. But Chatham did not prove equal to the task assumed. His health was frail. The intricacies of the American question were baffling. Chatham soon lost interest in the government and for a period of two years failed to appear in Parliament. So the nation drifted along without the guidance of a prime minister, for there was no man in the

Cabinet of sufficient strength or political prestige to assume the leadership.

Townshend's revenue measures. The repeal of the Stamp Act had not wholly disposed of the plan to make the colonies contribute to the imperial treasury. In 1767, Charles Townshend, a brilliant but indiscreet politician who held the important office of chancellor of the exchequer succeeded in passing through Parliament a series of measures for the taxation of America by means of a tariff or import duty on various articles in general use, such as glass, paper, tea, painters' colors, and red and white lead. The quarrel between the colonies and Parliament now broke out afresh and led to much rioting in the American ports. But in their opposition to these measures the colonies were at a disadvantage, as some of their leaders had on earlier occasions admitted the right of the English government to levy taxes on imports. The agitation gradually subsided, however, and in 1768 it seemed as if quiet might be restored.

Drifting toward war. 1768-1772. But now followed a series of events which served to inflame the passions on both sides of the ocean and to make war inevitable. In the eighteenth century there was much smuggling both in America and in the British Isles. So general was the practice that customs duties were not very profitable. Grenville had found in 1764 that it cost nearly £8000 to collect a colonial customs revenue of £2000. Stringent measures to reduce the evil of smuggling were adopted in that year but to little purpose. In 1768 the British revenue officers seized a sloop bearing the attractive name of *Liberty* and belonging to John Hancock, a Boston merchant. The *Liberty* was strongly suspected of smuggling. The result of the seizure was to revive the belligerent spirit in Boston and to focus American thought on the question of indirect taxation.

In 1770 the passions were further stirred by a riot in Boston, usually known as the "Boston Massacre," in which three Americans were killed. A month later Parliament on the advice of Lord North, who had succeeded Chatham as prime minister, repealed the Townshend Acts; but to assert the principle of Parliamentary taxation, the members voted to retain a nominal tax on imported tea. It was probably not the protests of the colonies which led to this repeal, but the com-

plaints of the English merchants, who found that the Americans were importing very little English merchandise. As a revenue-producing measure the Townshend Acts had consequently proved a total failure.

The retention of the tea tax called forth much resentment in America. Important, too, in the growth of hostile sentiment was the burning in June, 1772, of an English revenue schooner, the *Gaspée*, by angry Rhode Islanders, who felt the crew had not been sufficiently lenient in its enforcement of the revenue laws. As in this case the British flag was violated, the effect on English public opinion can be imagined. The next year an attack on the property of the East India Company by citizens of Boston practically ruined the cause of the colonies in England.

The Regulating Act (1773) and the tea trade. The victories of Plassey and Wandewash had been won by the East India Company, whose real function, after all, was commerce, not war and conquest. Since war is expensive, the company soon found itself in financial difficulties, and it became necessary for the government to take a hand in the management of its affairs. In 1773 Parliament passed a Regulating Act which in a measure deprived the company of its authority in India but in return gave it a trading privilege, which, it was hoped, would help to create profits and dividends. Formerly all the tea which was to be sold in America first had to be shipped to an English port where an import duty was collected. Now it was enacted that shipments to the colonies might be made direct. As the tax in England was thus avoided, the company could afford to cheapen its price to the American customers. Under the new arrangement it was even possible to buy tea at a lower price in America than in England; the tax on tea in England being twelve pence per pound, while in America the duty was only three pence. But the East India Company made the fatal mistake of consigning its first shipments to merchants who were regarded as friendly to the British government, or were of the type later known as American Tories. Thus a new form of resentment appeared alongside the earlier hostility to import duties. The tea ships that came to New York and Philadelphia were refused permission to unload their cargoes and were forced to take the tea back to England. A similar

procedure was planned in Boston, but the authorities failed to take the necessary action. On the night of December 16, a number of men disguised as Indians boarded the ships and threw the tea to the amount of \$90,000 in value into the bay.

The coercive acts. 1774. This procedure was too violent for the Whigs, whose belief in the sacred rights of property was still a treasured principle. Even Chatham, who had disapproved of Townshend's revenue plans, felt called upon to protest. "The violence committed upon the tea cargo is certainly criminal," he wrote when the news of the riot reached him. As the East India Company naturally wanted the damage repaired, Parliament demanded that Massachusetts should make adequate reparation. A series of four measures were rushed through the houses: one was the Boston Port Bill, which closed the port of Boston and allowed no ship to load or unload until satisfaction should be rendered for the tea; another revoked in part the charter of Massachusetts and gave extensive powers to the governor, who was appointed by the king; a third provided that English officials accused of crime committed in any colony while carrying out instructions from the British government should be tried in England; finally, by a fourth act the military authorities were empowered to seize and use public buildings for barracks purposes. A fifth measure, the Quebec Act, extended the boundaries of Quebec westward and south-westward to the Ohio and the Mississippi. This measure seems not to have been directed against the colonies; its purpose was to bring all the French settlements into one province and to place them under a single governor.

Lord North. The sponsor for these coercive laws was the prime minister, Frederick North, better known as Lord North. He had entered Pitt's cabinet in 1767 as chancellor of the exchequer in succession to Charles Townshend; in 1770 he was chosen to lead the king's government, in which position he remained for twelve years. Lord North was a prime minister after the king's own heart. Though a highly gifted and able man, he made no pretense at directing the ministry or controlling its policies; gracefully and obediently he took the king's orders and tried to carry them out as the king wished. Lord North did not always find the king's plans wise; but that fact was, in his opinion, no valid reason for objecting or re-

signing, for so long as the king wished him to lead the administration, it was his duty to remain at the helm. The prime minister's plans to force America into obedience were not accepted without opposition; but this opposition did not necessarily grow out of active sympathy for the colonies. The Old Whigs felt that the crown was becoming too influential in the ministerial councils; such leaders as Rockingham, Chatham, and Shelburne therefore opposed the coercive acts in large part because they were leading an opposition to a government which was not truly Whig and felt that they ought, consequently, to raise objections to every important proposal that came from Lord North and his royal master.

British soldiers in Boston. The five coercive acts were passed in the early months of 1774. The twelvemonth that followed was a fateful year for the colonial cause. The militant Americans now had no choice but to advance or to retreat. The leaders were unwilling to retreat. The English government prepared to execute the coercive acts and sent soldiers to Boston which was the center of the rebellion. The colonists on their side began to organize military companies and to collect munitions of war. The result was the American Revolution.

Navigation Acts and Trade Acts. The causes that led to the secession of the American colonies from the British empire have been variously stated: as a rule emphasis has been placed on the unwise policy of taxation that the English Parliament adopted after the treaty of Paris and on the enforcement of old laws which governed and restricted colonial commerce and manufactures. Of these laws there were two leading classes: the Navigation Acts, which appeared for the first time in their modern form in the days of Cromwell and practically forced all the colonial commerce into English channels; and the Trade Acts, which forbade the people of the colonies to follow certain lines of manufacturing on the ground that their products would come into competition with those of the mother country. It should not be forgotten, however, that membership in the British empire also had its compensations, even on the commercial side. Certain colonial industries, ship-building among others, were actively encouraged by the trade regulations of the home government. The Virginia planter had a market for

his tobacco in the British kingdom which no alien producer was permitted to share. Rice from the Carolinas might be shipped directly from the colonies to the Mediterranean ports. In various ways, by means of bounties, privileges, reduced tariffs, and the like, Parliament had sought to stimulate certain lines of trade and production in the colonies, but its methods were not always of the most intelligent sort.

The West Indian trade: the Molasses Act and the Sugar Act. The colonial merchants had a real grievance in the Molasses Act (1733), which was an effort to regulate colonial trade in the Caribbean Sea. The traders of New York and New England were in the habit of shipping lumber, live stock, and provisions to the West Indies and to exchange these for sugar and molasses. The molasses was usually manufactured into rum, which seems to have become an indispensable article of commerce to the slave trader and the Indian trader. At first this commerce was directed almost exclusively toward the British West Indies; but the American merchants soon discovered that the French and the Dutch planters were more thrifty than their easy-going English rivals and could sell their produce at a cheaper rate. The Americans continued to sell their wares to the English planters but usually demanded coin in payment, with which they would then buy sugar and molasses in the French and Dutch islands. This practice proved disastrous to the British planters; their country was drained of specie and they were forced to depend more than ever before on the markets of distant lands.

In their distress they called upon Parliament which responded with an act levying a heavy tariff on sugar and molasses imported to the colonies from the Dutch and French West Indies. If this Molasses Act could have been enforced it would have seriously hampered the development of colonial commerce. But the Americans were able to evade its provisions in various ways and continued their trade with the French as before. In 1764 the law was reënacted as the Sugar Act: the tariff duties were reduced by one-half, and a determined effort was made to enforce its provisions. But by this time colonial production had far outgrown the possibilities of the market in the English West Indies; the American distillers had also found that they could use more molasses than the British planters could conveniently

sell. The chief result of the Sugar Act was that it alienated the commercial elements in the colonies, which, under normal circumstances, might be depended upon to favor continued union with Great Britain.

The fundamental causes of the Revolution. Another source of irritation was the plan to establish a vast Indian reservation beyond the Proclamation Line, a policy which threatened to place a definite limit to colonial expansion into the West. No doubt all these laws and policies had their importance in unifying the various colonial elements in opposition to British aggression. The New England merchants complained of the restrictions on colonial commerce. In Pennsylvania and Virginia there was keen hunger for western lands. It seems, however, that the real causes of the American Revolution had roots running deeper into English history and deeper into the American mind.

1. Lack of loyal interest in the British government. The first important fact to note is the lack of active loyalty to the English government. To many Americans England had been an arbitrary and unkind mother; to a greater number she had never been a mother. The majority of the Americans of English blood were the descendants of ancestors who had left their homes because the conditions created by the English government had made life unbearable. It was the men whom King James had threatened to 'harry out of the land' and whom Charles and Laud had tried to force into conformity to Anglican standards who laid the foundations of New England. Later the Puritans in America were reënforced by dissenters who fled from the requirements of the Clarendon Code in the reign of Charles II. Massachusetts had never been cheerfully obedient to the home government: the colony planned resistance in 1634, grudgingly accepted Charles II in 1660, fought Governor Andros in 1688, and was never wholly reconciled to the settlement dictated by William III in 1691.

In the middle and southern colonies the situation was somewhat different: here the difficulty lay in the fact that the population had flowed from so many diverse sources. Many nations had contributed to the population of these settlements: the Netherlands, the German Rhineland, Ireland, Sweden, England, and other countries. What loyalty there was in the settlements

along the Hudson and the Delaware was likely to be of a passive sort; for the Dutchman, the German, and the Swede could scarcely have developed any fervent love for England. Along the western frontier were the Germans and the Scotch-Irish occupying the valleys that ran from southern New York to western Carolina. Of these the latter, at least, whom Anglican intolerance had forced to leave their homes in Ireland, could scarcely have cherished deep gratitude to the British crown.

The fact that so large a part of the colonial population was of non-English origin is one of unusual importance. In 1700 the colonies had a population of about 250,000, with the English as the controlling element. When the revolution broke out in 1775, the total was at least 3,000,000. It is clear that this tremendous increase must be attributed largely to immigration, chiefly from western Germany and northern Ireland.

2. Lack of respect for English statute law. Throughout the American colonies there was a general lack of respect for English statute law. This was due to the fact that the colonial population was composed in such large part of dissenters. The laws against dissent were not enforced on the American mainland. James I did not excuse the Pilgrims from the demands of the Anglican establishment but promised to "connive." Roman Catholic worship, though proscribed in England, was allowed in Maryland. After the Restoration the men and women who violated the Clarendon Code or were unwilling to honor its demands were welcomed in Clarendon's own colony; Charles II showed an interest in the Quakers who had emigrated to Massachusetts that he did not display for their brethren in England. This situation led unavoidably to the belief that ordinarily the religious and ecclesiastical legislation of the English Parliament did not apply in America. In part this may explain the easy consciences of the American merchants with respect to violations of the Navigation Acts and the apparent respectability of smuggling; for if one set of laws might properly be ignored, why not others that came from the same source? At the same time the British government had always been careless in the enforcement of the statutes in the colonies, and this neglect had fostered a growing conviction that these were not intended to be enforced beyond the seas.

3. The pioneer spirit: individualism. Another important

factor was the individualism of pioneer life and of frontier society. In the new settlements civilization had to be built from the bottom up. The colonists were thrown on their own personal resources; as a result self-dependence and independence were developed to a high point in the pioneer spirit. This fact fostered the growth of a provincial feeling, it led to a larger emphasis on the locality. Moreover, this development could not be modified to any appreciable extent by any interest in the wider world; for very little European news came to the American farmstead, and the larger movements, of which the American pioneer did learn from time to time, he understood very imperfectly. This set of facts applied in particular to the frontier, where the individualistic type of mind was everywhere in evidence. Some of the more important leaders of the Revolutionary movement came from the newer areas of settlement. In the years before the Revolution George Washington spent much of his time as a surveyor on the frontier. Thomas Jefferson was more distinctly a product of the newer environment: most of his life was passed in western Virginia close to the mountains of the Blue Ridge.

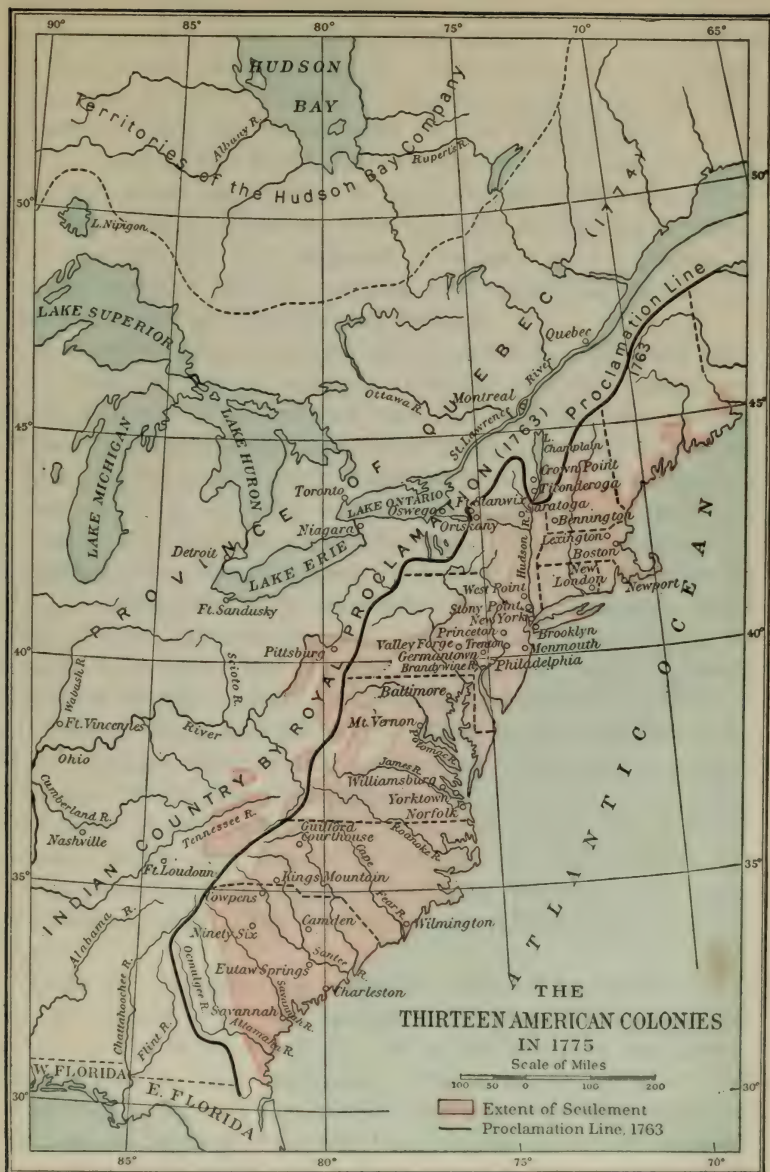
4. The changes in the English constitution not understood in America. Significant, too, is the great change that came in the English constitution in the two generations following the settlement of 1689. We have seen that during the eighteenth century the substance of power and authority passed to a large extent from the king and the Privy Council to the Cabinet and Parliament. This process was imperfectly understood in America and its result was not accepted by the colonial leaders. Hence, when Parliament undertook to exercise its newer constitutional powers in the colonies, its acts were looked upon as usurpation. The colonies had their charters from the king and claimed to be subject to no other power. They had been accustomed to bring their problems and their grievances before the Privy Council and the secretaries of state; but these were the king's council and the king's officials. The right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies is expressly denied in the Declaration of Independence: "He [George III] has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation." It was generally agreed,

however, that Parliament could pass laws to regulate commerce, such statutes having been enacted for more than a century.

In their opposition to Parliamentary authority the colonial leaders received moral support from certain Whig elements in the British Parliament. These tried to distinguish closely between the right to legislate and the right to levy taxes. That Parliament had a right to legislate for the colonies no prominent Englishman cared to deny, though many doubted the expediency of much interference with settlements over the seas. On the question of taxation there was, on the other hand, some disagreement. Charles James Fox and a few other Whigs held that the colonial population could not be taxed without its own consent. Others, like Edmund Burke and William Pitt, believed in the theory of Parliamentary supremacy in all the British dominions, but held that it was inexpedient for Parliament to exercise its rights in such colonies as had efficient legislative assemblies.

5. The nationalizing process. It is scarcely correct to say that there was an American nation in 1760 or 1776; too many elements were lacking, elements which time alone can provide. The passion of nationality, the consciousness of being a single people, memories of a dim but glorious past, jealousy of rivals and hostility toward neighboring peoples, the colonists could not yet have. The nationalizing process was, however, at work; a nation was forming. The colonies formed a geographical unit; they were distinct from their neighbors and were separated from Britain by the ocean. They had a common language which the vast majority was able to speak. Their political system was republican and unlike both the aristocratic régime in England and the absolutism of the European Continent. They had common enemies: Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Indians. They finally had what is the most important element in nationalism, a common history, having fought together on the northern and western frontiers in the great wars that began with the accession of William III.

In religious matters there was much freedom and variety; but the prevailing form of religion was Protestantism of the Reformed or Calvinistic type. Among the Protestants the Puritan sects, religious bodies of dissenters or Nonconformists, as they would be called in England, were far stronger than the





Anglican churches. The dissenters were exceedingly active in colonial politics. The New England pastors were the leaders in their towns and communities. But where English bishops ruled, the dissenters counted for nothing in political life; consequently, when the rumor came to New England just before the outbreak of the Revolution that the Anglican hierarchy was planning to set up bishops in America, the report caused no little uneasiness. Thus far there had been no bishops in America; the colonies were regarded as a part of the diocese of London and the Anglican parishes were supervised by commissaries sent out by the bishop of London.

6. Colonial growth in area and population. Ultimate separation of the thirteen colonies from the mother country was inevitable: the only question was the time and the manner. When the Revolutionary movement began, England and Wales had a population of scarcely more than 7,000,000; Scotland had about 1,200,000. America had at least 3,000,000 or nearly half as many people as England with tremendous possibilities for increase. The colonial system of government was unsuited to the new conditions. The mercantile system of economics, which insisted that England must sell more to the colonies than she bought from them, had a cramping effect on colonial growth. The new Western policy which looked toward the exploitation of Western lands and the Indian trade in the interest of the empire rather than of the neighboring colonies was causing profound displeasure. Separation from England was openly advocated in the colonies long before it came. The Swedish botanist Kalm, who traveled in America in 1748 and the following years, predicted secession in North America before thirty years should pass. The prediction was fulfilled almost to the year.

Plans to conciliate the colonies. 1775. The coercive acts became effective in the summer of 1774. Delegates from twelve of the thirteen colonies met at Philadelphia the following autumn to plan resistance. This congress called on all Americans to boycott the British merchants until the obnoxious laws should be repealed. War came in the spring of the next year, though not before several attempts had been made to find a basis for reconciliation. On February 1 Chatham came forward with a plan: he proposed that Parliament should repeal

all laws that the colonies found objectionable, surrender the right of taxation, and withdraw the English troops from Boston. In return the colonies were to recognize definitely the supremacy of the British Parliament and make voluntary contributions to the imperial treasury. The Lords rejected the plan by a vote of two to one.

Three weeks later Lord North proposed a measure which was evidently the king's own. In this the theoretical right of Parliament to levy taxes was insisted upon, but it was not to be exercised so long as the colonies made voluntary contributions. It was accepted by Parliament but proved to be of no effect. The next month Edmund Burke delivered his famous conciliation speech in which he proposed a return to the laws and conditions in force in 1763. Burke was willing to leave the matter of taxation to the colonial assemblies. The Commons rejected his motion by a vote of 270 to 78.

Lexington and Concord. 1775. It is not likely that any of these plans could have stayed the progress of the revolution. The plans of North and Chatham were defective in that they ignored the deep-seated repugnance in the colonial mind to any external legislative authority. Burke's plan was weak in that it ignored certain vital facts: the British empire was far larger and more complex than before 1763; it had to be organized and administered to some extent as a unit. But Burke had no scheme of government to offer. And before the news of Burke's interest in the colonial problem had reached America, a battle had been fought and blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord.

The Declaration of Independence. After a year of fighting and maneuvering confined chiefly to New England and the neighboring parts, the English were compelled to evacuate Boston. For a few months the colonies were wholly free from British soldiery and British rulers. During these months the sentiment for separation developed rapidly. In order to give the Continental Congress a legal basis, new governments were being organized in nearly all the colonies. At the same time a vigorous propaganda was launched in the interest of complete independence. The experience of freedom, the fears for the future, the need of foreign assistance were among the considerations that determined the Americans to declare their independ-

ence. The Declaration was adopted on July 4 and was formally signed a month later (August 2).

English opinion in favor of coercion. It was thoroughly understood on both sides of the ocean that England would not withdraw from the American colonies without a struggle. Apparently English opinion at the moment was strong for a vigorous prosecution of the war. In Parliament there was still an active opposition group, but it counted scarcely more than one-fourth of the entire membership. General William Howe was sent to New York which was now to be the military base from which the British armies were to operate. While the Declaration of Independence was being debated in Philadelphia, the guns of the English fleet were thundering at the entrance to New York Bay.

The war in the Middle Colonies. 1776-1777. For the next few years the conflict raged principally in the Middle Colonies in the vicinities of New York and Philadelphia and in the territory between these cities. General Washington, who had hastened from Boston to the defense of New York, was defeated in the battle of Long Island and forced to retire southwestward through New Jersey and across the Delaware. The outlook was dark for the American cause. But the situation was soon improved somewhat by Washington's attack on Trenton on Christmas night, where a thousand Hessian mercenaries became prisoners of war, and by his victory at Princeton a week later. On the whole, however, the campaign of 1776 brought substantial advantages to the British forces and strengthened the determination of the royal government to reconquer the colonies.

It was a part of the British plan to cut the new state in twain along the Hudson River route and thus to isolate New England. Accordingly an army was sent from Canada southward into New York by way of Lake Champlain. The invading force was commanded by General John Burgoyne, an English officer of varied experience who also attained some fame as a dramatist. The expedition was singularly mismanaged at all important points and ended in disaster. General Howe, who was to have proceeded up the Hudson to form a junction with Burgoyne at Albany, decided to seize Philadelphia first and go to Burgoyne's assistance later. The expedition against Philadelphia was successful, but while Howe was defeating Washington's army in

southeastern Pennsylvania, a strong American force under General Gates was blocking Burgoyne's advance in eastern New York. On October 17, 1777, his entire force numbering about 4000 men surrendered. General Burgoyne was allowed to return to England, where he did vigorous if not intelligent service as an opponent of Lord North and George III.

Efforts to end the war. 1778. After the news of the failure at Saratoga had reached Europe, some peace sentiment developed in England, but it was soon lost in a determined reaction. In February Charles James Fox in the House of Commons and his radical uncle, the duke of Richmond, in the upper house moved that no troops be sent out of the kingdom. The proposal was negatived by a heavy vote in both houses. Lord North now came forward with a new plan for conciliation, an important feature of which was an offer to renounce the right of taxation. Commissioners were sent to America to treat with Congress but to no avail. An effort was also made to strengthen the Cabinet by inducing Chatham to accept a ministerial post; but Chatham was unwilling to take any position lower than that of prime minister and King George bluntly refused to surrender his authority to "that perfidious man." In April Richmond brought in a motion to withdraw the troops from America. While speaking in opposition to this proposal, Chatham was stricken, and a month later the great statesman was no longer among the living. The leadership of the Chathamite Whigs passed to the Earl of Shelburne.

War with France, Spain, and the Dutch. Burgoyne's surrender gave a new character to the conflict; it was the signal for a general European war. France had shown a keen interest in the American quarrel a decade earlier when the strife over taxation was raging: in 1768 John de Kalb, a German soldier who had served in the French army, arrived in America as a secret agent of the French government to study public sentiment in the colonies. When the war actually broke out, the French ministry through private agencies secretly assisted the revolutionists with money and munitions. But the Americans were given clearly to understand that the French king would not openly support the revolution unless they should specifically declare their purpose to be independence and not merely relief from obnoxious legislation. The Declaration of Independence

and the surrender of Burgoyne a year later decided the French, who now entered the war as active allies of the United States (February 6, 1778).

The following year Spain, which was still bound to France by the Bourbon family compact, declared war on England, though the Spanish government did not enter into any form of alliance with the Americans. Jamaica, Minorca, Gibraltar, and Florida represented successive losses to English aggression which Spain was anxious to retrieve. The Spaniards may also have had designs on the Illinois country which lay conveniently just across the Mississippi from their new colony Louisiana. The next year Holland was also drawn into the war against the English. The Dutch were charged with having provided France, Spain, and America with military and naval supplies and with having otherwise shown a benevolent neutrality toward the enemies of Britain. Believing that an open enemy was less dangerous than a secret foe, the English sent a declaration of war to the Dutch government (December, 1780).

The League of Armed Neutrality. 1780. In the same year the Baltic states, under the leadership of Catherine II of Russia, formed a League of Armed Neutrality, the object of which was to secure neutral ships against seizure in time of war. When the quarrel with America had reached the stage of active warfare, English privateers began to seize neutral merchantmen and bring them into British ports, the charge being that they were carrying contraband goods to the enemy. The term contraband had as yet no specific meaning: to a British privateer all neutral trade with the enemies of his own country was contraband of war. After the great maritime powers on the Atlantic seaboard had become involved in the war, there was little room for neutral commerce outside the inland seas.

The Danish government, in the hope of saving at least a part of the Danish trade, entered into negotiations with the British foreign office with a view to a closer definition of neutral rights, but without results. In these negotiations the Danish foreign minister urged (1) that neutrals had a right to enter belligerent ports; (2) that "a free ship makes free cargo," excepting such articles as are clearly contraband of war; (3) that a blockade to be legal must be effective. In 1780 the Russian empress issued a call to the neutral states to form a League of Armed

Neutrality on the basis of the Danish contention. In addition to the Baltic states (Russia, Prussia, Denmark-Norway, and Sweden), Holland, Portugal, the Two Sicilies, and the German emperor accepted the principles of the new League. During the remaining years of the war neutral ships were treated with greater consideration than earlier; but the British government refused to accept the principles of the League as a permanent part of international law.

Elliot and Rodney; weakness of the British navy. Thus in 1780 England had to face the active hostility or the passive unfriendliness of nearly the whole of Continental Europe. For a struggle on such a scale the nation was poorly prepared. There was gross inefficiency in the war office and even in the admiralty. Most of the British commanders were mediocre men; only two showed conspicuous abilities and real merit: George Elliot, a Scottish officer who commanded at Gibraltar, and Sir George Rodney, an old, impecunious sea captain in feeble health, who was reluctantly given a command in the navy toward the close of the year 1779.

The war with the European coalition was fought chiefly on the ocean, the more notable exceptions being the operations against General Cornwallis at Yorktown in which the French participated, and the Spanish investment of Gibraltar, where General Elliot held out for nearly four years in a situation that seemed almost hopeless. The strength of the British navy comprised about 120 ships, some of them quite old and in part manned with inadequate crews. The combined fleets of Spain, France, and the Netherlands counted a somewhat larger number, but in this case numbers gave no real advantage. The French fleet was new and in excellent condition; the Spanish navy was not efficient; the Dutch played no important part in the war. But the task of the British navy was far too great for its numbers: it had to hold and to patrol the long American coast; it had to guard the West Indies and the English Channel; it had to keep open communications with the beleaguered force at Gibraltar; it had to convoy British merchantmen and watch the League of Armed Neutrality. During the years 1778-1780 the British admirals fought a defensive warfare only but with fair success, except in the West Indies, where serious losses were suffered.

The election of 1780. The year 1780 was a dark year in England, one of the darkest in English history. There was no longer any hope of winning the war or of retaining the American colonies. Recent events had shaken the faith of the nation in the policies of the king and his ministers; in the elections of 1780, 113 members of Parliament were retired in favor of new men. Among the new members was William Pitt, a younger son of the great Chatham, who had just completed his twenty-first year.

The war in the South (1778-1781); Yorktown. But if the sky was dark in England it was darker still in America, where the patriotic forces were growing weary of the interminable war. In 1778 the British had transferred their major operations to the southern field. By the close of the year they had taken Savannah and during the following months they overran Georgia. In May, 1780, an American army was forced to surrender at Charleston and South Carolina came into British control. An American force sent to relieve the South was crushed at Camden in August. This was also the year of the treason of Benedict Arnold. Want and misery stalked through the camps of the patriots. The authority of Congress had almost disappeared. The American currency had become practically valueless: a dollar in gold would buy forty dollars in currency. And in North Carolina stood Cornwallis with a victorious British army.

A year later the war on the American mainland ended in a decisive victory for the allies at Yorktown. In the summer of 1781 nearly all the British forces in North America were massed at two points: Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief, had an army in and about New York; Lord Cornwallis was in lower Virginia with a smaller force which in August retired into Yorktown. Operating along the coast was a British fleet commanded by Admiral Graves. General Washington was on the Hudson watching Clinton in New York. There was a French force at Newport under the command of Count Rochambeau. The French had a large fleet in the West Indies with Admiral de Grasse in command. As the months from July to October are the season of hurricanes in the Caribbean Sea, de Grasse found it expedient to operate higher up the American coast during the summer.

Washington and Rochambeau agreed to attempt a united

offensive while de Grasse was still in northern waters and decided to attack Cornwallis at Yorktown. Rochambeau transferred his army to the Hudson in July; a few weeks later the combined French and American army was marching toward the head of Chesapeake Bay. Early in September Admiral Graves appeared at the Virginia capes but found de Grasse already in command of the entrance to the bay. In the engagement that followed Graves was defeated and Cornwallis' fate was sealed. By the close of the month the allied forces had begun the siege of Yorktown and after three weeks Cornwallis surrendered.

Other British reverses. With the surrender at Yorktown military activities in the United States practically ceased; but elsewhere in the British empire the conflict raged as before. A few months after the disaster in Virginia Minorca fell to the Spaniards. Spain had also come into control of West Florida. In the West Indies the French had seized all the important English possessions except Jamaica and Barbados. In India, too, the British had serious trouble to contend with: Haidar Ali, a capable Mohammedan warrior who had come into control of the important state of Mysore, was planning to seize the British posts in southern India; while at Mauritius a French fleet lay ready with instructions to attack the East Indian coast, which it did before the end of the year. When 1781 came to a close it looked as if the British empire was doomed.

Legislative independence for Ireland. 1782. At the same time serious danger was threatening in Ireland. For some time there had been strong agitation in Ireland for the repeal of all laws that recognized the Irish kingdom as subordinate to England. In 1778, when France declared formal war on England, the Protestants of the Irish Parliament had found it advisable to repeal the Irish Test Act and some of the more iniquitous of the notorious Penal Laws. Later in the same year the Irish leaders began to organize military bands, "the volunteers," ostensibly for the defense of the island. Before the close of the following year the volunteers numbered nearly 50,000; by the end of 1781 the number had risen to 80,000. In its earlier stage the volunteer movement was entirely Protestant and was limited to Ulster; later it spread to all parts of the island and many Catholics were enrolled as volunteers.

While the volunteers were mustering in constantly growing

numbers, a strong party in the Irish Parliament, led by Henry Grattan, an orator of wonderful power, was clamoring for legislative independence and free trade with Great Britain and the British colonies. In 1779, on Grattan's motion, the attention of the English government was called to the necessity of free trade. England dared not refuse and a few months later the British Parliament removed some of the old restrictions on Irish trade. In 1780 and 1781 the agitation for legislative independence rose to great strength. The British government once more responded favorably, and in May, 1782, the Parliament of Great Britain passed the Act of Repeal, by which Poynings' Law and the Sixth of George I (an act affirming the right of the British Parliament to legislate in Irish affairs) were both swept away. Ireland was now free to legislate without interference from Westminster.

The battle at the Saints. 1782. The Act of Repeal was passed in the gloomiest hour of the war. Not long afterwards came the cheering news that Admiral Rodney had dealt the Bourbon allies a stunning blow in the West Indies. After the fall of Yorktown de Grasse had returned to the Caribbean and was planning with such aid as the Spaniards could give to attack and conquer Jamaica. But Rodney's fleet was also in the West Indies and in April, 1782, the two admirals met at the Saints, a group of little islands near Guadeloupe. Rodney won the victory; he crippled the French fleet and took de Grasse prisoner. Jamaica was saved to Great Britain. In the autumn came the cheering news that the attack of the allied forces on Gibraltar had proved a complete failure. During the same year Warren Hastings, the governor-general of British India, succeeded in bringing the long war in southern India to a close. Haidar Ali died in December, and his son and successor, Tipu Sahib, made peace with the East India Company.

End of the Lord North ministry. 1782. When the news of the surrender at Yorktown reached England, it was clear to most men that American independence had become a fact. Now began a series of violent attacks on the ministry in both houses of Parliament, Shelburne leading in the upper house and Fox in the House of Commons. For the moment the houses remained loyal to the king, but as the weeks passed the ministerial faction showed a constantly shrinking number. In Febru-

ary a motion to end the war was defeated in the lower house by a majority of one vote. In March, 1782, Lord North was finally allowed to resign; and the king, yielding to what seemed inevitable, entrusted the government to the opposition Whigs with Rockingham as prime minister. Unfortunately the leaders of the new government did not have the entire confidence of the nation. Their attitude during the war had not been wholly patriotic: they had tried to embarrass the ministers in every way possible, and Fox had been especially conspicuous as a partisan of American independence. Furthermore, there were two distinct factions in the Cabinet: the followers of Rockingham, chiefly Old Whigs, who still emphasized the authority of Parliament; and the Chathamites, who believed in strengthening the authority of the central administration.

The Whigs in power. Rockingham and Shelburne. The most important officials in the new Cabinet were the two secretaries of state: Charles James Fox who was placed in charge of the foreign office, and Lord Shelburne whose chief interest lay in American affairs. Shelburne and Fox disliked each other and were also in disagreement as to the great question before the ministry, the terms of peace to be offered to the allies. Fox urged the immediate recognition of the United States as an independent republic. Shelburne was also convinced that Great Britain must ultimately recognize the new state, but hoped that in return for this recognition some advantage might accrue to the British kingdom.

After a service of only three months on the treasury bench, Rockingham died and Shelburne succeeded him as prime minister. Lord Shelburne was a man of liberal and enlightened views; but as a political leader he was not successful. He seemed to have a suspicious fear of all with whom he came into contact; in return he was himself regarded with universal distrust. Fox refused to serve under Shelburne and resigned with several of his Old Whig followers. Among the new men whom the prime minister admitted to his Cabinet at this time was William Pitt who became chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the ministerial forces in the House of Commons.

The Peace of Paris. 1783. It was the Shelburne ministry that completed the negotiations with the United States. The new republic received generous treatment. Its territory was

extended north to the Great Lakes and west to the Mississippi River. The New England fishermen were allowed to continue fishing for cod on the banks of Newfoundland. A provisional treaty was signed November 30, 1782, and two months later similar treaties were made with France and Spain. There still remained various snarls to disentangle and the final treaty was not signed before September 3, 1783. Peace with the Netherlands was delayed till the following year.

The peace signed at Paris in 1783 was the most humiliating that the British people has ever been asked to accept. It seriously impaired the British empire. England lost her oldest and most highly developed colonies, the "thirteen" on the American mainland. To Spain she was obliged to surrender Minorca and Florida. To France she ceded two stations in West Africa and a few small islands in the West Indies. Otherwise France derived nothing from the war but a bankrupt treasury.

The "infamous coalition." 1783. Shelburne remained in charge of the government for less than a year. In February, 1784, Fox and North united their forces and a month later they succeeded in driving the prime minister from office. For some time the king resisted the pressure for a coalition government with Fox and North as secretaries of state, but in the end he was forced to yield. Fox was the most brilliant debater among all the Whigs who had opposed the king. He had entered the House of Commons at the age of nineteen, but had already at that time acquired a reputation for irregular living which clung to his name till the close of his career. The king thought of him with distrust and loathing. For nearly a year the "infamous coalition" controlled the government; but the nation was disgusted at the sight of a ministry that stood for nothing but political spoils, and it applauded King George when by distinctly irregular methods he overthrew the Fox-North cabinet and gave the premiership to the young William Pitt (December, 1783).

The younger Pitt. The house was amazed at Pitt's appointment. It is a principle of the English constitution that the king shall choose as his first minister the leader of the strongest party in the House of Commons. William Pitt did not possess this qualification. He had not yet completed his twenty-fifth year.

He had no real following in the lower house; in selecting his Cabinet he had to draw heavily on the House of Lords. He had accepted his office from the king and consequently had also accepted the Tory doctrine that the king may select his ministers without regard to parties. But Pitt was not another Lord North. Knowing that he was indispensable to the king, he felt free to formulate his own policies. If George III should prove stubborn, all that Pitt needed to do was to suggest resignation and the king would be likely to yield. For if Pitt should retire conditions might force the appointment of the terrible Fox or of a member of the group that Fox controlled.

As a Parliamentary leader Pitt was adroit and resourceful; as a debater he ranked among the foremost in his day. It is doubtful whether any other prime minister ever faced quite so difficult a situation as Pitt faced in the early months of 1784. He could count on the support of the Chathamites and the King's Friends; but these groups were, after all, only a strong minority. Among his followers there was not a single debater of recognized strength. Henry Dundas, a Scottish lawyer of outstanding abilities as a political manager, was Pitt's chief support in the lower house; but Dundas was not very effective on the floor of the house. On the opposition benches sat the great giants of debate: Burke, Fox, Sheridan, and North, directing a powerful onslaught which Pitt had to meet almost single-handed night after night. The opposition also controlled the votes of the house; during the first three months of his administration Pitt suffered defeat sixteen times. But he had observed that the hostile majorities were steadily shrinking. He knew that the Fox-North combination was intensely unpopular throughout the kingdom. He therefore decided to defy precedent and did not resign.

On a vote taken in March, 1784, the coalition had a majority of only one vote. Pitt now thought it safe to dissolve Parliament. In the elections that followed the ministerial party won an overwhelming victory: 160 members of the "infamous coalition" lost their seats. The young prime minister could now feel sure that he was the choice of the nation as well as of the king, and from that day he was undisputed master of the English government. But William Pitt, though self-confident, was never arrogant and sought to avoid the abuse of power. Though

he did not allow the king to dictate the policies of the Cabinet, he showed all due deference to his Majesty and carried out the royal desires as far as he consistently could.

Pitt and Parliament. In his dealings with Parliament he displayed a slightly different temper: Pitt believed that the House of Commons should never be coerced into accepting a bill and he frequently dropped measures which he regarded as desirable rather than face defeat. In his earlier years he was a Whig and professed the Whig doctrine that the king's ministers should be held responsible to the House of Commons; but the circumstances of his appointment, his belief in a strong central administration, and his conflict with the Whig leaders, notably with Fox and Burke, gradually forced him to take Tory ground. In time his personal following developed into a new Tory party, though the name Tory was not used till the following decade. The New Tories kept control of the House of Commons for nearly half a century.

Pitt was also attentive to the House of Lords and finally succeeded in transforming this body from an assembly of Whigs into a body dominated by elements friendly to the monarchy. He accomplished this by inducing the king to grant a large number of new peerages: in nineteen years George III created or promoted 140 peers. Care was always taken to confer the new honors on men who could be relied upon to support the policies of the prime minister. The outcome was that the House of Lords became a stronghold of conservatism and has remained such unto this day.

William Pitt was not the sort of a Tory who believes that all changes are evil: he saw the need of reform in many lines and hoped to accomplish much for the betterment of English society. Lord Chatham had been interested in reforming the representation in the House of Commons, and the younger Pitt felt that he had inherited this task. In 1785 he presented a bill looking toward the disfranchisement of certain boroughs which, though mere villages, were still sending two members each to the House of Commons. Pitt even proposed to compensate the men who owned the land in these villages or otherwise controlled them; but the bill was not favorably received and he did not renew the attempt.

Pitt's commercial policies. Wishing to remove the restric-

tions that so long had hampered trade within the British Isles, Pitt approved a measure which came very near establishing free trade between Great Britain and Ireland. But the English merchants objected to such generous treatment of the Irish, and Pitt felt compelled to revise his plans in the interest of English commerce. When the proposed agreement reached Dublin, it was found unsatisfactory and was promptly rejected by the Irish Parliament. In his efforts to promote trade with France Pitt was more successful. In 1786 he arranged a treaty with the French government in which the two countries agreed to a reciprocal tariff arrangement covering certain products which were to be admitted to the ports of the other country at a lower tariff rate than that levied on merchandise from other lands. Accordingly French oil, wines, and brandy were given the preference at the English custom houses, in return for which the products of the English looms and iron works were to enjoy similar privileges in France. The opposition to any trade arrangement with England's "natural enemy" was loud and violent both within and without Parliament, but the measure was finally passed and approved.

Administrative changes. As an administrator Pitt was only moderately successful. For a time he enjoyed high reputation, owing to his management of the public debt; but his plans for a sinking fund, though probably workable in times of peace, proved unworkable when the country was again forced into war and finally had to be abandoned. His methods in dealing with the revenue were intelligent and progressive. Realizing that the high duties on imports were an incentive to smuggling, he lowered these wherever he could and thus made smuggling unprofitable. Pitt further insisted on honest transactions in all departments of the government, and it was not long before the accounts of the exchequer began to show a balance instead of a deficit.

The East India Company; Warren Hastings. One of the most difficult problems with which the Pitt ministry had to deal was the unsatisfactory condition in the possessions of the English East India Company. As a corporate body holding and governing territory in India, the Company was in a technical sense one of the princes of the Mogul empire, ranking with native rajahs and governors and deriving its authority from

the emperor at Delhi. The Company, however, did not take its duties toward the decadent emperor seriously; it rather looked for support to the British kingdom under whose flag it traded and sailed.

The Regulating Act of 1773 provided for a unified administration of the Company's dominions in the great peninsula under a governor-general and a council of four members on whom Parliament conferred extensive legislative authority. The act also provided for a judicial department in the form of a supreme court. Warren Hastings, who had served the Company in India for more than twenty years, was appointed governor-general. Hastings was a man of energy and ability, but his administration under the Regulating Act was not successful. The governor-general quarreled with his council; the council at times quarreled with the supreme court. It was clear that some other form of control would have to be devised.

This demand for reform in the government of British India was materially strengthened by reports detailing cruel treatment of the natives. Hastings' régime was not peaceful. In addition to his war with Haidar Ali he became involved in a long and bloody conflict with the Maratha Confederacy, a Hindu people occupying the hill country south of the Ganges valley. As the revenues of the East India Company were not adequate for military operations on a large scale, Hastings determined to make some of the native princes contribute to the Company's war chest.

Just beyond Bengal lay the states of Benares and Oudh. The rajah of Benares owed the Company an annual tribute of £50,000. Hastings demanded more and on the rajah's refusal forced him to pay a fine of £500,000 (1781). In 1782 Hastings proceeded to the capital of Oudh and found a convenient pretext for levying a fine of more than £1,000,000 on the ruling dynasty. It is charged that the rulers in both these states were plotting against the East India Company; but even if this be true it is difficult to defend Hastings' methods. In 1786 the House of Commons impeached Hastings, but after a trial continuing at intervals for a period of seven years the governor-general was acquitted.

Pitt's India Bill. 1784. In 1782 Fox proposed a measure according to which the East India Company would exercise

authority in India through a board of seven commissioners appointed in the first instance by Parliament and later by the king. Fox's India Bill passed the House of Commons, but when it came to the upper house George III notified the lords that he would regard every one who voted for the bill as an enemy of the crown. It was this act on the king's part that forced the resignation of the Fox-North ministry (1783). The following year Pitt induced Parliament to pass a bill which in a measure divided the administration between the directors of the Company and a small Board of Control appointed by the crown. The appointment of officials was left to the directors, though in certain cases royal approval was to be necessary. The new board of control was charged with the supervision of the civil and military administration. The Act also contained a number of provisions looking toward the better protection of the native rulers and the native population. These were taken largely from Fox's bill and may be regarded as the contribution of Edmund Burke, who through all these years fought eloquently against all forms of oppression in British India.

Coming of the Great War with France. Unlike his great father the younger Pitt was a lover of peace, whose interest lay chiefly in the many domestic problems of the kingdom. But like the elder Pitt he was called upon to lead Europe in a great war, in a great series of wars, the most extensive in all history up to that time: the wars against the French republic and the Emperor Napoleon I.

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CHAPTER XX

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Changes in English society. The eighteenth century was an age of great changes in almost every field of English life. The shifting of the center of gravity in political affairs that came with the development of the Cabinet system has been discussed in an earlier chapter; vast forces of change were also at work in the fields of intellect, of religion, and of industrial life. In some fields these developments were gradual and slow; their full significance was not appreciated until the following century was well under way. But even at this time it was realized, though not always clearly, that the social structure was being rebuilt on a new basis and into new and startling shapes.

The rationalistic temper. The intellectuals of the eighteenth century professed to believe that their age was preëminently an age of rational behavior and common sense. In certain respects this claim was justified. The consuming religious strife that had endured for nearly two hundred years, first between Catholic and Protestant, then between Anglican and Puritan, had finally found a settlement in the Toleration Act of 1689. This period of religious conflict was followed by a period of much indifference to religious matters, a feeling that was particularly noticeable among the more cultivated classes. The details of religious belief were held to be unimportant. Revelation in the Scriptural sense was questioned. God had given mankind the gift of reason, and reason was considered a safer guide than faith. The important thing was to test all theories and all dogmas in the light of common sense.

This emphasis on thought and reason was not peculiar to England: it was common to the intellectual classes of all western Europe. The eighteenth century was the "Age of Enlightenment." It was the period of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists in France, of the "Illumination" in Germany, and of the "enlightened despots" who strove to improve economic con-

ditions in their various realms, to reform administration, and to govern their people in a rational way.

The rational or sensible man, it was said, would not yield to impulse or feeling. The ideal life should be strong but calm and never boisterous. Humanity had a right to enjoyment but noisy pleasures should be avoided. To display real enthusiasm was not regarded as good form. To be ill was considered an unpardonable weakness, at least in the earlier half of the century. Queen Caroline, the capable consort of George II, long bore a serious illness in secret; and when it was finally discovered the unfortunate queen was already doomed. Queen Caroline's fate may serve to illustrate the practical results of this glorification of common sense; but it had other results, serious as well as ridiculous. Public and private morals broke down. Bribery became a crying evil. Among the so-called higher classes the Puritan view of the Ten Commandments as a code to be rigorously kept and enforced had almost ceased to exist.

Homes and habits of living. Among the more favored classes there was much real refinement, but too often what passed for such was of a distinctly artificial character. Evidence of a cultivated taste was apparent in many fields, however, especially in the homes and the houses of the period. The better dwelling houses were now built largely of brick and stone and careful attention was given to architectural details. Classical models which had earlier been used in building churches and other public edifices were now successfully adapted to the country mansion of the landed aristocrat. The furnishings also showed marked improvement, and the comforts and conveniences of domestic life were becoming more common than in earlier times.

Characteristic of the age was the large powdered wig which had become fashionable soon after the Restoration and which makes the portraits of the eighteenth-century worthies look so much alike. A man who wished to be properly dressed had to wear much silk: silk waistcoats, silk knee breeches, and silk stockings. Lively colors were frequently chosen for the masculine dress, red and green being in high favor. Further necessities were buckles of gold and silver; a generous display of costly lace was also regarded as quite essential.

Though it must be admitted that polite society in the eighteenth century was well-dressed, intelligent, and sometimes brilliant in thought and conversation, at bottom it was frequently coarse, vicious, and even brutal. The age was notable for excessive drinking, gambling, duelling, and cruel sports. Port from Portugal was consumed in vast quantities by all classes that could afford to indulge in the pleasures of good wine. Gin, imported largely from Holland, was the poor man's equivalent for port; on a reasonable measure of gin he could get "drunk as a lord," a luxury that he could not enjoy on ale or beer. The amusements of the time were of a distinctly low order: bull fights, cock fights, and bear baiting were enjoyed by all classes. A challenge from an angry rival or opponent to settle accounts with sword or pistol could not be ignored; even the younger Pitt found it necessary to meet an adversary on the field of honor.

Literature in the earlier eighteenth century. The effort to be sensible and rational appears distinctly in the literature of the age, especially in the writings produced in the so-called Georgian period, the reigns of the first two Georges. The masterpieces of eighteenth-century poetry are nearly all of a didactic order: their purpose is to give instruction, to give pleasure to reason, not to stir up the reader's emotion. Typical of the period is Pope's *Essay on Man*, which was written in 1733. Of the same spirit, though somewhat less didactic, is *The Seasons*, written by James Thomson, who was Pope's contemporary. A decade later Edward Young was writing his *Night Thoughts*, and in 1750 Thomas Gray published his famous *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*. There is much excellent poetry in all these poems, but for the most part they are thoughts cast in poetic form. Sometimes the lines read like proverbs, for the authors quite generally seem to have striven after epigrammatic effects.

The prose of the century is more important than the poetry; seldom has English prose reached higher levels than during the reign of Queen Anne. The earlier generation of the eighteenth century produced no great dramas like those of the Elizabethan age and no epic poems like those of the Restoration. It was, indeed, not wholly wanting in poetry, for Addison wrote readable poems and Pope's *Rape of the Lock* was written during

Anne's reign. But the Age of Anne was emphatically an age of prose, a form of prose that was neither profound nor thoughtful but delightfully clear and clever and replete with human interest. The period also had its more profound thinkers, but these were not numerous. Four men stand out prominently among the writers of the age: Swift, Defoe, Addison, and Berkeley the philosopher.

Political pamphleteers: Swift and Defoe. The literary interest of the period centers in London. Here was the seat of government; and in this period politics and literature were closely associated. Nearly all the writers of the time were fierce partisans and were often employed as political pamphleteers. Addison, Swift, and Defoe all served in this capacity. A successful political pamphleteer must have wide knowledge of current events, a thorough knowledge of human nature (especially of its weaknesses), critical insight, and a lucid style. These writers possessed all these qualities, Swift in greater measure than Addison and Defoe. Jonathan Swift was an Anglican priest born in Dublin but of English parentage. He was a strange, eccentric man whose life was a bitter disappointment and closed in tragedy. For a time Swift was a Whig; but in 1710 he entered the service of the Tory leaders who were gradually forcing the Whigs out of the queen's government. He had hoped that his efforts would be rewarded with a bishopric, but he received only a deanery in Dublin. After the downfall of the Tories in 1714 Swift retired to his Irish deanery, and the remaining thirty years of his life were spent almost entirely in Ireland. He was at first quite reluctant to become "Irishman for life," but soon developed a keen interest in the sorrows of his native land and wrote effectively on the subject of Irish wrongs and grievances. His great satire, *Gulliver's Travels*, was written about a dozen years after his retirement to Dublin.

Daniel Defoe was a dissenter and is usually rated as a Whig, though he sometimes worked with men who professed to be Tories of the more moderate type. During Anne's reign he was chiefly interested in partisan politics. Defoe served not only as a political writer but also proved very efficient as a secret political agent, especially during Parliamentary campaigns. As a pamphleteer he did not always heed the voice of

discretion, and twice his enemies succeeded in having him committed to prison. He was a friend of Harley, and when the Act of Union was under discussion in the Scottish Parliament he was sent to Edinburgh as the journalistic representative of the English ministry. After the Whigs had come into undisputed control with George I, Defoe found time for other work and produced *Robinson Crusoe*, a story which is often regarded as the first English novel. Robinson Crusoe is, however, not exactly of that type; the real novel came about twenty years later with the writings of Richardson and Fielding.

The periodical essay: Addison, Steele, and Defoe. Another type of literature that was successfully cultivated in this age is the periodical essay. The most famous examples of this are the *Tattler* and the *Spectator*, which are usually associated with the names of Addison and Steele. The *Tattler* began to be published in 1709 and the *Spectator* two years later. They may have been suggested by Defoe's *Review*, a political organ which that versatile writer planned while in Newgate prison in 1704. The *Review* was published in the interest of the policies of Harley and Godolphin who were the leading members of the queen's government at the time. Joseph Addison rose higher than his contemporaries of the literary craft both as a writer and a politician. He was secretary to the regency that governed England between Anne's reign and the coming of George I. Later he served a brief term as one of the two principal secretaries of state. It may be added that as a public official Joseph Addison was not strikingly successful.

The magazine and the novel. The eighteenth century produced two new forms of literature, both of which have become permanent: the magazine and the novel. The English periodical apparently dates from the Restoration; but the first really successful venture of this sort was the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which began to appear in 1731. The daily newspaper is also an eighteenth century product, the *Daily Courant* appearing for the first time in 1702. The novel came a generation later (1740). The first novelist was Samuel Richardson, a London printer, who though a rather dull stylist was a keen observer of human activities. A better writer was Henry Fielding whose earlier novels were apparently suggested by those of Richardson. The novel soon proved immensely popular.

Literature in the later decades of the century. Thomson, Pope, Richardson, Young, Fielding, and Gray did most of their work during the second quarter of the century, the period of Walpole and Newcastle. The writers of the second half of the eighteenth century struck a more truly poetic note. Their writings are less didactic and fall more completely within the province of literary art. This period forms the transition to the greater literary age of the nineteenth century which was ushered in by such writers as Wordsworth and Byron. The period began with Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose literary ideals did not differ much from those of the school of Pope. Dr. Johnson was followed by Cowper in whom the religious spirit was strong; by the genial Goldsmith who is described as a literary vagabond; and by Sheridan, the famous dramatist and Parliamentary orator. But the greatest representative of the age was the peasant Robert Burns, who from his farmstead in southwestern Scotland sent forth a series of genial, realistic, and yet intensely lyrical poems which remain to this day the joy and the pride of the Scottish people.

Art; the Royal Academy. Among the many artists who have sought with pen or brush to picture the life of their own times, few have been more successful than William Hogarth, the great English painter and satirist who flourished in the reign of George II. Hogarth was not a painter of the highest rank; his imagination was not remarkable, and his sense of beauty was not highly developed; but he was, none the less, of great importance for the history of art in England. Earlier British artists had loved to deal with the dreams of an unreal world; they often sought their subjects in classical mythology, and when they did condescend to deal with human themes, they often developed them in an environment that was quite impossible. But Hogarth believed that a painter should find his subjects in the society in which he lived and moved, and that his treatment should be truthful and accurate. He thus became the first prominent *genre* painter in England. His subjects were not always refined and delicate, but Hogarth lived in a somewhat coarse age, and could scarcely be truthful without being coarse.

In 1768 there was organized in London the Royal Academy of Art "for the purpose of cultivating and improving the arts

of sculpture, painting, and architecture." Forty members, all prominent artists, comprise the academy, and vacancies are filled by the academicians themselves. To become a Royal Academician is a distinction that all young English painters hope to attain. The first president of the Academy was Sir Joshua Reynolds, the greatest English artist of the eighteenth century and one of the greatest of all time. Sir Joshua displayed his genius most effectively in the painting of portraits; in this particular field of art he has no peer. A close rival was Thomas Gainsborough, whose portraits were almost as excellent as those done by Reynolds, and who also achieved greatness as a painter of landscapes.

Philosophy: Berkeley and Hume. Of the men who were busied with the deeper problems of the world the more prominent were Isaac Newton, George Berkeley, and David Hume. Most of Newton's scientific work was done in the preceding century and has been referred to in an earlier chapter. Berkeley, like Dean Swift, was an Irish clergyman, but he was more successful than the great satirist and finally got the reward that Swift yearned for. Berkeley was early attracted to scientific and philosophic problems and is best known for his writings on philosophic themes. He is also to be remembered for his interest in the American colonies. Berkeley planned to found an Anglican college in the New World, an institution which he hoped would also look after the spiritual welfare of the Indians. With the aid of Dean Swift he secured promises of financial assistance from the Walpole ministry. He emigrated to New England and spent two years at Newport, Rhode Island. The promised assistance failing to come, the discouraged philosopher returned to Ireland. His library and his New England farm he donated to Yale College.

The philosophic thought of the eighteenth century found its best exponent in the Scottish historian and philosopher David Hume. Like his predecessor John Locke, Hume believed that the human mind gains all its knowledge from the experiences of the race; consequently he was forced to reject the possibility of a revealed religion. But he went farther than Locke in casting doubt on many other beliefs that had long been accepted without serious question. Hume's philosophy is, therefore, the philosophy of skepticism. Like many other intellectual

leaders of the time, he served the government for brief periods in various subordinate capacities: in the military service, in the diplomatic field, and finally in Chatham's ministry as under-secretary for home affairs.

The advance of science: biology, chemistry, and electricity. It was to be expected that, in an age when the educated classes professed to hold traditional beliefs in such light regard, there would be an abiding interest in scientific research. In the eighteenth century much pioneer work was done throughout Europe in all the fields of natural and physical science, and striking advance was made in some of these fields, especially after 1750. For this was the age of Laplace, whose studies in celestial mechanics revolutionized the science of astronomy; of Linnaeus, who organized the botanical knowledge of the time into an orderly system; and of Lavoisier, who laid the foundations of modern chemistry.

In these achievements the scientific scholars of England had a large share. In 1730 the Botanical Gardens at Kew were founded under the patronage of the royal family. Fruitful studies were carried on in the fields of light, heat, and sound, and notable improvements were made in the telescope. In 1752 Benjamin Franklin performed his famous kite-flying experiment by which he proved the identity of lightning and electricity. In the field of human biology the greatest name is that of John Hunter, a Scottish surgeon who discovered the lymphatic system and otherwise added largely to the world's knowledge of the human body. Somewhat later in the century Edward Jenner, one of Hunter's pupils, began a series of experiments by which he was able to demonstrate the efficiency of inoculation as a preventive against small-pox (1798). By Jenner's discovery, this disease which was one of the most dreaded ailments of the time was robbed of its terrors. But what was more important, Jenner's experiments lay at the foundation of a new science, the science of preventive medicine.

The advance in the knowledge of chemistry was greater than that in any other science. In 1754 Joseph Black, a Scottish chemist, discovered the existence of a substance that he called "fixed air;" later chemists have called it carbonic acid gas. The study of gases was carried further by Henry Cavendish, who was able to isolate hydrogen, or "inflammable air," as

he called it (1766). Of far greater consequence was the discovery of oxygen by Dr. Joseph Priestley, a Unitarian clergyman with a strong liking for scientific research. Priestley's great achievement dates from 1774; ten years later Cavendish announced his discovery of the composition of water. The series of great English chemists in the eighteenth century closes with John Dalton who first advanced the modern atomic theory (1803). But most of Dalton's work, like that of his great contemporary Sir Humphry Davy, belongs to the nineteenth century.

Political theory. The effort to apply the principles and the implications of the new doctrine of common sense to the more fundamental problems of life appears quite clearly in the political thinking of the period. Unlike the thinkers who laid the intellectual foundation of the French Revolution, the English political theorists of the same generation were more vitally interested in justifying the changes that time had made necessary. Their master and prophet was John Locke, who died in the third year of Queen Anne's reign. Locke's statement of the compact theory was simple and comprehensible; it was one that the mind grasped readily. The only difficulty is that no such a contract was ever known to have been entered into by any people. But the theory of contract in government was held quite generally in the eighteenth century, and seems to have been the doctrine by which most Americans justified their repudiation of George III. Even Bolingbroke appears to have accepted the fundamentals of Locke's theory of government in his pamphlet on the *Patriot King*. His contribution to political theory was a formula by which he hoped to harmonize Locke's idea of a supreme Parliament with his own idea of a sovereign king. Bolingbroke held that each of the two powers in the state, the king and the legislature, had certain well-defined duties, and if they devoted their energies to these there could be no disagreement. Moreover, so long as both honestly sought the welfare of the state, there would be agreement instead of collision; for where purposes coincide there need be little dispute as to measures and methods.

The principles of Whiggism. Three great ideas dominated English politics in the days of the Georges: religious toleration, the rights of personal or civil liberty, and the sacredness of

property rights. These were Whig ideas which had taken form during the conflict between the Stuarts and Parliament in the seventeenth century. Charles I had levied unauthorized taxes and had imprisoned men who refused to pay them; he had also attempted to force religious conformity on a strong, rebellious element in the English church. These forms of tyranny had been resisted. When Stuart despotism had reappeared in a slightly different guise toward the close of the Restoration period, the people had again risen in revolt. John Locke provided a complete justification for this resistance in his political teachings. Mankind, he held, had a right to personal freedom and the enjoyment of property even before governments were formed. Men have established governments for one great purpose only: "the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and estates." Perhaps the best statement of the early Whig belief is in the American Declaration of Independence, where Jefferson enumerates "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as "unalienable rights," to secure which "governments are instituted among men."

The political chiefs of the Whig party were men of great wealth: lords who owned vast estates and merchants who had large interests in the financial world. To such men property naturally had a sacred character. So great was the importance attached to property rights in the eighteenth century that it was almost impossible to effect any necessary social reform. If a merchant was engaged in the slave trade, he was suspicious of every attempt to regulate that traffic, as likely to interfere with his vested rights; and efforts in that direction were promptly blocked. When the horrors of the slave ships were brought to light, the Commons passed a bill, not to abolish the trade, but to make conditions more tolerable for the negroes; but the Lords ruined the bill by amending it (1788). Property, it was held, belonged absolutely to the owner; it could not be taken in the form of taxes unless the nation consented through its chosen representatives. According to Whig ideas 'taxation without representation was tyranny.' On this point English and American thinkers were in general agreement; but their views differed on the question of representation: many Englishmen held that Parliament, even as constituted in the eighteenth century, represented the entire nation and was empowered

to speak for all the subjects of the king, whether at home or over the seas.

By personal liberty the Whigs did not mean political rights, such as the right to vote and hold office; these were reserved for the influential classes. They meant that the officers of the law should molest no one unless there was an apparent cause to justify such action. They further held that when an Englishman was arrested he was entitled to a speedy trial. This was to prevent the king or other men in power from keeping in prison political opponents, whose only crime was opposition to the policies of the government. The Habeas Corpus Act was historically a Whig measure; but in the course of time its principle was accepted by all Englishmen, and it has long been regarded as one of the more significant features of the English constitution. These ideas were certainly rational and worthy of the age of common sense; but at times the emphasis that was placed so strongly on liberty and property made it difficult to provide the government with the necessary strength and vigor.

Religious philosophy: Deism and Rationalism. Though many prominent English thinkers in the eighteenth century were indifferent to the Anglican forms of religion, they were generally agreed that for the multitude the church was a useful institution, one that the state should not fail to encourage and maintain. But if honest men felt unable to conform to the established forms of worship, they should be tolerated in their own worship. Religious toleration was, however, not regarded as a natural right, but as a privilege which it was expedient for the state to allow. This privilege took the form of a license which was issued to such dissenting congregations as applied for it. Religious bodies that the government regarded as dangerous to itself, such as the organization of the Catholic church, were not tolerated.

The form of belief that was most common among the more advanced thinkers of the time was Deism. The Deist held that what was commonly taught in the churches as religious truth was probably error and, even if true, of only slight importance. Only a few large truths, such as the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, were of any real consequence. There was another class of thinkers who did not reject

revelation so completely as did the Deists but still went far in their emphasis on reason: these were called Rationalists. There were many Rationalists in the English pulpits, especially in the established church. They were zealous for the ceremonies of the church, but in their preaching there was but little religious fervor. As reason demanded that religion should be practical, the rationalistic pastors preached sermons which they thought might prove instructive and helpful for everyday life. But lectures on industry and the proper tillage of the soil could not do much to improve the spiritual condition of the congregation and the average Anglican church in the first half of the eighteenth century was dull, prosy, and unspiritual.

The Non-jurors. The downfall of the Stuarts had proved a real disaster to the Anglican priesthood. So long had the clergy preached passive obedience to the Lord's anointed that when William and Mary took over the government many priests found it very difficult to adjust their ideas to the new facts. Some even found it impossible, and about four hundred Anglican clergymen (including eight bishops) refused to take the required oath to the new sovereigns. Thus there appeared a schism in the establishment which continued for more than a century. The schismatics came to be known as non-jurors. They regarded themselves as the real church of England and refused to recognize the "intruding" bishops appointed on the authority of the new rulers. Though the non-jurors were not always agreed on religious usages, most of them may be classed as high churchmen of the Laudian type. This new dissenting movement did not long retain its vigor; it gradually lost its following till it finally counted but a single congregation, one at Shrewsbury, which apparently disappeared about 1805.

new **John Wesley: Methodism.** Anglicanism seems to have touched its lowest point in spiritual strength and efficiency in the decade 1730-1740. This was the period of Walpole and his faithful assistant Newcastle, of bribery and corruption in official circles, of coarse morals and artificial literature. But even at this time there were great sources of spiritual energy in the nation. During this decade a young Oxford theologian, John Wesley, was going through a remarkable religious development. When his ideas were matured he began to preach them and the result was Methodism.

John Wesley was born at Epworth in the northern part of Lincolnshire, where his father was rector. His great-grandfather Bartholomew Westley and his grandfather John Wesley were among the Nonconformist clergymen who were deprived of their livings through the operation of the last Act of Uniformity in the days of Charles II. His mother also came from a Nonconformist family. As a young man John Wesley was sent to Oxford where he studied theology; and while he was at the university he took orders in the Anglican church. For a brief period he served as missionary in the infant colony of Georgia but without real success. In 1737 he returned to England and two years later took up the task of infusing new life into the Anglican church. This work he continued till his death fifty-one years later (1791). If greatness is to be measured by achievement John Wesley ranks with the foremost men of his century; for the Methodist movement now ranks next to the Lutheran and the Anglican church as the strongest in the Protestant world.

It was not the purpose of Wesley and his associates to organize a new church; their intent was to create a society within the established church to supplement its work. They held their services, therefore, at such times as were not used for services by the Anglican priesthood. But the church was unwilling to recognize such a society and, although Wesley himself never left the Anglican communion, his followers were finally forced to withdraw from the established church and organize as a separate body under the provisions of the Toleration Act (1795). So long as the Methodists remained within the establishment, they were subject to discipline by the church officials; but as dissenters they had certain legal rights and were more secure against persecution.

The new movement met with strong opposition and much ridicule. In its insistence on conversion, in its enthusiastic and emotional meetings, and in its informal order of worship, Methodism differed radically from the ideals of Anglicanism. Zealous bishops (of whom there were a few) fought the movement, while the skeptics ridiculed it. "I have been at one opera, Mr. Wesley's," wrote Horace Walpole in 1766. He describes Wesley as a "lean, elderly man, fresh colored, . . . wondrous clean, but as evidently an actor as Garrick."

Wesley and his fellow preachers soon found that practically all the pulpits in the land were closed to them; there was, therefore, nothing to do but to preach in the open air. George Whitefield, a young priest of remarkable oratorical powers, began this sort of preaching in 1738, and Wesley was later induced to follow his example. In this way the young preachers were able to address audiences counting at times from ten to twenty thousand. The audiences were not always friendly, and frequently the lives of the preachers were in the greatest danger from hostile mobs. But in spite of persecution the new movement grew apace as the growing number of registered dissenting chapels clearly indicates. In 1720 there were about 4300 such registered places of worship; a century later the number had risen to 20,000.

The Evangelical movement. The advance of Methodism was checked somewhat by the rise of a kindred movement, the Evangelical, which began almost if not quite as early as the Wesleyan revival. For some time this movement, which also placed much emphasis on personal holiness, ran parallel to that of the Methodists; but the Evangelicals, whose religious viewpoint was Calvinistic, were not satisfied with the methods and the theological standards of Wesley and his followers, and refused to follow the Methodists out of the establishment. Though the Evangelicals had no orator who could compare with Whitefield, and no great resourceful leader like John Wesley, the group counted a number of able and serious men. William Grimshaw, a remarkable though somewhat eccentric priest in Yorkshire, was one of the earlier preachers of the movement. Like Wesley he spent much of his time in the saddle and it is said that he sometimes gathered his audience with the horsewhip. A greater orator was William Romaine, the son of a Huguenot refugee, who preached to large audiences in and about London. Another prominent leader was John Newton, who had begun his career as a sailor, was at one time employed in Africa by an English slave trader, and closed his career as a minister in the Anglican church.

Hymnology. It is a noteworthy fact that the eighteenth century, the age of cultivated paganism, was also the great age of English hymnology. Toward the close of Queen Anne's reign George Frederick Handel, the man who composed the *Messiah*,

came to England from Hanover, and for nearly fifty years England was his home. Handel became the musical interpreter of the English religious spirit. In his days Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge, two dissenting clergymen, were composing hymns that are still widely used. Later in the century another non-conformist minister, Edward Perronet, wrote "Old Coronation," one of the most famous of all English hymns. Charles Wesley became the poet of the movement of which his brother was the preacher and organizer. The Evangelicals produced the poet Cowper and his associate John Newton, whose hymns are representative of the movement that they helped to lead. Among the Anglican poets of the older school Augustus Toplady is perhaps the most famous. Toplady hated Methodism and wrote fiercely against the Wesleys. His learned polemics were long ago forgotten, but his great hymn, "Rock of Ages," is known wherever English is spoken or sung.

The Sunday school: Robert Raikes. The Methodist and the Evangelical revival gained great momentum in the second half of the eighteenth century and indirectly promoted various activities, which were not distinctly religious. About 1780, Robert Raikes, a printer in Gloucester, impressed with the need of doing something for the children who filled the streets with noise and riot on Sundays, decided to open a school where they might be gathered and taught to read the Bible and recite the catechism. The new school was immediately successful and similar schools were soon founded elsewhere throughout the kingdom. Raikes at first employed and paid four women to teach in his Sunday school, but before long teachers were found who were willing to give gratuitous instruction, and the modern Sunday school assumed the character that it has since retained.

Anti-slavery agitation: Clarkson and Wilberforce. The humanitarian spirit of the age found its finest expression in a determined agitation to end the iniquities of the slave trade. Before 1772 slavery was a legal institution in England as well as in the plantations; but in that year a famous English jurist, Lord Mansfield, handed down a judicial decision in which he affirmed that no slave could touch English soil without becoming free. A decade later Thomas Clarkson, a young Cambridge student, while preparing a Latin essay on the moral aspects of the slave traffic, had occasion to investigate the

conditions under which the trade was carried on and was deeply impressed with what he learned of the horrors on the slave ships. Clarkson resolved to dedicate his energies to the destruction of the traffic, and in 1787 he assisted in organizing a society for the abolition of the slave trade. The membership of this society was drawn chiefly from the Quaker communion, but it also included a prominent layman of the Evangelical group, William Wilberforce, who represented the cause of abolition in the House of Commons. Wilberforce enlisted the influence of William Pitt, and Charles James Fox also gave sympathetic assistance. For nearly twenty years Wilberforce and his friends urged the abolition of the slave traffic on a reluctant house. Finally, in 1807, their efforts proved successful in both chambers and the iniquitous trade was outlawed.

The industrial revolution. The eighteenth century further witnessed a profound change in the economic life of the nation. This first appeared in industry and the movement is known as the industrial revolution. Old methods of manufacturing were discarded; the machine appeared as a relatively new factor in industry; and the word factory, which earlier had meant a trading post, assumed its modern significance. The industrial revolution was accompanied by a somewhat parallel movement in agriculture which completely transformed the appearance of rural England. These two movements began shortly before the middle of the century (the agricultural revolution somewhat earlier) and were moving swiftly forward during the period of the American war. They continued till nearly half of the nineteenth century was past.

In 1700 England was still an agricultural country. London with a population of about 700,000 was for that time a large city, and it had no competitors within the British seas. About five millions made up the population of England and Wales, of whom only one-fifth lived in cities. A century later the population had nearly doubled while the urban population had trebled. The increase was greatest during the second half of the century and followed closely the changes in industry and agriculture.

Domestic manufactures. Between these two lines of activity, farming and handiwork, there had always been a close connection. England had for centuries held an important position in the pro-

duction of wool and woollen cloth. In this production the farmers had some part; in their houses much wool was combed, spun, and even woven. In this way the family was able to increase its income quite materially. There was also a class of laborers who gave most of their time and strength to the woollen trades; but as a rule these also kept a plot of land, by the cultivation of which they were able to keep down the household expenses.

The looms of the woollen industry were still to be found in greatest number in the old wool district of eastern and south-eastern England. The industry was, however, finding its way into other parts of the country and good woollen cloths could also be purchased in the west and the north. Silk, which formed such an important part of the wardrobe among the upper classes, was woven at various points but in greatest quantity in and about London. Linen cloth was manufactured quite extensively in Ulster and in southern Scotland. The cotton industry, which has come to be the greatest of all the textile industries in the British kingdom, was pursued to a limited extent in the towns of Lancashire. In 1760 the English merchants exported twenty times as much woollen as cotton cloth. Moreover, cloth made from cotton only could not be manufactured, for thus far the English spinners had not been able to produce a cotton thread firm enough to be used as warp; before the invention of the spinning machines the weavers of cotton goods had to use linen threads for this purpose.

Colonial and commercial expansion. Meanwhile the English merchant and the English colonist had gone forth into the newer regions of the earth and had built up an overseas empire which will long remain one of the wonders of history. A leading result of this colonial activity was a continued expansion of British trade and a growing export of British products. Out of this increased demand for manufactured products came the industrial revolution, first in England but finally extending its influence into nearly all the civilized world.

The fly-shuttle loom. 1733. The demand for more extensive production was met by a series of mechanical inventions which completely destroyed the older domestic form of manufacturing. As young and old were now busy spinning cotton and silk as well as wool, more thread was produced than the

weavers could use. This was remedied in 1733 by Kay's invention of the fly-shuttle, a device which greatly increased the capacity of the weaver. In the older looms the weaver had to use both hands in passing the shuttle through the warp; consequently, there was a definite limit to the width of the cloth that could be woven by one person working alone; if wider pieces were desired, the weaver had to have an assistant working with him. Kay's device enabled the weaver to drive the shuttle across the loom with one hand. Cloth of any width could now be produced by a single operator and the speed of the weaving process was greatly increased.

New spinning machines. 1764-1779. The demand now was for more thread. This was supplied by three new inventions which were all perfected between the years 1764 and 1779. First came the spinning jenny, a machine invented by James Hargreaves, by which the operator was enabled to work eight spindles instead of one. The machine was still further improved and made ten times as efficient as when first put to use. The spindle was an ancient device, as old as civilization itself; Hargreaves therefore did not invent any new principle of spinning.

Richard Arkwright found that better and stronger thread could be produced by passing the carded cotton fibers between rollers. Of these he used four pairs, each revolving more rapidly than the pair just preceding. The idea was not entirely new with Arkwright, a foreigner by the name of Lewis Paul having worked with the same principle thirty years earlier; but Arkwright was the first to utilize it in a practical manner. As the new spinning machine could be operated by water power it soon came to be known as the "water frame." The great importance of Arkwright's invention lay in the fact that his machine could manufacture thread of sufficient strength to be used as warp; thus it became possible to dispense with the linen warp and to produce cloth of pure cotton.

Ten years later Samuel Crompton combined the methods of the spindle and the series of rollers in a contrivance that has since been called the "mule." Crompton's mule spun a finer thread than was possible with the spinning jenny or the water frame. These three inventors of spinning devices, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton, were all natives of Lancashire which

was and still remains the center of the cotton industry in England.

The power loom and the cotton gin. These inventions soon supplied more cotton thread than could be woven into cloth even after the fly-shuttle looms had become common. But in 1785 this difficulty was removed by the invention of the power loom by Edmund Cartwright, a Kentish clergyman with a talent for mechanics. The power loom was not successful at first, but after twenty years of improvement it began to come into general use. As both spinning and weaving could now be done by machinery, the output of cotton cloth increased enormously. The only trouble now was to secure an adequate supply of cotton. This new difficulty was soon met, though not by English inventors: seven years after the appearance of the power loom Eli Whitney, a young American just out of Yale College, invented and built the first cotton gin, a machine for separating the lint from the seeds. The first cotton gin was a crude contrivance; still, a single gin was able to produce as much clean lint as fifty laborers working by hand. The new invention promoted the growth of cotton in the American South to such an extent that the supply was soon equal to the demands of Lancashire.

The factory system. The application of power to the textile industries had far-reaching results. The new machines were set up in factories, where a large number of workers could labor under the same roof. Spinning and weaving almost ceased in the cottages of the laborers: the old domestic industry came to an end, and the poorer classes in the country lost an important part of their income. It was natural, therefore, that the building of machines and factories should call forth much opposition on the part of the textile workers. In the factories much of the work was such as required neither great strength nor much skill; and the manufacturers soon began to employ women and children in large numbers. The new factories were naturally built where water power was most available, along the swift streams which flowed down from the Pennine range through Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Into these sections a constant stream of workingmen flowed and soon these hitherto unpromising regions could boast large and growing cities. With this congestion of population came a new type of

social problems; for factory labor meant low wages, long hours, extensive employment of women and children, and unsanitary homes.

The steam engine: James Watt. Water power was after a time replaced by steam power; but the textile factories remained in the northern counties, for in these districts there are extensive coal fields as well as rapid streams. The modern steam engine was the outcome of a series of inventions prompted by the need of machinery for pumping water out of mines. The earliest patent covering a device for utilizing steam in pumping was issued to Captain Thomas Savery in 1698. Savery's invention consisted chiefly of a cylinder which was filled with steam from a boiler. The steam condensing, a vacuum was formed into which water rushed through a pipe connected with the bottom of the mine. Seven years later Thomas Newcomen introduced a piston into Savery's steam cylinder and thus brought the invention a step nearer to the modern engine. By introducing steam into the cylinder below the piston this was raised to the top of the cylinder. The steam was next condensed by a jet of cold water thrown on the cylinder, a partial vacuum was formed, and the piston forced downward by atmospheric pressure from above. Thus an up-and-down motion was created which could be utilized in pumping, and which enabled miners to work in shafts twice as deep as those that had been worked under older conditions.

James Watt, a Scottish mechanic and maker of mathematical instruments, conceived the idea that steam could be introduced into the cylinder alternately above and below the piston, and thus be made a real motive force. After six years of experimentation Watt produced his engine in 1769. It proved to be a practical machine, though for some time it was used principally for pumping. But the new engine was steadily being improved and during the last decade of the century, steam, as a motive power for turning factory wheels, was rapidly growing in favor. Cartwright applied steam to his power loom in 1789.

Coal and iron; the blast furnace. The coal fields of England lie in a broad belt extending diagonally across the country from South Wales to Durham and Northumberland. Along with the coal in the greater part of this area, iron is found in great

quantities. Iron has been mined in England since the metal came into use on the island; but for a long time only such deposits as were found near forests could be mined with profit, charcoal being the only available fuel that could give sufficient heat for smelting. But when, about the middle of the eighteenth century, methods were perfected for using ordinary coal in the smelting furnaces, the mining industry began to develop rapidly, and iron manufactures came to be of great importance.

In 1709 a famous ironmaster, Abraham Darby, established his iron works at Coalbrookdale in the Severn valley where both coal and iron ore occur in extensive deposits. Half a century later a group of men headed by Dr. John Roebuck, an English chemist, founded the works at Carron in central Scotland and thus laid the foundations of the iron industry in that country. In these two establishments a series of important experiments was carried forward which ultimately led to the use of new methods in treating the iron ore. Darby was the first ironmaster to make practical use of coal and coke in a blast furnace, so called because a blast of air is forced into the furnace and through the heated ore. The chief problem was how to secure a strong and steady current; this was solved at first by the use of bellows operated by water power and finally (1788) by the application of power from Watt's new steam engine. The use of steam power in smelting iron ore proved to be a decided step forward, and the progress of the iron industry in Great Britain took on a rapid rate.

Puddling and casting. The product of the blast furnace (called pig iron) still contained an appreciable percent of carbon and other foreign materials which gave the iron a brittle character. These impurities were finally eliminated by a process called puddling which was patented in 1784 by the famous inventor Henry Cort. In puddling the pig iron is subjected to intense heat and is stirred thoroughly. A year earlier Cort had patented a process of rolling iron into bars or plates by passing it through a set of grooved rollers. This was a great advance over the earlier methods of shaping the plates with a hammer. Still earlier (about 1750) Benjamin Huntsman of Sheffield had developed a process of casting steel, an invention which revolutionized the trade in cutlery. The cutlers of Sheffield at first refused to use cast steel but when they found that it was being

used by cutlers elsewhere they proceeded to steal Huntsman's invention.

Canals and roads. The new interest in cotton and wool, in coal and iron, in steam and water power, in mines and factories could not fail to stimulate commerce. As the producing centers were frequently distant from the sea, the problem of transportation was often a difficult one. This was solved in part by the duke of Bridgewater, who built a famous canal between his Lancashire coal fields and the city of Manchester (1761). This canal, though only a few miles in length, was a notable achievement as it had to be carried across a stream thirty-nine feet above the water. The engineer was James Brindley who later constructed several other canals in northwestern England. Roads were also built and improved, though it was not until Macadam had begun to build "macadamized" roads of crushed rock in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that England began to have passable highways.

New economic theories; Adam Smith. The increased volume of manufactured goods forced the English merchants to look for larger markets abroad. It was also coming to be understood that the ideas of the mercantilists no longer fitted the economic situation. The nation began to see that the European Continent would not continue to buy largely of British products unless England bought Continental wares in return. The old idea that a country should fear the prosperity of its neighbors was also found to be wrong; for unless a nation is prosperous it cannot afford to purchase English products. Consequently the old restrictions that hampered foreign trade were gradually removed. This movement for wider and freer trade found favor in the government itself, where the younger Pitt was the ruling force. In 1786 a treaty was made with the French government (as noted elsewhere) providing for what was almost complete freedom of trade in a limited part of the commercial field. This was the first successful advance in the direction of a new commercial policy, a policy of free trade, which the British government definitely adopted about sixty years later.

The idea that England would profit by a greater freedom of trade was not original with William Pitt; it belonged to the thinking of the age in which Pitt lived. For the second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a growing demand for greater

freedom in many fields and a deepening hostility to certain traditional forms of official restraint. One important outcome of this agitation was the development of a new economic belief, the *laissez faire* (or let-alone) policy, a doctrine which taught that it was not within the province of government to interfere actively in behalf of any form of commercial enterprise. Among the newer theorists who emphasized the desirability of larger freedom was a great Scottish thinker, Adam Smith, who in 1776 published a famous work on the *Wealth of Nations*, which in the course of time revolutionized English thought on economic subjects.

The agricultural revolution. It will be remembered that on the medieval manor the plowland was divided into acre and half-acre strips, and that the strips allotted to each farmer were usually scattered over the various fields. During the Tudor period and even earlier much of this land had been enclosed; but in 1700 there still remained large areas that were laid out and farmed in the old time-honored way. Intelligent landowners were beginning to see, however, that the old system was wasteful and unproductive. Several prominent leaders were preaching the merits of what they called a "new agriculture." This implied various things, but especially greater attention to grain (notably wheat) farming, new crops, better implements, more thorough tillage, and a more careful selection of live stock.

It was generally realized that before farming could be much improved, the old system of strips and open fields would have to be swept away. As a rule the holdings could be distributed and enclosed only by the consent of Parliament; but the membership of that body believed strongly in greater profits from land and readily granted permission to enclose. The process of enclosing followed closely the new development in industry: during the first half of the century only about one hundred enclosure acts were passed; but during the second half, the period of the great inventions that revolutionized manufacturing, Parliament passed nearly 3000 such acts. When the century ended the larger part of rural England was laid off into compact farms and pastures enclosed by fences, hedges, and ditches.

Tillage and fertilization. Among the men who were most successful in promoting the newer methods in agriculture, Jethro Tull, a Berkshire farmer who lived early in the century, was the

first in point of time. Tull gave particular attention to the matter of tillage and devised machinery for that purpose. Contemporary with Tull, though later as a promoter of scientific farming, was Charles Townshend, the grandfather of the young cabinet member who was chiefly responsible for the unfortunate Townshend Acts. Because of his successful experiments with turnip culture he was also called "Turnip Townshend." His specialty was rotation of crops: he taught that wheat should be sown on a given field only every third or fourth year; in other years he favored sowing barley, clover, or turnip seed. It is said that by employing the newer methods of rotation and careful tillage one of Townshend's disciples raised the rental value of a Norfolk farm from £180 to £800.

Half a century later Thomas Coke came into prominence for his experiments with various new forms of fertilizing materials. For a period of more than thirty years Coke invited the farmers of the neighborhood annually to his house at Holkham to discuss agricultural problems and to study the results of the Holkham experiments. These "Holkham sheepshearings" were largely attended: at the last meeting 7000, chiefly farmers, were present to do homage to the great agriculturist.

Scientific breeding. While the Norfolk landowners were seeking means to preserve, renew, and increase the fertility of the soil, Robert Bakewell, a farmer in Leicestershire, was studying the problem how to develop better breeds of cattle and sheep. Bakewell had come to believe that the prevalent practice of crossing unlike breeds could lead to no improvement, but that the proper method was to use great care in selecting animals for breeding purposes from those types that the breeder wished to develop. Bakewell's methods were soon adopted by other cattle breeders and were followed with notable success by the two Colling brothers, who developed the Shorthorn breed of cattle in Durham, and by John Ellman of Sussex, who began the systematic improvement of the Southdown breed of sheep. The result was that the farmers who before 1750 were interested in cattle and sheep for dairy products and wool now developed a growing interest in beef and mutton.

Benefits and evils of the agricultural revolution. The results of the agricultural revolution were of great and continued import. Scientific methods could now to some extent be employed in

farming; a greater variety of crops was raised; and the soil was made to yield larger returns. It is reported that in forty years of scientific farming Coke of Holkham was able to raise the rental value of his land from £2200 to £20,000. The beeves that were brought to the great cattle market at Smithfield, London, in 1710 averaged 370 lbs. in weight; in 1795 the average had risen to 800 lbs. During the same period the average weight of sheep in the same market advanced from 28 lbs. to 80 lbs. These were notable achievements. The wealth of all England was greatly increased and on the whole the entire nation was benefited. But there were also evil results: a larger part of the rural population was forced off the land. The officials who carried out the provisions of the enclosure acts and laid out the new farms no doubt tried to do justice to all who had any legal right to any part of the soil; but many had only a few acres and they had practically no choice but to sell their holdings to their wealthier neighbors; some were lease-holders whose rights expired with the lease; many others had never had any title to the land that they tilled: they were "squatters" who had built huts somewhere on the commons where they could live until the community or the owner ordered them to leave. All these dispossessed classes now had to seek new occupations. Many became hired laborers on the new farms, but the greater number packed their belongings and traveled into the North where the new factories were calling for cheap labor.

Results of the revolutions in industry and agriculture. These two movements, the industrial and the agricultural revolution, were well under way by 1750; but they were especially evident during the years of the great revolutions in America and France. The process continued for half a century or longer. When it was completed English society and even English geography had been to a great extent transformed.

1. There had been a notable decrease in the number of farms and farmers. The farms were larger, some of them very large, and the small farmer had practically disappeared.

2. The old system of domestic industry, the combination of a little agriculture with a little weaving or spinning, had also disappeared. Its place had been taken by a new industrial institution, the modern factory under capitalistic management.

3. The population had shifted to a considerable extent from

the country to the city, from the agricultural south to the industrial north, where there were cotton mills, woolen mills, coal mines, and iron works. Outside the London area the county of Lancashire is at present the most densely populated region in the kingdom, having nearly 2000 inhabitants to the square mile.

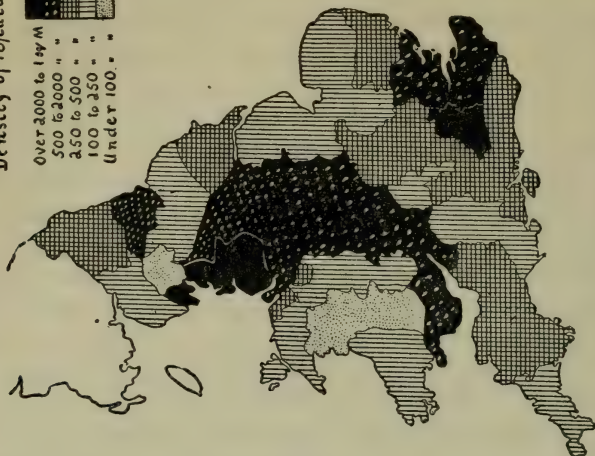
4. In the new industrial areas a series of great and difficult social problems had arisen, due in large part to the massing of cheap labor in the factory towns and the extensive employment of women and children in the mines and the textile mills.

5. Production in England, both agricultural and industrial, was increasing at a rapid rate. Commerce was forced to keep pace with this growth, and new economic methods and ideas became current in the world of trade. The prophet of the newer economic thought was Adam Smith.

6. The English people were developing a new interest in the British dominions over the sea. These regions had long been valued by the English merchant as an unfailing source of certain finished products that could be imported and sold in the kingdom and to neighboring lands: coffee, tea, and sugar may serve as illustrations. Now these distant regions had come to have an even greater value to the industrial classes as sources of raw materials (cotton, wool, minerals, and other raw products) which could be used in British industry and sold as manufactured articles in the markets of the world.

Poor laws and pauperism. The rise of the factory system, like the enclosing of land, was an important and necessary development in the British economic system. Again, like the enclosing process, it was followed immediately by distress and greater poverty among the poor. Though the wealth of the nation grew immensely, the direct profits went to a relatively small class of wealthy farmers and rich employers. The plan adopted by the government in the days of Queen Elizabeth for dealing with the problem of poverty through systematic relief administered by overseers has been sketched in an earlier chapter. Later legislation placed these overseers under the supervision of the local justices of the peace. For a hundred years or more these laws proved generally effective and beneficial; but the changes in farming and industry that have been outlined above changed a benevolent scheme into a vicious system. Prices were rising and "the high cost of living" became a stern fact. The

1901
Density of Population



THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN SOUTH BRITAIN
AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

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1700
Density of Population



THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN SOUTH BRITAIN
PRIOR TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

From the Census Report of 1831
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justices of the peace were unwilling or unable to raise wages to a figure sufficiently high to meet the demands of the time. In 1795 the justices of Berkshire, feeling that relief must be given, decided to give help to the healthy laborer as well as to the aged and the infirm. The scheme was based on the cost of bread; if a man's wages were insufficient to buy the necessary food for his family, the officials of the parish were to provide the difference from the local rates.

It must not be forgotten that this decision was taken at a time when the governing classes were in great fear of a popular uprising. The French Revolution was still running its bloody course; the reign of terror in Paris had closed only a few months before; England was at war with the French republic. And the country gentleman felt that the poor must be kept satisfied no matter what the cost.

The Berkshire plan was widely adopted and soon hundreds of thousands were deriving a part of their support from the poor rates. The evils of the system promptly appeared. If the parish would provide the difference between his earnings and the cost of living, the laborer could see no reason why he should work more than was absolutely necessary. Similarly, the employer reasoned that there was no longer any need to pay high wages; he might as well contribute to the support of his workmen when he paid his local taxes. The result was that England with all her wealth, "the workshop of the world," sank into pauperism. A generation after the kind-hearted justices of Berkshire had begun to extend such general relief, one-sixth of the population of England looked to the poor rates and the parish officials for daily bread.

The empire. Time came when some of the more enterprising among the poor in England sought refuge in emigration; but the last quarter of the eighteenth century was not a favorable time to plant English settlements in the newer lands. The loss of the thirteen American colonies was keenly felt by all classes of Englishmen; still, the greater part of the British Empire remained intact and its area was constantly increasing. The English people were deeply interested in the operations of the East India Company in the Ganges valley; but to those who wished to establish new homes across the sea northern India could have no attraction. There were, however, two vast areas

that had recently come under the British flag, Canada and Australia, both of which had great possibilities as colonizing territory and were soon to receive a large share of British emigration.

Australia. As early as the Tudor period tales were current of a vast Southland, the *Terra Australis*, lying far to the south of India. Australia was seen by Spanish navigators early in the seventeenth century and was visited several times by Dutch sailors, the best known of whom was Abel Tasman who in 1642 saw the islands since known as Tasmania and New Zealand. For more than a century no European power showed any interest in the great Southland; but in 1770 the famous English explorer, Captain James Cook, spent some time on the coasts of New Zealand and southeastern Australia. Captain Cook took possession of the country for the British crown and named the larger island New South Wales. No attempt was made to settle Australia before 1788, when a penal colony was established on Botany Bay. Convicts are poor colonists and for several decades the development of Australia was slow and halting. But immigrants soon began to find their way to these southern settlements; the transportation of convicts ceased about 1840; and New South Wales was found to have great possibilities as a sheep-raising country. Finally gold was discovered and after that event the population began to increase rapidly. Australia is to-day one of the great self-governing dominions of the empire.

Canada. The American Revolution had important results for the development of Canada. A large element in the thirteen colonies had remained loyal to the English king, and after the treaty of 1783 many of these Tories found it necessary to seek homes elsewhere. A considerable number emigrated to Nova Scotia; others settled in New Brunswick which was now organized as a separate colony; but the greater number crossed the Niagara River and founded the new colony of Ontario (1784). These settlements determined the future of Canada: they gave the country an element that was intensely English and loyal to the empire, and which in time was to wrest power in Canada from the French in Quebec.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT WAR WITH FRANCE

The French Revolution. In the spring of 1789 a revolutionary movement broke out in France which in a few years developed into a vast international struggle involving nearly all the nations of Europe. The French Revolution had its center at the capital, but the movement was general all over the land, for local despots were to be found everywhere. The common man had good cause to complain, inasmuch as many of the French peasants were still in a measure afflicted with the burdens of villeinage which the English farmer had thrown off in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In places they were still held to forced labor on some lord's demesne and to servile payments in money and kind. Even those who were rated as freemen and as owners of the land that they occupied were sometimes held to the old dues and service. Moreover the masses had to bear the expenses of an extravagant government, while a comparatively small number of nobles and courtiers enjoyed the official honors and privileges. A like situation obtained in the church: a relatively small group of bishops and abbots, usually chosen from the aristocratic families, controlled the great wealth of the church, while thousands of parish priests lived and labored in deep poverty.

In the course of the eighteenth century a series of great thinkers had appeared in France, all of whom saw clearly the need of thorough-going social reform. The most prominent of these were the famous critic and man of letters, François Arouet de Voltaire, and his younger contemporary, the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his younger days Voltaire spent some years in England where he won the friendship of Pope, Bolingbroke, and other leading intellectuals of the Georgian Age. He accepted the beliefs of English deism and became famous for his warfare against the French church. More influential even than Voltaire was Rousseau, who attacked the foundations of the French constitution by insisting that no government has a right to exist unless it is based on the will of the people.

It is not likely that the warnings of the agitators would have been heeded so soon and so generally if a serious condition had not arisen within the royal administration. Louis XVI, in whose hands the fulness of power was supposed to rest, was a weak and incompetent, though well-meaning, king, and his advisers were not of the class that cared to initiate reforms in behalf of the masses. But the last war with England, the War of American Independence, had pushed the royal treasury far in the direction of bankruptcy; and the king was finally forced to lay the situation before the Estates-General, a body that roughly corresponded to the English Parliament. This body had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. In many respects the history of the sessions of the Estates-General and the assemblies that succeeded it resembled that of the Long Parliament of the Stuart Period. In both cases many enduring reforms were enacted, and in both cases the legislative body went farther than the opinion of the time would permit. In France, as in England, the movement led to the trial and execution of the king and to the establishment of a republic. In both cases the revolution called forth a dictator. And in both cases the upheaval ended with the restoration of the old dynasty and a modified form of the old régime.

There were, of course, certain notable differences. The French had suffered longer and more keenly than the English; consequently, they were more nearly a unit in their earlier demands. As England is an island kingdom and therefore almost inaccessible to foreign armies, and as the rest of Europe was at the time engaged in the Thirty Years' War, the English were allowed to finish their civil conflict without interference from abroad. It was otherwise in France where the revolutionists had ultimately to face and fight the combined armies of the European despots, who trembled lest the influence of the French upheaval should extend to their own monarchies. And the leadership of this reactionary alliance was forced upon the British kingdom and upon the reluctant prime minister, William Pitt.

England and the Revolution. The progress of the revolution in France at first produced much satisfaction in England. Wordsworth, Cowper, and Southey watched the course of events with real enthusiasm; Coleridge expressed the same feeling in glowing verse. But when news came that the revolutionists were

rebuilding French society and the French state by violent methods instead of by strictly legal means, the earlier fervor began to cool. The Tories, whose war-cry was still "the king, the church, and the land," had been critical toward the movement from the very beginning. The English clergy could not give its blessings to a movement that was steadily drifting in the direction of atheism. The abolition of titles, the confiscation of lands, and the destruction of privilege could not appeal favorably to the English peerage. The Whigs were still devoted to the defense of "life, liberty, and property," but the new liberties of the French people seemed of doubtful character at best, and could not in any sense outweigh the crude violation of property rights. Soon all the classes who were blessed with property in any form were swept into the current of opposition to a movement that appeared to be growing more strong and sinful and monstrous every day.

The first important political result of the Revolution in England was an open schism among the Whigs which practically ruined their party. Charles Fox was enthusiastic for the uprising across the Channel; when he heard that the Bastille had been destroyed he proclaimed its downfall "the greatest event . . . that ever happened in the world," and not only the greatest but the best. But his old friend Edmund Burke had never liked the upheaval in Paris, and he liked it less as its purposes were revealed. Burke believed that institutions, whether social or political, that had grown to strength during a long period of time must have merits of their own and should not be tampered with. When he learned that the French were beginning to remodel their constitution, his coolness developed into deep resentment and anger. In 1790 he published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*, a great storehouse of argument from which all who opposed the new French government drew freely in the two years that followed. In his *Reflections* Burke condemned the new revolutionary principles of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, and showed how, in pretended obedience to these principles, the revolutionists had committed great wrongs and even crimes. A few months later he publicly broke with Fox and terminated a political alliance which had endured for more than twenty years. Under Burke's leadership the more conservative Whigs drifted into a loose union with Pitt's new Tory party into which they were

ultimately absorbed. The official Whig party was left in a sad plight. It was said that all the Whig members of Parliament could find room in a single coach, though Fox insisted that they needed at least two.

The drift toward republicanism in France. Meanwhile the Estates-General, or, as it was now called, the National Assembly, was at work on a new constitution, which after two years of discussion was finally completed in September, 1791. This transformed the kingdom into a limited monarchy, granted religious toleration, and allowed a wide measure of civil liberty. Louis XVI had seemed willing to accept the abolition of privileges and some of the other changes that the Assembly had voted; but in June, 1791, he made an unsuccessful attempt to flee to a friendly force of regulars guarding the northeastern frontier, and it was now clear that the king would not honestly attempt to carry out the provisions of the new constitution. The Paris mob began to call for a republic, and this demand found ready response in the National Assembly. In the summer of the following year a legislature chosen under the new constitution suspended the king from his office and called a convention to determine whether France was to remain a monarchy or be made into a republic (August, 1792).

Causes of the war with France. William Pitt had been mildly favorable to the Revolution in its earlier stages; but he, too, soon developed a strong aversion to the movement. His policy was, however, to maintain the peace and leave the French to arrange their affairs and to settle their difficulties without interference from England. But every day violence grew more common and more pronounced across the Channel, and every day the hatred in conservative England for revolutionary methods grew more intense. Still, the movement had gone forward for nearly four years before actual war broke out between England and France.

Two decrees on the part of the French government, the so-called November decrees, forced the outcome. (1) War had broken out between France and Austria earlier in the same year. French armies had proceeded to occupy the Austrian Netherlands and were threatening to invade the Dutch republic, which since 1788 had been in alliance with England. On November 16, the French Convention decreed that the navigation of the Scheldt

should be free and open to all nations, thus annulling the right of the Dutch to control that part of the river that ran through their territories. (2) Three days later the Convention called upon all Europe to join in the revolution and offered to assist any people who showed a desire to overthrow what the French called despotism. The invitation was general, but a few weeks later the republican minister of marine threatened England specifically with war: "We will make a descent upon the island. We will hurl thither 50,000 caps of Liberty."

The execution of Louis XVI. In January, 1793, the French government sent Louis XVI to the guillotine. London put on mourning, while Paris rejoiced. King George ordered the French agent to leave the kingdom. Both sides realized that war between the two countries was unavoidable. England might not feel called upon to avenge the Bourbon dynasty or even to punish the French for inciting dissatisfied Britons to revolt; but she could not allow France to annex her old commercial rival, the Dutch Republic. She could not permit the French republic to build up a great naval station at Antwerp. Anxious as they were to maintain the balance of power, the English statesmen could not be indifferent to the French ambitions in the Low Countries. France realized the dangers of the situation and on February 1, 1793, the new republic declared war on the British kingdoms.

Reign of Terror in France; panic in England. 1793-1794. Soon after midsummer of the same year conditions at Paris drifted into what is called the Reign of Terror: the men in control of the republic sought to destroy the enemies of the new system by the use of the guillotine. For nearly a year this terrible madness continued. During the last seven weeks of the Terror more than two thousand lives were shorn away. The same year (1793-1794) a strange panic seized the governing classes in England. Burke's *Reflections* had called forth a number of animated replies, some of which attained a wide circulation; an abusive pamphlet by Thomas Paine, the *Rights of Man*, sold to the extent of more than a million copies in a short time. In 1792 the government issued a proclamation against such "seditious writings," and Parliament was induced to pass several acts directed against certain harmless political clubs and even against men who agitated for reasonable and much-needed reforms.

In applying these and other laws that might be invoked the British courts often went to indefensible extremes. Thomas Muir, a Scottish lawyer, was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years for agitating in favor of universal suffrage and annual Parliamentary elections. An English radical named Hudson was fined £200 and sent to prison for two years for toasting the French republic. There were several other convictions for like offenses; but in 1794, when the terror was past in France, the panic subsided in England and English juries from that time on proved unwilling to convict political offenders.

The enemies of the new republic. One of the earliest achievements of the French Revolution was the destruction of all feudal survivals. Deprived of their ancient privileges, the nobles fled in large numbers across the French frontier. Before long these *émigrés* began to gather in the Austrian Netherlands and across the Rhine, where they organized a military force to be used in the interest of the old Bourbon régime as soon as conditions should appear favorable for an advance across the border. The French government protested in Vienna against these operations, but the emperor who ruled the Austrian lands refused to interfere. In April, 1792, France declared war on Austria and thus began a terrific conflict which soon involved nearly all Europe and continued almost without cessation for twenty-three years. In 1793, when the French threw down the gauntlet to the British government, they were already at war with Austria and Prussia. Other states joined in the attack on the Revolution as the great struggle went on.

Unpreparedness in England. For active participation in the war the British kingdom were poorly prepared. The English army counted fewer than 30,000 men, and of the great fleet that Rodney had led to victory ten years before only seventy-five ships of the line remained in a seaworthy condition. The naval service had not been maintained at its normal strength and for a time it was found necessary to use soldiers to man the fleet. Parliament promptly voted funds to enlarge both the army and the navy, and ships were rapidly manned and equipped. For some years the actual management of the war was entrusted to Henry Dundas, a Scottish lawyer and politician, who was in charge first of the home department and later of the war office. Dundas was an energetic, resourceful man with real business abilities;

but he was not the match for the great Carnot who was "organizing victory" in France.

Coalitions and subsidies. Pitt's plan was to gather the enemies of the republic into a great alliance or coalition after the example of William III in his wars with Louis XIV. As England has always been reluctant to develop a large standing army, Pitt had to depend on the forces of his Continental allies to fight the French on land. It was to be England's task to engage the republic on the ocean, to destroy the French navy, and to ruin the enemy's trade. England also sent soldiers to the Continent, but for some years these expeditions were of lesser importance.

England further agreed to assist her allies with funds necessary to equip their armies. For a number of years this practice of giving financial assistance to Prussia, Austria, Naples, Portugal, and other states was continued; consequently, the war came to be very expensive to the English taxpayers. Pitt did not believe that France could keep up the fight very long and proposed to carry on the war with borrowed money. Taxation, however, was not neglected. Dogs and horses, windows and women servants, armorial bearings and hair powder were among the many things that were now made subject to taxation. But the national debt mounted so rapidly that in 1798 the ministry was forced to lay a heavy income tax on the wealth of the nation. The rate was ten percent and the tax proved so unpopular that after a time it was wholly dropped. Later it was revived and it still remains an important source of national revenue.

Pitt's plans were not entirely successful. The British fleet won a series of brilliant victories, but in the fighting on land nearly all the battles were won by the French. The republic crushed her enemies the one after the other; England alone refused to yield. Except for a brief period of peace the war that began in 1793 continued until France was overwhelmed on the field of Waterloo in 1815.

The third partition of Poland. The failure of the coalition to stem the tide of the French advance was due in large part to the fact that Prussia and Austria regarded the war as of secondary interest only. Their chief interest was in Poland which was on the point of being divided for the third and last time. In 1794 the Poles rose against the Russians, and Catherine II of Russia called on her Prussian partner in sin to assist in quelling

the uprising. Frederick William promptly responded. Fearing that the tsarina and the Prussian king would carry off all the spoils, the emperor virtually abandoned his Belgian territories and gave all his attention to Poland.

St. Vincent and Camperdown. 1797. The French armies were soon in occupation of the Austrian Netherlands, and early in the following year they advanced into the territories of the Dutch Republic. The United Netherlands yielded to the invader and the country was transformed into a dependent state called the Batavian Republic. A year later Spain renewed her old alliance with France. The French government thus had the command of three fleets, those of France, Spain, and the Netherlands. It was planned to use these in an attack on England and in a descent upon Ireland, where a strong revolutionary movement was being organized. But the Spaniards never came into the Channel. Admiral Jervis, who commanded the English fleet in the Mediterranean, came upon the Spanish fleet off Cape Saint Vincent on the coast of Portugal and destroyed a large part of it. One of the English captains was Commodore Nelson who in this battle found his first opportunity to display his wonderful abilities in naval warfare. Later in the same year the Dutch fleet was defeated by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown on the coast of Holland. Nine of the fifteen ships engaged were taken by the English. The French had expected to use this fleet in their projected invasion of Ireland; but for the time being all plans looking toward a descent upon the British Isles had to be given up.

Economic distress in England. The battles of Saint Vincent and Camperdown were events of the first importance; but even with these victories the year 1797 was a period of great depression in England, the darkest year of the war. The national debt had grown to huge proportions. The Bank of England was obliged to suspend the payment of specie and for twenty-two years the business of the nation was transacted chiefly by means of paper currency. The result was an immediate rise in prices which was most evident in the price of food. Before 1793 wheat usually sold for about six shillings per bushel; in 1801 the price had risen to fifteen shillings.

Mutinies in the navy. 1797. Soon after the victory at Saint Vincent two serious mutinies broke out in the English navy:

the first at Spithead in April and the second at the Nore a month later. The sailors had substantial grievances. They were still being paid wages at a rate fixed in the reign of Charles II. Their food was poor and insufficient; vegetables were rarely served even when the ships were in harbor. The medical service was inadequate. The usual form of punishment was flogging. The sailors respectfully asked that these and other grievances be redressed, and when their petition was ignored the men at Spithead refused to go to sea. The admiralty finally yielded and living conditions in the navy were sensibly improved, though the practice of flogging was not immediately abolished.

The mutiny at the Nore was of a more serious nature, for its leaders had taken kindly to French ideas and insisted that the sailors should have a share in the management of the fleet. To enforce their demand they drew up their ships in a line across the entrance to the Thames and closed the river. However, as the mutineers received no aid from the shore or from the fleet at Spithead, they were eventually forced to surrender. Several of their leaders were hanged and effective discipline was soon restored.

Failure of the First Coalition. 1797. On the Continental battlefields disaster followed disaster and Pitt's great coalition crumbled into ruins. Spain and Prussia had made peace with France two years before. Sardinia followed their example a year later. Finally the Austrians, the last active enemies of the republic in Continental Europe, made peace with the French in the week following Duncan's victory at Camperdown. Pitt had twice attempted to reach an agreement with the militant republic, first in 1796 and again in 1797, soon after the mutiny at the Nore. But the terms of the French government were unacceptable and the English ministry had no choice but to continue the war.

Napoleon Bonaparte. The man who had defeated the Austrians and forced the Hapsburg dynasty to sue for peace was Napoleon Bonaparte, one of the most remarkable soldiers in all history. The great Napoleon was a Corsican by birth and of Italian blood. When the revolution broke out he was a little thin-faced lieutenant only twenty years old doing garrison duty in southeastern France. By 1795 he had been raised to the rank of brigadier general. In that year he was summoned by

the executive authority (now a committee of five called a Directory) to defend it against the Paris mob. As usual Napoleon carried out his orders promptly and effectively.

Napoleon in the Orient; the battle of the Nile. 1798. Early the following year General Bonaparte began his wonderful military career with his first campaign against the Austrians in Italy. But brilliant though his victories were they were indecisive, for the English still remained in control of the seas. Napoleon now determined to strike at English power in the Orient. Apparently he hoped to secure a foothold in Egypt and Syria, whence he may have planned to carry assistance to the native chiefs in India who were striving to oust the East India Company. With a large fleet he sailed to Egypt in the summer of 1798. But Nelson who had been watching the French outside Toulon promptly set out in search of the expedition and found the French fleet at anchor in a bay not far from Alexandria. Nelson attacked in the evening and the battle continued all night. The British fleet was badly damaged; but the victory was complete, for all but four of the French ships were either destroyed or finally taken by the English captains. Through the loss of his fleet Napoleon was cut off from France, and his Oriental projects, whatever they may have been, became impossible.

The Second Coalition and the Consulate. When Napoleon returned from Syria he found that Pitt had succeeded in forming a second coalition against the French republic. For a few months this combination carried on a successful campaign. Napoleon also found that the directory had become hopelessly corrupt and was intensely unpopular. A month after his arrival in Paris (November, 1799) General Bonaparte with the aid of his grenadiers ousted the five directors and transformed the executive into what was called a consulate, the highest authority being entrusted to a committee of three consuls. Within the consulate Napoleon was the chief or First Consul. At Christmas the new first consul made a pretense at seeking peace, for the French people were heartily tired of the war. His advances were not well received and early the following year Napoleon again advanced against Austria. His armies were uniformly victorious and in February, 1801, Austria once more made peace with France. The second coalition had collapsed.

Difficulties of neutral commerce. Napoleon had now decided

to strike at England through her commerce. The British success at sea having ruined the carrying trade of France and her allies, the commerce of the Continental states had to depend on the shipping of a few neutral countries, chiefly Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. The English admiralty had for a long time insisted, however, that goods destined for a hostile port could be seized even when carried by a neutral ship. England therefore not only claimed but exercised the right of searching neutral cargoes for goods intended for France or any of her allies. American ships were searched and seized even on the high seas. Still worse was the plight of the Baltic states, for to reach the ports of France and Spain their merchantmen had to pass down the Channel where British war ships were constantly on guard.

The bombardment of Copenhagen, 1801. The situation was strikingly similar to that which had arisen twenty years before during the American Revolution and which the Baltic states had met with an alliance called the League of Armed Neutrality. On the suggestion of Napoleon the tsar took steps to revive this alliance, and Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia joined the movement without delay (December, 1800). As the greater part of the supplies needed for the British navy came from the Baltic ports, England could not afford to lose her trade in those quarters. Early in 1801 an English fleet was sent into the Baltic to break up the League. Admiral Hyde Parker was in charge of the expedition with Nelson as second in command. The fleet attacked and bombarded Copenhagen. The Danes returned such an effective fire that Admiral Parker, who was several miles distant from the scene of battle, thought it best to retire. It is said that when Nelson's attention was called to the admiral's signals, he placed the glass before his sightless eye and assured his men that he saw no signals. The Danes were finally forced to yield. Russia hastened to make peace with England, and the League disbanded.

By 1801 England had overcome and crippled the navies of all the other maritime powers in Europe. The Spanish fleet had been defeated at Saint Vincent. The Dutch navy had been cut to pieces at Camperdown. The French Mediterranean fleet had been ruined at the mouth of the Nile. The Danish fleet had been crippled at Copenhagen. In three of these four battles it was the genius of Horatio Nelson that won the victory.

Discontent in Ireland. While England was sweeping her enemies off the sea, her supremacy in the British Isles was being seriously endangered by a revolutionary movement in Ireland. In 1783 the Irish Parliament had been given complete independence; but the new freedom brought little profit to the island, for the Dublin assembly refused to pass certain very necessary reform laws. The Irish Parliament was not really a representative body and was deeply tainted with corruption. Many of the old notorious penal laws were still on the statute books and neither Catholic nor Presbyterian was allowed a share in the government. An Anglican minority was in complete control. This minority was again controlled by the English government, which continued to exercise great influence on the policies of the Irish administration. Of the three hundred members composing the Irish House of Commons only seventy-two were actually chosen by the electorate; the majority of the membership was nominated by fifty-three peers and fifty wealthy commoners. By cultivating this group the English ministry could to a large extent guide legislation in the Dublin Parliament. The methods employed were exceedingly simple: family influence, official appointments, titles, and bribery.

Tithes and high rents. In addition to the demands for Parliamentary reform and Catholic relief there was a third group of problems, chiefly of an economic character, which called for immediate solution. The Irish merchant was hampered in his commercial enterprises by tariff regulations at English ports. The Irish peasant groaned under a double burden of tithes and high rent. Every man who cultivated land was obliged to pay tithes to the established Episcopal church in Ireland. Naturally he paid these dues with great reluctance. The tithes were collected by "tithe proctors" who were paid a percentage of the amount obtained; consequently, there was a temptation to set the figures as high as conditions would allow, and the proctors were no doubt often guilty of extortion. The high rents, "rack rents" they had come to be called, were frequently due to the practice of English owners of Irish land to let large areas to enterprising "middlemen" who sublet the land in small tracts to Irish farmers. In this way the rent was often doubled. Thus all the great classes or interests on the island, the merchant,

the peasant, the landlord, the Catholic, the Anglican, and the Presbyterian, had their own several problems and demands.

The problem of Catholic emancipation. On the subject of Irish reform there was little agreement in the Dublin Parliament. The majority was reluctant to make any changes in the laws or the constitution unless these should have the approval of the English government. The opposition saw the need of reform, but for a time could not come to agreement as to aims and measures. All seemed anxious to make Parliament a more truly representative body; but not all were willing to admit Catholics to membership in the lower house. Among those who believed that all Irishmen should be allowed to participate in the government the leading spirit was Henry Grattan, who was still a tower of strength to the cause of freedom. After several years of agitation Grattan's party succeeded in achieving a large measure of Catholic relief. By an act passed in 1793 the franchise was extended to all Catholics who held land by a life lease. The office of justice of the peace was opened to Catholics and Catholics were allowed to serve on juries. Catholic students were permitted to attend Trinity College, which had formerly been closed to all but Protestants. All these measures had the active support of the English ministry without which they could not have passed. Two years later the government took another forward step and established a college at Maynooth for the training of men for the Catholic priesthood. For this the upheaval in France was directly responsible, the government fearing that the young Irishmen who went abroad to study might return with ideas and opinions which might prove dangerous to the peace of the British kingdoms.

The United Irishmen and the Orange Society. During the decade preceding the outbreak of the war with France a number of secret political societies came into existence in Ireland, the most prominent of which was the United Irishmen, which was founded in Belfast in 1791. The founder was Theobald Wolfe Tone, an Ulster Presbyterian with only a slight interest in religious controversies who hoped to unite men of all churches in a fight for Irish freedom and an Irish republic. Four years later the more militant Protestants of Ulster began to organize Orange lodges to combat Catholicism in Irish politics. The Orange Society still exists. Its membership is most numerous

in Ulster but it also has lodges in Great Britain and elsewhere in the British dominions.

Pitt's Irish policy. William Pitt believed in generous treatment for the Irish people: he favored a policy of free trade between the two islands and planned to give full political rights to the Irish Catholics. But his plans were thwarted: the English Parliament would not listen to the suggestion of free trade with Ireland and George III would not consider giving further political rights to his Catholic subjects. He was determined that no Catholic should sit in the House of Commons either in Dublin or in Westminster.

Attempts to revolutionize Ireland. 1795-1798. Beginning with 1795 there were several years of turmoil in Ireland, the disorder culminating in the uprising of 1798. Wolfe Tone, whom the government had allowed to emigrate, found his way to Paris and suggested to the French Committee of Safety that England could be most easily defeated on Irish soil. In December, 1796, an expedition numbering forty-three ships and carrying about 15,000 men sailed from Brest to revolutionize Ireland, but it encountered storms and achieved nothing. A few months later the French began to prepare for another attempt on the Irish coast, but the fleet that was to be used for this purpose was defeated and crippled by Admiral Duncan at Camperdown.

Meanwhile the United Irishmen were planning an uprising to begin late in May, 1798. The government was thoroughly informed, however, as to the plans of the revolutionists, and when the appointed date arrived the more important leaders of the movement were in prison. For a month there was active rebellion in various parts of the island, particularly in the neighborhood of Wexford; but the insurgents were unable to match the skilled warfare of trained soldiery, and the rebellion soon collapsed. The leaders were executed or sent into exile.

The Act of Union. 1801. William Pitt now determined to unite the British Isles into a single kingdom. Great Britain and Ireland already had a common king; but a personal union is sometimes a very weak bond. This fact was clearly illustrated in 1788, when the king was temporarily insane, and the question of a regency came up in both the Irish and the English

Parliament. In this case the Irish were disposed to give the proposed regent (the prince of Wales) more authority in Ireland than the English were willing to allow him in England. Fortunately the king's return to normal health disposed of the difficulty for the time being. To provide against this and many other contingencies Pitt proposed (in 1798) to transform the Parliament at Westminster into a British Parliament by adding a certain number of Irish lords and other representatives. In return for the surrender of Irish nationality he offered to give freedom to trade in English ports and complete political rights to Irish Catholics. He even proposed to give financial support to the Catholic clergy.

Pitt's scheme had to be carried through both Parliaments. It was readily accepted at Westminster, but in Dublin there were real difficulties. The upper house of the Irish Parliament was strong for the union. In the lower house there was a majority, though not a strong majority, against the measure. A considerable number of prominent Irishmen had to be bribed before the lower house would consent to merge the Irish state with the larger kingdom of Great Britain. Lord Cornwallis was lord lieutenant at the time; apparently he did not enjoy the task of purchasing a nation. The chief secretary, Lord Castlereagh, who was an Irish peer, was less squeamish. To accomplish the purpose of union Castlereagh distributed offices, pensions, commissions in the army, and more than a million pounds of British money. In June, 1800, the measure was successfully passed, and the union became a fact on January 1, 1801. Ireland was given thirty-two seats in the British House of Lords and one hundred in the House of Commons.

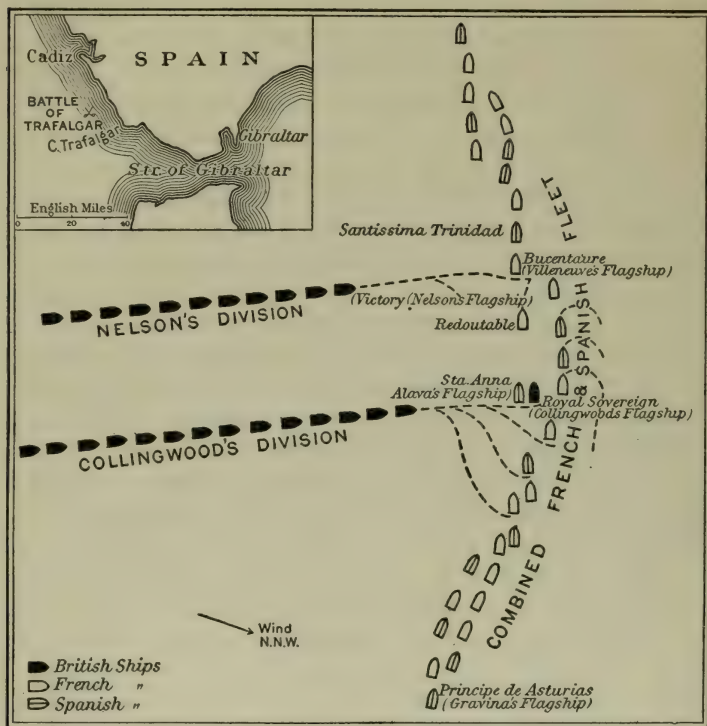
It seems that Catholic opinion in Ireland was quite favorable to the new act. But after the union had been formed the prime minister found that he was unable to redeem the promise by which he had secured this Catholic support. For George III remained obdurate. It had been represented to him that, whereas he had sworn to support the Anglican church, he would violate his oath, if he allowed Catholics to share in the government, for he might thus endanger the position of the established church. He was shocked, too, at the thought of giving financial aid to the Catholic clergy. Under the cir-

cumstances Pitt had no choice but to resign his office. Nearly thirty years passed before Pitt's promise to the Irish Catholics was redeemed.

The peace of Amiens. 1802. The French empire. 1804. After Pitt had resigned the English and French governments began to negotiate for peace, and a treaty was signed at Amiens in 1802. In this treaty England surrendered practically everything for which she had fought so long. Napoleon was now in control of the French republic as first consul for life; and England was soon to realize that the imperial ambitions of the mighty Corsican could not be bound by treaties. After a year of doubtful peace, fighting was renewed. The following year (May, 1804) William Pitt once more took charge of the British government. A week later Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of the French. In December he was crowned with royal magnificence in the cathedral of Notre Dame, Pope Pius VII being present and officiating at the ceremonies. An imperial court was set up in the royal palace of the Tuileries. Even the forms of the republican régime were now cast aside.

Napoleon's plan to invade England. For more than a year the English fought Napoleon without assistance from any other power. The new emperor now began to plan an invasion of Great Britain and collected a large force in northern France apparently for such an undertaking. The fleets of France and Spain were rebuilt with a view to operations in British waters. Napoleon's naval forces were distributed at various points, the larger squadrons occupying the harbors of Brest, Cadiz, and Toulon. In March, 1805, Villeneuve, the French admiral at Toulon, sailed for the West Indies. His orders were to raid British commerce in the Caribbean Sea, to return to Europe, to get such reinforcements as might be waiting in the Spanish ports, to form a junction with the fleet at Brest, and to sail the combined naval forces of France and Spain into the Channel. The plan failed. Napoleon had expected Nelson, who commanded the British fleet in the Mediterranean, to sail in pursuit of Villeneuve, and the great admiral actually reached Barbados three weeks after Villeneuve had reached Martinique. Villeneuve accomplished little in the West Indies and shortly after his return to Europe sought refuge in the harbor of Cadiz.

Trafalgar. 1805. In October Villeneuve, acting on orders from Napoleon, prepared to leave Cadiz and return to Toulon. With a fleet of thirty-three ships he stole out and sailed toward the Strait of Gibraltar, but off Cape Trafalgar he met a somewhat smaller but better equipped English fleet with Lord Nelson once more in command. "England expects every man to do



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, 21 OCTOBER, 1805

his duty" was the signal that the great admiral flashed to his captains. The signal was heeded. The enemies' ships were nearly all taken or destroyed. But when the battle was over Horatio Nelson was no more. There was little rejoicing when the news of the victory reached England, for the nation felt that Trafalgar had been dearly bought.

Lord Nelson's work was done. Neither France nor her allies were able to put another fighting fleet on the ocean. The few hostile ships that remained at Antwerp, Brest, Cadiz, and at

other ports were gradually gathered in by the British captains. With the battle of Trafalgar naval operations on the high seas came to a close.

The Third Coalition; Austerlitz. 1805. Earlier in the year Pitt had succeeded in organizing Austria, Russia, England, and other states hostile to Napoleon into a third coalition against France. When Napoleon learned that Villeneuve had retired to Cadiz, he realized the failure of his plans against England and marched his army swiftly eastward into Austria where the coalition had massed its forces. Six weeks after the battle of Trafalgar he crushed the combined forces of Russia and Austria on the field of Austerlitz and the coalition fell to pieces. To the men of the time Austerlitz loomed much larger than Trafalgar. Pitt had always been in frail health; the news of Austerlitz found him ill in body, and his spirit could not endure the blow. In January he died despairing of the future of his country. He did not understand that Nelson's last victory had secured the safety of England.

The Grenville ministry. After the death of Pitt Lord Grenville, a nephew of the author of the Stamp Act, was made nominal chief of a Cabinet sometimes called the "ministry of all the talents," though several of the more important political leaders were not included. The Grenville ministry was made up largely of Whigs with Charles James Fox in actual command. Fox was erratic in opinion and sometimes unpatriotic in action and utterance; but his political views were liberal, and he fought vigorously, if not always discreetly, for progressive measures. After an absence of twenty-two years he was again admitted to the councils of the king; but his career was nearly ended: a few months after Pitt's death Fox also took leave of earthly things. His last important public act was a motion to abolish the slave trade, which he carried a few weeks before his death.

Castlereagh and Canning. A few months later the Grenville ministry brought up the question of Catholic relief by insisting that Catholics should be given commissions in the army and the navy. King George demurred and dismissed the Cabinet. The control of the government now passed into the hands of a group of Tory politicians, most of whom were men of mediocre abilities. The most prominent were George Can-

ning, a brilliant orator and writer, who was for some time secretary of foreign affairs, and Lord Castlereagh, who served first in the war office and later in the foreign office. Both were uncompromising opponents of Napoleon and both were Tories, though it was believed that on some questions Canning held broader and more liberal views than Castlereagh. After two years they quarreled and both resigned. But in 1812 Castlereagh returned to office and remained till his death ten years later the greatest single force in the government.

The Napoleonic empire. During the two years following the victory at Austerlitz Napoleon was steadily mounting toward the highest levels of political power. In addition to his earlier titles as emperor of the French and king of Italy he now assumed the dignity of "protector" of a group of German states which he had organized into a Confederation of the Rhine (1806). In the same year his brother Joseph was given the throne of Naples and his brother Louis was made king of Holland. Later in the same year Napoleon overwhelmed the forces of Prussia at Jena and in the following summer he crushed a Russian army at Friedland in eastern Prussia. The tsar now thought it advisable to make peace with France, and the two emperors met at Tilsit where they agreed to divide the world between them, Napoleon to take the West and Alexander to have free hands in the Orient. Once more France was at peace with all Europe except England. But England could not be conquered and would not make peace.

The second bombardment of Copenhagen. In the preceding year Napoleon had reverted to an earlier plan of striking at England through her industry and her commerce. There were two neutral fleets in Europe which he intended to use in this attack: those of Denmark and Portugal. When the English learned of Napoleon's plans, the government despatched a fleet and an armed force to Denmark to seize the Danish navy. Copenhagen was bombarded for a second time, and the Danes were compelled to surrender their ships. The Danish government was at the time favorably disposed toward England and was daily expecting Napoleon to invade the monarchy. But Canning who was then in the foreign office did not wait for reports from Copenhagen, and in a moment of panic the English ministry took a step which drove the kingdom of Denmark and

Norway into the camp of the enemy. In the case of Portugal more peaceful methods were employed. The prince regent was induced to leave Lisbon and take his fleet and his family to Brazil which was a Portuguese colony. A few hours after the departure of the Portuguese government a French expedition sailed into Lisbon harbor and took possession of the kingdom.

The Continental System. Napoleon believed that, if the Continental states could be induced to discontinue all trade with Great Britain, economic distress would soon force the island kingdom to accept his terms of peace. He therefore adopted a policy that is known in history as the Continental System. The policy of a European boycott of English goods was not original with Napoleon: it had been regarded with favor by the Committee of Public Safety in 1793 and had been urged by French statesmen from time to time as the conflict developed. But Napoleon was the first to give the suggestion a thorough trial. By a system of decrees he practically forbade his allies to trade with England; what products they might need they should buy from other Continental states or produce within their own borders.

The Continental system dates from November 21, 1806 (five weeks after the defeat of the Prussians at Jena), when Napoleon issued the so-called Berlin Decree. In this he outlined the new policy and developed his method of warfare. The British Isles were declared to be in a state of blockade. All correspondence with English firms was forbidden. All English or English colonial wares were to be seized wherever found. And every Englishman found within the borders of any state allied with the French empire was to be arrested and treated as a prisoner of war.

The British "Orders in Council." 1807. Six weeks later the British government replied to this decree with an Order in Council which virtually outlawed all neutral trade with any country that adhered to the Napoleonic system. Neutral states were warned that any merchant vessel found to be on its way to a blockaded port would be considered a lawful prize. Toward the close of the year another order in council declared all ports closed to neutrals that were closed to English ships. Vessels bound for enemy ports were still to be regarded as

lawful prizes; at the same time the British government held out the promise that if a neutral ship should enter a British port before proceeding to the Continent, pay an export tax on its cargo, and secure a license to trade with the enemy, it should be allowed to continue its voyage without further question.

A general boycott of British goods. Meanwhile the Russians by the treaty of Tilsit had accepted the Continental system and had joined the new commercial war against the British. By the attack on Copenhagen the kingdom of Denmark-Norway was driven to the same decision (September, 1807). Spain appeared willing to join the general boycott and Portugal passed into French control in November. Thus by the close of the year practically the entire European coast line from the White Sea to the Adriatic was closed to British trade. Napoleon now issued his Milan Decree (December, 1807) which outlawed every ship that submitted to the English orders in council.

In all this Napoleon had a double purpose: he wished to destroy the economic power of England and make France the dominant industrial nation in Europe. Napoleon believed that the wealth of England rested on an artificial basis, that the limit of British taxation had been reached, and that a few years of the boycott would produce commercial ruin. The plan was rational and almost succeeded. In the years 1810 and 1811 the British kingdom was in desperate straits. Prices on manufactured products were low; the cost of food was abnormally high; business failures were common; labor was restless and even rebellious; there were mutterings of civil war.

Failure of the Continental blockade. But England was stronger than Napoleon had believed. Her industrial supremacy remained an unconquerable fact. Before long English commerce broke through the barriers, and merchandise was again finding its way into Continental warehouses, though chiefly by means of extensive smuggling. Thus the Continental system failed in its primary purposes; nevertheless, it had certain important results. It caused much distress and dissatisfaction in France and in the countries allied to the French empire. Tropical products like coffee, tea, and sugar had become necessities in the Continental households, and a system or a government that deprived the people of these could not fail

to become intensely unpopular. It forced Napoleon into new wars of conquest; for unless every nation on the Continent could be made obedient to the "decrees," English wares would find their way into European ports and Napoleon's commercial warfare would end in defeat. Finally, it was one of the causes that brought on the war between Great Britain and America in 1812.

The general distress caused by the sudden dearth of colonial and other foreign products forced Napoleon to weaken his system by allowing what is called a license trade. The licenses were documents addressed to customs officials, captains of the fleet, and others directing them to allow certain specified ships to carry enemy goods. This expedient had been employed in the early stages of the trade war, at least as early as 1802 when 68 such licenses were issued. The number rose to 1620 in 1806 and to nearly 5000 in 1808. Two years later more than 18,000 licenses were issued. After that year the number of such permits rapidly declined. The license system proved a great advantage to the English merchants as it enabled them to dispose of English wares in great quantities.

Nationalistic movements. The treaty of Tilsit marks the highest point in Napoleon's wonderful career; the following year (1808) the decline began, though it was not yet evident to the observers of the time. Before the meeting at Tilsit the opposition to the French republic and the French empire had centered about courts and dynasties; after 1807 the opposition became nationalistic: the oppressed peoples of Europe rose in defense of national rights. To this new form of resistance the tyranny of the Continental system contributed materially, for it revealed the real character of the Napoleonic ambitions. Soon the French emperor had to face a series of national revolts, first in Spain, next in Russia and Prussia, and finally throughout the greater part of Europe.

Spain and Russia. In 1808 Napoleon dethroned the incompetent Spanish king and gave the Castilian crown to his own brother Joseph. The Spaniards objected to the change of dynasty and rose in revolt against the new régime. This uprising Napoleon was unable to quell. The English government sent prompt aid to the Spanish insurgents, and for five years British armies were operating in Spain and Portugal. Among

the British generals who held commands in the Peninsular campaigns the most renowned was Arthur Wellesley, better known by his later title, duke of Wellington. The English operations in Spain began in the summer of 1808 and for a year they were generally successful. Early in 1809 the Austrians again took up arms against Napoleon but were crushed by the French



imperial armies at Wagram. After this victory Napoleon was able to strengthen his forces in the Spanish peninsula and Wellington found it expedient to retire to a strong position near Lisbon, the lines at Torres Vedras. From this stronghold he conducted a series of operations against the French which gradually forced the enemy out of the peninsula, though complete liberation was not achieved before 1813.

In 1810 Russia, wearied of the interminable commercial warfare, repudiated the Continental system and opened her ports

to neutral trade. Napoleon at once began to prepare for an invasion of the Russian monarchy. In 1812 he advanced to Moscow and entered the city. But only a fragment of his vast army returned to the west; bad food, illness, snow, and severe cold had done what the Russian soldiers could not do.

The Fourth Coalition. 1813. Prussia now rose in revolt (1813). Austria declared war on Napoleon later in the same year. By the shrewd diplomacy of Castlereagh these nations, with England, Russia, and Sweden, were welded together into a fourth coalition against the French state. The genius of the great Corsican and the valor of the French armies were as great as ever; but Napoleon's resources were now almost exhausted. At Leipzig, in the Battle of the Nations, his new army was crushed; a few months later the armies of the coalition seized his capital and forced him to retire to Elba, a tiny island of less than one hundred and fifty square miles in area. Elba proved too small to interest the mighty Napoleon; in less than a year he was again in France.

Waterloo. June 18, 1815. The powers of the coalition were now agreed that their great enemy must be driven from European soil. The final campaign was fought in Belgium where the allies had two armies, one composed chiefly of English, Dutch, and Hanoverian troops under the command of Wellington, and another made up of Prussians led by the old but indomitable General Blücher. The decisive battle was joined at Waterloo where Wellington was the victor. Napoleon fled to the west coast of France, but finding escape impossible surrendered to the English. Six years later he died in exile on the lonely island of Saint Helena.

The causes of the American War of 1812. In June, 1812, while Napoleon was mustering his forces preparatory to the invasion of Russia, the American Congress was debating the question of war with England. No nation had suffered more from the commercial warfare during the years of the blockade than the United States. The Americans had no part in the Napoleonic wars and as a consequence a large part of the world's carrying trade had come into their hands. The contention of the English government that British captains had a right to search neutral ships was a great irritation to the American traders; but when the Napoleonic decrees and the English

orders were published, serious trouble awaited the American merchant marine. President Jefferson believed that Europe was so dependent on American shipping that a suspension of trade would soon bring the contending parties to terms. Accordingly he induced Congress to pass an Embargo Act forbidding American ships to leave American ports. The embargo was ruinous to American commerce; and though it worked great hardship both to England and to the Continental states, it made no impression on the European situation. After a year the embargo was lifted; but the repeal was followed by a Non-intercourse Act by which trade with England and France was outlawed.

Another source of irritation was the practice of searching American ships for British deserters. Though conditions in the English fleet had become somewhat more tolerable after the mutinies of 1797, the naval service remained hard and burdensome. Consequently there were frequent desertions. The constant expansion of the British navy as the war progressed created a demand for sailors that was hard to supply. Moreover, it was often difficult to tell a British deserter from an American sailor; and frequently American citizens were seized on the merest suspicion and forced into the British service. If the sailor was of British birth, his American citizenship afforded no protection; for it was held in England that allegiance to the crown could not be legally renounced: "once an Englishman, always an Englishman."

It is not likely, however, that British interference with American trade and the impressment of American sailors would have brought on war: the New England ship owners, who suffered most keenly from British aggression, were strongly opposed to military measures. The Americans were active in the license trade and other forms of irregular commerce; these were hazardous ventures, but when they succeeded they were very profitable. The blundering diplomacy of the British government must bear a large share of the blame for the War of 1812; but perhaps an even greater share should be charged to a warlike faction in the American Congress, led by Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun and composed largely of Western and Southern members who believed the moment a favorable one for the annexation of Canada.

England did not desire war with America. When Castlereagh learned that the war party was in the saddle in Washington, he withdrew the offensive orders in council and thus removed the greater grievance. But two days later, and before any news of England's intentions could reach Washington, Congress declared war.

America unprepared for war. In the War of 1812 neither side gained any great credit. The United States was poorly prepared: the revenues were inadequate; the regular army was small (the highest total of officers and men at any time during the war was 34,000); most of the officers were ineffective either because of age or lack of experience. England was strong on the ocean, but in 1812 she had no soldiers to spare for a war on the Canadian frontier. First of all the British had to watch Napoleon whose vast armies were on their way to Russia. On the English side the war was therefore carried on largely by means of Canadian volunteers whose loyalty to the crown was firm and enduring.

The treaty of Ghent. 1814. On the sea the little American navy won a series of brilliant victories, though chiefly in duels between single ships; but in the battle of Lake Erie Commodore Perry succeeded in taking an entire squadron of British vessels. On land the honors were more nearly even. In 1813 the operations degenerated into a series of cruel raids. Gradually the Americans came to realize the folly of continuing the contest, especially after the overthrow of Napoleon, an event that released a large number of British soldiers for service in the American field. An effort was made to secure peace and after protracted negotiations a treaty was signed at Ghent in December, 1914. In this document there is no mention of search or impressment; but as the war was apparently over (Napoleon was now on Elba) there was no need to discuss those problems: the English admiralty was now dismissing instead of impressing seamen. There were no gains for either side, but material losses for both, losses in men and ships and merchandise. The only important result of the war was an intensification of a hostile sentiment that already burned on both sides of the frontier: a strong anti-British feeling in the United States and a vigorous hostility to the American neighbor in Canada.

The Congress of Vienna. Meanwhile, the rulers and diplo-

mats of Europe had gathered in Vienna to reconstruct the map of the war-scarred Continent. In this so-called "congress" Castlereagh represented the British kingdoms. Wellington joined him later, but had no great share in the work of settlement and reconstruction of frontiers. It was the purpose of the congress to restore, as far as possible, the political conditions that had prevailed before 1789; in this, however, the reactionary diplomats were not wholly successful. The French Revolution had given the absolutistic régime of the eighteenth century a blow from which it never recovered. The movement had swept away feudal privileges, inefficient institutions, and much worn-out governmental machinery; these could not be restored. On the other hand the Revolution had built up a political régime in France based in part, at least, on popular consent; and to a large extent the new constitutional system and guarantees were allowed to remain. During the two decades of the Great War the principles of the Revolution had found their way into almost every part of western Europe, where they struck root and produced a harvest of significant changes in due time. Especially was this true of the countries that had for a period come under the direct or indirect control of Napoleon.

Growth of the British empire. One of the results of the conflict was the annexation of a number of very important and desirable colonial possessions to the British empire. From France the English admirals took the little islands of Tobago and Saint Lucia in the West Indies and the more important island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. Trinidad, another island of the West Indian group, was taken from Spain. Cape Colony at the southern extremity of Africa and what is now called British Guiana in South America were secured from the Dutch. The Dutch also lost their settlements on the coast of India and the large and valuable island of Ceylon, which became a British possession in 1796. Malta, which for nearly three centuries had been the headquarters of the Knights of Saint John, was seized by Napoleon on his way to Egypt. Two years later it was occupied by the English and was never returned to the Knights of Saint John.

India. While the war was running its course in Europe, the East India Company encountered serious troubles in Hindustan.

In 1797, William Pitt, seeing the need of a strong and efficient administrator in Calcutta, sent Richard Wellesley, also known as Lord Mornington, to India as governor-general. Richard Wellesley was a typical proconsul. Believing firmly that the British people had a mission to carry forward in southern Asia, he wished to extend the power of the British flag to wider limits. But, though strongly convinced of the superiority of the European races, he sought to govern the subject peoples by methods that were honorable and considerate as well as firm and just. Associated with him in this task was a younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, a stern, efficient, and confident colonel, who a dozen years later was raised to the peerage as Lord Wellington. The Wellesleys found that Tipú Sahib, the sultan of Mysore, was in correspondence with the French authorities at Pondicherri and Mauritius. Early in 1799 Lord Mornington declared war on Tipú Sahib, and in a brief campaign destroyed the power of Mysore. The sultan fell fighting bravely at the gate of his capital, and the dynasty of Haidar Ali came to an end. The ancient state of Mysore was allowed to remain intact; but Tipú's conquests were pruned away and distributed among his rivals, a large part passing into the control of the East India Company.

Finding that the rulers of the Carnatic had intrigued with the Sultan Tipú, Lord Mornington deposed them and annexed the greater part of their lands to the territories of the Company. He further increased the dominions of the great corporation by adding territories elsewhere in India, more particularly in the Ganges valley. His annexations added 40,000,000 subjects to the British empire. When he was recalled (in 1805) the British controlled the entire coast line of Hindustan from Goa on the western shore to the Burmese frontier in the northeast. The possibility of a hostile alien influence had been eliminated, and the British East India Company had become the dominating power in the great peninsula of Hindustan.

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CHAPTER XXII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS

The nineteenth century. The nineteenth century was a period of vast changes in the social, political, and industrial arrangements of the United Kingdom. In general these changes have grown out of the necessity to give the masses a larger share in the government of the kingdom, in the rewards and wages of industry, and in the social benefits of the age. The keynote of the nineteenth century is democracy. In the constitutional forms and agencies of the British kingdom democratic ideals have been realized to an extent that approaches completeness; great advancement in the same direction has also been made in the economic field. The process of change has not been continuous, nor has it been wholly the work of the reforming elements of the nation. The most effective and intelligent leadership in the various movements looking toward more tolerable conditions in industry has frequently come from the conservative classes. At times the interest in foreign affairs and in the problems of the empire has diverted the attention from domestic ills; but the agitation for reform has never been quieted, and the process still goes on.

Revolution and reaction. Of the many forces that have contributed to the reconstruction of English society, the economic revolution of the eighteenth century was doubtless the most effective. The changes in the methods of manufacturing, the increase in production and commerce, and the shifting of the population to the northern counties of England have been discussed in an earlier chapter. The revolution in industry and agriculture ran its course for half a century, or longer, before any serious effort was made to adjust the legal system to the new economic order. The old laws were applied to the new situation, and the result was that much hardship had to be endured. For this refusal to recognize these new conditions in statute law, the French Revolution and the consequent wars

were largely responsible: the excesses committed by the government of the new republic shocked the ruling classes in England and produced a violent reaction even among men of liberal minds. The Englishmen who were invested with authority steeled themselves against every temptation to accept changes which might seem to favor the laboring multitudes. The only important reform during the twenty-two years of war with the French was the abolition of the slave trade (1807).

The modern labor movement. An important landmark in the history of the English labor movement in its modern form is the London Corresponding Society, which was organized in March, 1792. The leaders of this society were a group of intellectuals who had accepted the ideas of the French Revolution and hoped for a new social order in the British Isles; they were particularly insistent that all classes should be admitted to Parliament and that all adult males should be given the right to vote at elections. The rank and file of the membership, however, were composed largely of workingmen whose interest concerned itself chiefly with economic problems, such as labor conditions, wages, and the cost of living.

In 1799 the London Corresponding Society was outlawed by an act of Parliament. But during the years of its active existence it had been quite influential in helping to educate a new type of political agitator, the labor leader, whose race has continued to this day. In the meetings of the Corresponding Society he learned the new doctrines of the rights of labor and heard the arguments by which the faith was to be established. The trade unions which had lived in secret for some years were outlawed in 1800; but the agitation did not cease, and as the war dragged wearily along the discontent among the laboring classes grew every year more evident and more general.

Machinery and unemployment. A crisis was reached in 1810 when this discontent rose almost to the point of rebellion. Napoleon's Continental System had in large measure deprived the English manufacturers of their Continental markets, and there seemed to be nothing to do but to close the mills or to reduce their output to a safe minimum. The result was widespread unemployment which, coming after a period of rising prices and relatively low wages, brought keen distress to thousands of homes. The workers believed that the unemploy-

ment was due largely to the introduction of machinery and that the condition was likely to become permanent. They had heard that nearly 30,000 stocking frames had been set up in homes and factories and that some of the improved machines could do the work of two hundred knitters. In November, 1811, the workingmen of Nottingham began to destroy machinery, and soon the frenzy had spread to all parts of industrial England. The Luddite riots (so-called from a feeble-minded youth who had destroyed two stocking frames some thirty years earlier) continued all through the winter and led to the destruction of much property, for the rioters not only destroyed machinery but burned factories and plundered warehouses. Once more the governing classes were seized with terror. Machine-breaking was already regarded as a serious offense, but Parliament now proceeded to make it a capital crime. During the course of the year following the riots a number of men were hanged by the courts for Luddite practices; fourteen suffered death in Yorkshire alone.

Financial depression. In a certain sense this economic distress also extended to the capitalistic classes where it took the form of financial embarrassment and even of bankruptcy. In 1808 and the following years a number of English ships were seized by the French and their allies, and some of the strongest business houses in the country were forced to the wall. In 1810 the normal number of bankruptcies was multiplied three times. Meanwhile the national debt was increasing at an appalling rate. When the war closed it had risen to the enormous sum of more than \$4,000,000,000, or about \$215 per capita. To pay the interest on this debt and to provide for its gradual retirement the ministry was forced to ask for heavy taxes in addition to those levied for the ordinary purposes of government. The taxes therefore continued to be burdensome and this fact added to the other economic difficulties forced the wealthier classes to resort to severe forms of economy.

Peace and economic distress. And yet it was not until after the congress of Vienna had brought relative peace and quiet to the distracted nations of Europe that the distressed condition of English society was brought home in full force to the minds of the ruling classes. The men who had been so sure that peace would bring happiness and prosperity were keenly

disappointed to find that misery seemed to be even more widely felt and that in many localities the poor were threatened with the horrors of actual starvation. The failure of the kingdom to recover its economic strength during the earlier years of the peace was due in part to two general causes. On the whole the long war had served to stimulate certain lines of agriculture and industry; for the government had spent a vast amount of money every year in purchasing provisions and other supplies for the army and navy. When the war ended these expenditures ceased, and in certain lines of production the activity also ceased. At the same time it was discovered that the Continental states, owing to the wide-spread economic exhaustion, were not able to purchase so freely and extensively in the English markets as the English merchants had hoped. Consequently production declined and the demand for labor decreased accordingly. Another disturbing element in the labor market was the returning soldiers and sailors, who to the number of half a million were coming into competition with the workingmen who were now eagerly searching for work at almost any wages. Thus large numbers were added to the swelling ranks of the unemployed.

High prices and low wages. A second reason was the high cost of the necessities of life. In 1815 there was an abundance of grain in the land and in order to keep prices on a fairly high level, the landowners induced Parliament to close the British ports to European wheat until the price should advance to 80s per quarter or nearly \$2.50 per bushel. But the following year the harvest failed, not only in England but elsewhere in western Europe; and in that year food products sold at a higher price than ever before in English history. At the same time wages, when compared with the cost of living, continued incredibly low. Ordinary unskilled labor was normally paid at the rate of 9s or 10s per week. In 1816 a capable workman was sometimes able to earn only 6d (12 cents) per day.

Pauperism. The unavoidable result was a great increase in the number of assisted poor. The condition with respect to pauperism was very much the same in the rural villages as it was in the industrial centers. In 1816 there was a rural community in Dorset with a population of 575 where 419 persons were receiving assistance from the poor rates. Out of a total

population of 84,000 in the city of Birmingham, 27,000 were dependent, at least in part, on local poor relief. In 1811 the number of assisted poor had reached a total of 1,340,000; ten years later it had risen to 2,500,000; one tenth of all the inhabitants of the kingdom were classed as paupers.

Riots and repression. 1816-1817. It was inevitable that all this enforced idleness and misery should find expression in lawless behavior. The domestic history of the year 1816 is a continuous narrative of disorder and violence. There were strikes in the coal districts and riots in the larger towns. Workingmen who could get no employment resumed the earlier practice of smashing stocking frames, lace frames, and other kinds of labor-saving machines. Others, believing that the farmers were conspiring to maintain the high prices of food, invaded the country districts and set fire to barns and grain stacks.

Stricken with fear the conservative classes called loudly on the home office for help and protection. The ministry, which was Tory of the sort that worships the past and all existing institutions, met the forces of disorder with a policy of rigid repression. Early in 1817 Parliament authorized the government to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act for a limited period and passed a law forbidding what was called seditious meetings. For some years every movement that threatened the cozy quiet of the ruling classes was put down with relentless severity.

The grievances of the British people. Fortunately the difficulties caused by the wretched economic state of the country were largely due to temporary causes which might pass away with the revival of foreign trade and a normal harvest. But aside from these difficulties the British people had in 1815 and the following decade a series of grievances which the government alone could correct. These were of long standing and may be grouped into five prominent classes.

1. **Religious disabilities.** In the population of the United Kingdom there were large classes which, because of religious belief, had not yet been given full political rights. The Anglican in England and Ireland and the Presbyterian in Scotland possessed the usual privileges of citizenship; but the Catholic and the Protestant dissenter could legally hold no office in the gift of the government, except certain local offices. English

dissenters were, it is true, allowed to hold office in defiance of law, the offense being regularly forgiven once each year by the passage of an indemnity act. Catholics were further ineligible to membership in the House of Commons. The disabilities with respect to office-holding had been created by such early laws as the Test and Corporation Acts and by the requirement of oaths that had religious significance. This problem was largely an Irish one. Though Irish Catholics were permitted to vote, conditions were such that they were compelled to select Protestant representatives to Parliament. Among the Irish members of the House of Commons there were men of strength and influence; but their political views were not always representative of Irish public opinion.

2. **The landlord evil.** A second grievance was the situation in respect to the land. Most of the soil had come into the possession of wealthy landlords to whom the tenants paid a stipulated rent. In Ireland this created much trouble: the landlord as a rule did not live on his estates, but managed them through agents; and these were not always forgetful of their own advantage. In England the situation was more tolerable, for there absentee landlords were fewer and the English farmers had certain rights which the Irish tenant did not possess.

3. **Factory conditions.** The new system of industry had led to a multitude of evils. The work day was long, often fifteen hours, with the shortest possible intermission for meals; wages were low; conditions of employment were unsanitary. Women were hired to work long hours at difficult tasks. Children, usually orphans, and other inmates of supposedly charitable institutions, worked from five or six in the morning till seven and sometimes nine at night in the textile mills. Their education was neglected; the moral environment was often shockingly bad. The work assigned was frequently far beyond the intelligence or the strength of the children. Flogging was freely administered to increase the output of the day's labor. In some of the mills in the more remote parts of England a condition existed that closely resembled slavery. The evil was a crying one, but twenty years passed before any serious effort was made to remedy factory conditions by legislation. This problem was chiefly confined to England.

4. **A frightful criminal code.** Another subject of general

criticism was the British criminal code. In the eighteenth century Parliament, exasperated by the prevalence of poaching, thieving, and other minor offenses, had instructed the judges to treat as felonies a number of petty crimes that had earlier been regarded as misdemeanors. In 1815 there were more than two hundred crimes for which the punishment might be death. A man could be hanged for stealing a horse or a sheep, for smashing a lace frame, or for lifting a dollar's worth of goods in a shop. Where the death penalty was not applied the favorite punishment was transportation, usually to New South Wales. Instead of discouraging crime these laws actually promoted lawbreaking; for the offenders soon discovered that English juries would commit perjury rather than send a starving thief to the gallows.

5. The "unreformed Parliament." So long as Parliament was controlled by the peers and a few wealthy commoners, there was small hope of improvement, inasmuch as these men frequently profited from the conditions that called for amendment. The peers composed the membership of the upper house and were often able to dictate the election of members to the House of Commons. As landlords they were influential with their tenants who in rare cases enjoyed the franchise; but more effective was their control of "rotten boroughs" and "pocket boroughs."

A rotten borough was one that had practically ceased to exist, though the old site, even if entirely uninhabited, had a right to be represented in Parliament by two members as of old. Rich lords or wealthy business men were often eager to purchase such deserted borough sites in order to secure a seat in Parliament for themselves or their relatives. The most famous of all the rotten boroughs was Old Sarum, near Salisbury, the site of which was owned by the Pitt family. There was not a single building in the borough; and the seven voters, who elected the representatives to Parliament, had to hold their elections in a tent. The great Chatham entered the House of Commons as a member of Old Sarum.

A pocket borough was a town that had in some way come into the control of a neighboring magnate whose nominees the voters would be sure to elect. Many of these boroughs had at one time been strong and flourishing; but in the course of time they

had declined in size and prosperity, and the inhabitants had found it profitable to let others exercise their Parliamentary rights. It is said that a peer would sometimes go hunting accompanied by six or seven Parliamentary members of his own creation. Some of these constituencies had been deliberately created as pocket boroughs. Queen Elizabeth was particularly free in granting borough privileges. In Cornwall, where the influence of the crown was great, she found a number of unimportant villages which she graciously endowed with Parliamentary rights. A certain area in Cornwall which now sends a single member to the House of Commons elected eighteen members in 1830. Edmund Burke, the younger Pitt, and Charles James Fox, all entered Parliament as representatives of pocket boroughs.

The need of franchise reform. The matter of the franchise was also in great need of readjustment. There was no common rule governing the right to vote for borough members. In some boroughs they were chosen by those among the householders who actually contributed to the local taxes. In certain others they were selected by a small group of men called the borough corporation; this was a continuous body, as it filled its own vacancies. In certain other localities the franchise was exercised, not by members of the corporation, but by a small body of "freemen" selected by the borough corporation. There were also places where the right to vote was associated with the possession of certain parcels of land. In one borough the voter had to prove his right to "a small quantity of salt water arising out of a pit." In 1832 this pit had long been dry, but the ancient right remained.

The older Toryism. Even before the Great French War reform in all these directions had been urged, though without success. From the Tories who had long been in control of the government, little could be expected. The prime minister was Lord Liverpool, a man of respectable, though not eminent, abilities, who carried on the business of the government in a fairly efficient manner, but did not originate new policies and promoted no reforms. Presiding over the upper house was the Lord Chancellor Eldon, who represented Toryism in its most extreme and unlovely form. Lord Eldon seemed to hold that there was something divine about the institutional system in

England and that even the suggestion of change or amendment was likely to have evil effects. A third important member of the cabinet was Lord Sidmouth, who as Henry Addington had served as prime minister for three years after Pitt's resignation in 1801. As home secretary it was Sidmouth's function to carry out the Tory measures of repression with the result that he became intensely unpopular in the more liberal circles.

The real force in the government was not the prime minister or his associates in the House of Lords, but Lord Castlereagh who had planned the military operations during the later years of the Napoleonic War. He had been an important figure in the congress of Vienna and felt bound to support its principles of settlement. As the purpose of this congress was to restore as far as possible the conditions that existed before the French Revolution, Castlereagh fell under the strong suspicion of being a reactionary. From a Cabinet dominated by a man of this type, the reformers could expect very little in the way of progressive measures.

Moderate Toryism. Castlereagh's rival was George Canning, who headed the moderate wing of the Tory party. After Castlereagh's death in 1822, Canning succeeded to his political inheritance: control of the foreign office and leadership of the House of Commons. From that moment the period of reform may be said to date; for Canning was known to favor at least one reform, the removal of Catholic disabilities. He accomplished nothing, however, except to give greater vigor to the agitation. Associated with Canning and Castlereagh in the ministry in 1816, were two young men whose great careers had scarcely begun; Lord Palmerston and Robert Peel. Palmerston was a follower of George Canning but neither then nor afterwards an enthusiastic reformer. Peel was busy applying coercion to Ireland. His great activities in the interest of reform came a generation later.

The Whig reformers. The Whigs were somewhat more responsive than the Tories to popular demands; but their party was weak and divided. Some of the Whig chiefs had looked with favor on the French Revolution and had consequently lost their influence among the ruling classes. In the House of Lords which had once been the stronghold of Whiggism there remained only one peer who showed an active interest in

reform: Earl Grey was a wealthy aristocrat but throughout his earlier career he was a loyal follower of Charles James Fox. His special interest was Parliamentary reform for which he fought consistently for nearly forty years.

In the House of Commons the Whig remnant included a group of remarkable men, each with his own special interest in the wide field of reform. Lord John Russell shared with Earl Grey the command of the forces that fought for Parliamentary reform. Henry Brougham, who was probably the most prominent exponent of democracy in his day, urged reforms in the English school system. Brougham was a Scottish lawyer who had won fame as counsel for the English merchants in their fight against the orders in council. He was also interested in the abolition of slavery, in criminal law reform, and in greater freedom for the press. Sir Samuel Romilly, a great English advocate, argued for changes in the frightful criminal code. In 1808 he had succeeded in removing the death penalty for picking pockets, and four years later he secured the repeal of a cruel statute according to which begging on the part of a soldier or a marine could be punished by death. In this agitation he was ably supported by Brougham and by James Mackintosh, a Scottish philosopher, who had once written a strong and dignified reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. The most eminent member of the group was Henry Grattan, whom Fox had called the Irish Demos-thenes, and who still in his declining years pleaded for justice for those of the Catholic faith.

The Radicals. The ranks of the reforming party were soon to be recruited from a rising generation of radicals of a more aggressive type. For some time the only radical member of Parliament was Francis Burdett, a wealthy aristocrat who had secured his seat by purchase. Outside Parliament the radical agitation was directed largely by Francis Place and William Cobbett. Place was a London tailor with real talent for political organization. William Cobbett, an able though somewhat erratic journalist, urged reforms of every sort, though he realized fully that all efforts were useless so long as Parliament remained unreformed.

Daily newspapers. In the shaping of public opinion the radical pamphlet was an important factor, though slowly yielding

to the growing influence of the newspaper and other periodical publications. In 1815 there were six daily papers published in London, among which the *Times* was the most widely read. The Tory ministers were not inclined to favor political journalism, and sought to discourage the circulation of news by a heavy stamp tax (four pence on each copy), by an import duty on white paper, and by rigid libel laws. Consequently newspapers were quite expensive; still, the *Times* in 1815 had a daily circulation of 8000 copies. The *Times* was critical but not radical. The most important radical publication was Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*. As a political writer William Cobbett had no peer in the kingdom and his message was eagerly read by the masses everywhere.

The reviews. On a somewhat higher plane were the great reviews which addressed their appeals to a more cultivated class. *The Edinburgh Review*, a Whig quarterly, was launched in 1802. The new venture was promoted by a group of remarkably able men and counted among its earlier contributors such writers as Brougham, Walter Scott, and Macaulay. Scott was not a Whig and soon transferred his support to a new Tory organ, the *Quarterly Review*, which was promoted by George Canning and some of his political associates and appeared for the first time in 1809. Southey and Coleridge were among the contributors to the great Tory quarterly. In 1817 the Tories in Scotland found an able exponent in *Blackwood's Magazine*. Seven years later a new periodical appeared, *The Westminster Review*, which for some time remained the chief literary organ of British Radicalism.

Political agitation. 1819. The economic situation was quite tolerable in 1817 and 1818, and political agitation died down somewhat, but only to flare up again in 1819. In May of that year the subject of Parliamentary reform came up in the House of Commons on the motion of Francis Burdett. All that the mover asked was that the house should agree to take up the subject at its next session; but only fifty-eight votes were recorded in favor of the resolution. The defeat of Burdett's motion was the signal for a series of great popular demonstrations throughout England. The most famous of these was a great meeting at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, where more than 50,000 men and women gathered to protest against the inequali-

ties of representation in the House of Commons. The magistrates of the city, fearing that the demonstrations might become riotous, sought to arrest the speakers. Failing in this they ordered a troop of cavalry to charge the crowd. The meeting broke up in a panic. Several were killed and many were injured. The speakers were finally arrested and sent to prison.

The six repressive acts. 1819. The news of the massacre at "Peterloo" stirred the entire nation almost to the point of rebellion. The government once more resorted to a policy of repression. Six bills dealing with the situation were introduced into Parliament and after a long and bitter debate were successfully passed. Three of these acts were counted as particularly objectionable: a stamp act was laid on pamphlets; the laws against seditious libel were made more rigorous; political meetings were outlawed, except such as had the endorsement of the local authorities. The chief sponsors for the "Six Acts" were Sidmouth, Eldon, and Castlereagh. In its main purpose the legislation was successful. The radical agitators of the more violent type were silenced and after five years of turmoil, order and rest were restored to the land.

It was at this time that Shelley, the poet of radicalism, wrote his famous sonnet: *England in 1819*. In this he characterized the royal princes as "the dregs of their dull race;" the Cabinet as leeches who, "cling till they drop, blind in blood;" and Parliament as "Time's worst Statute unrepealed." His reference to "a people starved and stabbed in the untilled field" may be an allusion to the "Peterloo massacre." In a poem addressed to *Sidmouth and Castlereagh* he characterizes these two eminent lords as

"Two bloodless wolves whose dry throats rattle,
Two crows perched on the murrained cattle,
Two vipers tangled into one."

At the time Shelley resided in Italy.

George IV. 1820-1830. In January, 1820, George III died and was succeeded by his unworthy son George IV. During the last nine years of his life the aged king had suffered from mental and physical blindness, the government being directed meanwhile by the prince of Wales as regent. Consequently

the change in the kingship brought no change in ministerial policies. A more significant event was the death of Castlereagh a year and a half later (1822). Lord Liverpool, feeling the need of a more popular element in the ministry, insisted that Canning should take over the foreign office. Another important ministerial change was the appointment of William Huskisson to the presidency of the board of trade. Huskisson was a Tory with moderate views; he believed strongly in the advisability of levying lower tariffs and initiated a series of financial reforms. Earlier Lord Sidmouth had retired from the home office in favor of Robert Peel, a man who ultimately developed into a statesman of high rank. Peel took up the work of Romilly and Mackintosh for a more humane criminal code. In 1823 he persuaded his party to abolish the death penalty in the case of about one hundred offenses, and the terrible list of capital crimes was reduced by nearly one-half. Peel continued his efforts, till by the close of the decade there remained only about a dozen offenses that were still punished at the gallows.

The trade union movement. During the same years the government began to take favorable note of a strong demand on the part of labor for the right to organize clubs and unions. The trade union movement was a direct product of the industrial revolution. It was only natural that workers who were crowded together in mines and factories should seek the protection and other advantages offered by organization. In the eighteenth century however, workingmen's unions could scarcely have a legal existence, inasmuch as their object seemed to be "restraint of trade." To make this objection more effective, Parliament in 1799 and 1800 passed two Combination Acts which virtually outlawed all unions formed with a view to improving the lot of the laboring classes. These laws remained on the statute books till 1824 when, largely through the skilful management of Francis Place and William Huskisson, the government was induced to ask for a repeal of the Combination Acts. The following year this act was in turn repealed and the Combination Acts restored, though not in their original form; since 1825 labor unions have been legal institutions in Great Britain, though at first their only proper activity was to agitate for shorter hours and higher wages; strikes and picketing were expressly forbidden. The workingmen hoped much from their

new freedom, but the results were meager. A number of unions were formed, but a decade later the labor union movement became associated with a radical form of political agitation (called Chartism) from which there was no immediate profit.

A new foreign policy. The period of reaction was nearing its close. With Peel and Canning and Huskisson in the Cabinet the repressive policies of the older Toryism became impossible. The new spirit first revealed itself prominently in the foreign office. To maintain the settlement arranged at Vienna, the four leading powers of Europe, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, had formed a quadruple alliance, which for a decade controlled the destinies of Europe. The alliance was particularly hostile toward popular movements and its leaders held themselves in readiness to intervene in behalf of any king or prince whose subjects were afflicted by a desire for a more liberal political régime. The English government did not wholly endorse this policy of "intervention;" at the same time Castlereagh feared that it would not be expedient to desert the alliance altogether.

Canning, on the other hand, was determined that the British government should attempt to prevent intervention wherever its interference should promise a successful outcome. An opportunity was at hand in Spanish America. The European monarchs wished to restore Spanish authority over the revolted colonies in the western world and hoped that the English fleet would be available for the venture. Not only did Canning refuse to assist in these plans; he went further and suggested to the American ambassador that England and America might join in a warning to the Continental powers not to interfere in Latin-America. The joint warning was never sent, but in America the suggestion took the form of a statement since known as the Monroe doctrine (1823).

Three important reforms. 1828-1829. In 1827 Canning became prime minister, but a few months later he died, and the high office passed to Lord Goderich, familiarly known as "Goody Goderich." The new prime minister was wholly incapable and soon gave place to the Duke of Wellington, who took office in 1828. Meanwhile the demand for reform was again gathering strength; especially keen was the interest in Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform. In May,

1828, Parliament on the motion of Lord John Russell finally repealed the Test and Corporation Acts. Virtually all citizens were now made eligible to office; but the declaration against transubstantiation still remained in the oath administered to members of Parliament, so that no Catholic could accept a seat in that body. Daniel O'Connell, an orator of great fame and power, decided in spite of this fact to become a candidate for a seat in the lower house. At a special election in County Clare he defeated one of the chiefs of the Tory party in Ireland. That a legally elected and fully qualified citizen should be denied his seat because he refused to violate his conscience by taking an objectionable oath, created much stir in the land. So determined were the Irish Catholics, that Wellington feared the possibility of civil war: The government agreed that the bar should be removed. A relief bill introduced by Robert Peel became a law in 1829. At the same time the government asked Parliament to raise the freehold qualification for the suffrage in Ireland from 40s to £10. Thus six-sevenths of the Irish electorate were disfranchised and a new grievance took the place of the one removed. O'Connell was forced to seek a second election but was finally allowed to take his seat. ABCD

The July Revolution in Paris. 1830. The reformers next centered their attention upon Parliamentary representation. A violent agitation arose which was doubtless given strength and momentum by movements on the Continent. In 1830 the "July Revolution" broke out in Paris and spread to the neighboring lands. The purpose of the revolutionists on the Continent was to overthrow the absolutism that had been reëstablished by the Congress of Vienna, and in places they were successful. In England the movement took the form of an insistent demand for the reform of the House of Commons and a more liberal franchise. Toward the close of the year Earl Grey, the recognized chief of the Whig party, suggested that such a measure be passed. But Wellington refused to tamper with the historic constitution and rather than yield to pressure he resigned his office.

William IV. 1830-1837. The Grey ministry. William IV, who had succeeded his brother a few months before, now called on Earl Grey to head a new ministry. There were still four leading groups in the politics of Britain: extreme Tories,

"Canningite" Tories, Whigs, and Radicals. Earl Grey selected his Cabinet from among the Whigs and the Canningites; he also had the support of the Radicals. Out of this alliance grew the Liberal party which has controlled the nation and the empire most of the time since 1830.

Lord Grey and his associates took charge of the government in November under very trying circumstances. In August and September serious rioting was reported from the rural districts of Kent and soon nearly all the counties south of the Thames were ablaze with a movement that closely resembled revolution. Grain stacks and grain barns were burned; threshing machines were destroyed wherever they could be found; and promises of higher wages were extorted from the terrified farmers. The Wellington government had taken measures to crush the uprising, and the new ministry followed these up with much severity. Nine of the rioters were executed and several hundred transported to the Australian colonies.

Probable for final

Parliamentary reform. 1832. The revolt of the country laborers stirred the reforming elements to greater activity in favor of Parliamentary reconstruction; but it also strengthened the opposition of the aristocratic classes against any changes in the British constitution. The new Cabinet, composed as it was of peers and wealthy landlords, had only a mild interest in social and political reform; but the Whigs were pledged to a reform of Parliament and they did not permit the panic to interfere with their plans in this direction. A committee of four was appointed to prepare a suitable measure and a few months later the first Reform Bill was ready for discussion. The bill was chiefly the work of Lord Durham, the prime minister's son-in-law, a Whig with radical tendencies, who served as chairman of this committee. The honor of introducing the measure into the House of Commons was quite properly assigned to Lord John Russell who for a decade had been a persistent advocate of Parliamentary reform.

The first test vote showed that the house was almost evenly divided on the subject and the bill was dropped. In the hope of securing a more favorable house the Grey ministry dissolved Parliament and ordered new elections. The resulting campaign was one of the most exciting in English history. For once the electorate ignored the will of the magnates and voted their

own convictions. The Whigs and their allies came back to Westminster in strong majority (1831).

Another bill was prepared and passed through the House of Commons without difficulty; but after a vigorous debate in the upper house it was rejected by a majority of forty-one votes. The news that the second bill had been refused by the peers threw the country into the most intense excitement. For some weeks riot and destruction prevailed. In December a third bill was introduced into the lower house and in March it was ready for the House of Lords. Once more the peers threatened to throw the bill out entirely or to amend it so as to make it harmless as a reform measure. When the attitude of the lords became evident Grey and his colleagues resigned their offices. William IV, who had little enthusiasm for the plans of the Whigs, now asked Wellington to form another Cabinet, but as the Iron Duke now proposed to give the country a measure of reform, the Tory chieftains refused to serve under him. The king had therefore no choice but to recall Grey; he further promised to create a sufficient number of Whig lords to overcome the hostile majority. On learning this the upper house yielded: Wellington and about one hundred of his Tory associates withdrew from the discussion, and the third bill became a law, June 7, 1832.

The principles of the reform act. The Whig leaders had agreed on the principle that no borough with a population of less than 2000 should be represented in the House of Commons and that boroughs having more than 2000 but fewer than 4000 residents should be allowed only one member. By the provisions of the act as finally passed, fifty-six English boroughs lost their representation in Parliament; thirty lost one member each, two were combined into one constituency and given two members instead of four. In this way the borough membership was reduced by 143 seats. These were distributed among the larger counties and the more important towns. Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and a number of other large towns were now given representation for the first time.

The act also provided for a wider and more uniform suffrage. In the boroughs every man who occupied a house for which he paid £10 in yearly rent, or whose own house would rent for that sum, was allowed to vote. In the country the forty-shilling

same

land
freeholders remained voters as before; but the franchise was also given to copyholders and leaseholders whose lands aside from rent and other charges had a yearly minimum value ranging from £10 to £50 according to the terms of the tenure. The Tory lords insisted that the ballot should also be given to the tenants-at-will who paid at least £50 in annual rent. This demand was made in the interest of the landlord class, for a tenant-at-will is a tenant at the landlord's will. In general the right to vote was given to business men of the cities and to the more important farmers. The workingmen were not given the ballot; very few of them paid as much as £10 in rent. The actual increase in the number of voters was not large: about 445,000 were added to an earlier total of some 425,000.

The increased power of the middle class. The measure was a moderate one and was soon found inadequate. Three later reforms have given the United Kingdom substantially equal electoral districts and what is practically universal suffrage, both male and female. Nevertheless, the reform act of 1832 accomplished a real revolution. Before that date the landlord class had controlled both the counties and the boroughs and through these constituencies had controlled the kingdom. But now the influence of the land except in county government was a thing of the past. The boroughs passed into the control of the newly enfranchised middle class, the merchant, the trader, and the shopkeeper. The power that the aristocracy lost in 1832 could never be regained. The first Parliamentary reform was not democratic, but it made democracy possible.

Liberalism and Conservatism. In the election that followed the passage of the reform bill the Liberal group won an overwhelming victory, and a substantial majority of the new members were eager for social and economic reforms. The great Tory party had lost half its membership; fewer than 170 men were grouped behind the opposition bench where Sir Robert Peel still sat ready to fight for conservative principles. But though Peel headed a small minority, he remained the most commanding figure in the new house. Realizing that the older form of Toryism had passed away, Peel took an early opportunity to commit his party to a policy of moderate reform. "He was for reforming every institution that really required reform, but he

was for doing it gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, in order that the reform might be lasting." For such a policy the term "conservative" seemed to be most appropriate and gradually the Tory element learned to speak of itself as the Conservative party.

The abolition of slavery. 1833. One of the earliest of the many reforms of the new Parliament was the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 little was done to educate English opinion on the subject of slavery and its attendant evils before 1823, when an anti-slavery society was formed under the leadership of Thomas Folwell Buxton, an English brewer of Quaker ancestry, whose energies had long been devoted to the cause of abolition. Canning opposed the objects of the society, but was anxious that the colonial authorities should take steps to improve the conditions of slavery. As the planters refused to initiate any such action, it became relatively easy to develop opposition to the institution of slavery in the British Isles. Lord Stanley (better known by his later title, Earl of Derby), who was colonial secretary, was favorably disposed to Buxton's plans, and in August, 1833, Parliament resolved that there should no longer be recognized bondage under the British flag.

The regions affected by the act of emancipation were Mauritius, Cape Colony, the West Indies, and Guiana. Inasmuch as slavery had always been a legal institution in these areas, it was thought wise to indemnify the owners to some extent; Parliament accordingly voted the sum of £20,000,000 for that purpose. The passing of slavery was to date from August 1, 1834, though complete freedom was not to come till some years later. All former slaves above the age of six years were to be maintained by their former masters for a period ranging from seven to twelve years; in return they were to labor as "apprentices" three-fourths of the day without wages. This transition period proved unnecessarily long, however, and by 1838 slavery in the British empire had come to an end.

Abolition of religious tests in Parliament. The liberal spirit of the reformed Parliament revealed itself early in the first session in the admission of Quakers to membership in the House of Commons on making a plain affirmation instead of taking the prescribed oath. By this decision membership was thrown

open to men of all religions save the Jews, who were unable to take the oath so long as it contained the formula "on the true faith of a Christian." Owing to the stubbornness of the upper house, the Jews were kept out of Parliament for nearly a generation longer; but in 1858 it was finally agreed to waive the statement of faith in the case of Jews, and since then Jews have enjoyed full citizen rights in the United Kingdom.

Factory legislation; child labor. In 1833 the British Parliament, for the first time in its history, made an appropriation to promote public education. The amount, £20,000 per year, was not significant; but the grant was the initial step in a new policy which was to mean much for the future of public education in the kingdom. Of more immediate importance was a factory act regulating the number of hours of labor for children in the textile mills. Though introduced by a member of the government, the bill was chiefly the work of Lord Ashley, better known as Lord Shaftesbury, a conservative peer of moderate views and broad humanitarian sympathies, whose energies were given freely to promote the welfare of the laboring class. By the provisions of this act children above the age of thirteen were allowed to work twelve hours daily. Younger children were limited to nine hours. No child under the age of nine was to be employed in any factory except in a silk mill. Several efforts had been made on earlier occasions to limit the hours of labor in factories, but the act of 1833 was the first to prove really effective.

The poor law of 1834. An act of the greatest importance was the new poor law of 1834. The practice of doling out relief to the poor had proved to have demoralizing effects on rich and poor alike; it was responsible for much idleness and indirectly for the vices that infest the idle life. The purpose of the new law was to encourage paupers to work. Outdoor relief was almost wholly abolished; in its place the government established a system of workhouses, where relief might be given to those who were actually destitute. In many cases the new law worked great hardship, but in the end it proved a real improvement on the older methods of dealing with poverty.

Reform legislation concerning Ireland. The following year a royal commission headed by Richard Whately, Protestant archbishop of Dublin, made a study of poverty in Ireland and re-

ported that nearly 2,400,000 persons were in actual distress a large part of the year. The population on the island was steadily increasing, while very little was being done to develop the resources of the country. The Whately report did not bring immediate results, but in 1838 a new Poor Law Act was passed extending the system of workhouses to Ireland. The new law was of great help in relieving the most dire forms of distress; but it failed to strike at the root of the evil, which was the Irish land system.

An old and a very real grievance among the Irish Catholics were the dues that were still being collected by the Protestant state church. The Anglican establishment in Ireland was highly endowed and heavily manned. Of the 8,000,000 inhabitants of Ireland fewer than 800,000 professed the Anglican faith. In many parts of the island there were almost no parishioners; still, the ecclesiastical offices were regularly filled. To this establishment the Irish farmer continued to pay a tithe, and the church further had authority to collect a church tax. It was never easy to collect these levies, and in years of economic distress the tithe-proctors frequently met resistance to the point of violence.

In 1831 and the years immediately following there was much crime in Ireland, more than the agents of the home office were able to hunt down. In 1833 Lord Stanley, the chief secretary for Ireland, proposed two measures which he hoped would restore order on the island: a coercion bill to deal with crime, and a reorganization of the Irish Episcopal church. By the latter measure the number of bishops was reduced from twenty-two to twelve; in certain respects, too, the church was reorganized with a view to greater economy. At the same time the church tax was repealed. But this "quick alternation of kicks and kindness" brought no results, for the tithe grievance remained.

The "repeal" agitation. The leadership of the Irish party both within and without Parliament was held by Daniel O'Connell who commanded a following of some thirty members in the House of Commons. O'Connell was not much interested in the problems of the established church in Ireland: his specialty was a demand for a repeal of the Act of Union. O'Connell seems to have believed that some form of union

with Great Britain was necessary; but he insisted that no Irishman could be happy before Grattan's Parliament should be revived. This agitation and the other difficulties growing out of the Irish question proved too much for the patience of the prime minister, and in 1834 Earl Grey resigned.

Peel and Melbourne. Lord Melbourne, an amiable peer of moderate abilities, succeeded Grey and continued in the high office for four months, when the king, acting, perhaps, on a suggestion from the tired premier, dismissed the ministry and gave the control of the government to Robert Peel and the Conservatives. This was the last time that an English sovereign ventured to dismiss a Cabinet. Since that day the king has been satisfied to retain a ministry so long as it retains the confidence of the House of Commons. Peel in his turn continued in office only four months: the Parliamentary elections of 1835 gave the Liberals and their Irish allies a majority, and the first Peel ministry resigned.

The Municipal Corporations Act. 1835. Melbourne returned to the office of prime minister and remained in charge of the government for six years. The first great reform measure of his administration was a Municipal Corporations Act, which provided a more rational form of government for the English boroughs. A commission appointed in 1833 found that out of 237 boroughs examined the great majority (186) were governed by self-perpetuating councils, which regarded their functions as private affairs and of no concern to the public. By the act of 1835 these older bodies were abolished and their authority transferred to governing councils composed of councillors and aldermen. The councillors in a British borough are chosen directly by the tax-payers for a term of three years. The councillors elect the mayor of the borough; they are also required to select a smaller number of aldermen (not more than one-fourth of the entire council) to serve for six years. The aldermen and the councillors form a single body, the borough council.

Postal reform. 1839. The same decade saw an important reform in the postal service. The charge for carrying letters was high and varied with the distance. This proved a great hardship for the poor. The charge was paid by the one who received the letter: this led to constant efforts to evade the law by

smuggling, placing private marks on the envelope, and the like. Rowland Hill, an official in the postal service, came to believe that the rates were far above the cost of carrying the letters, and that the distance had little to do with the cost. He therefore urged the government to adopt a low rate and to have the cost of carriage paid by the sender, which could be done by affixing a government stamp. After a few years of agitation the reform was carried through and the United Kingdom had a uniform penny postage. Since that time Rowland Hill's ideas have been accepted throughout the world.

A reform program for India. The reforming activities of the Liberal government also extended to the more important parts of the empire. The abolition of slavery has already been noted. In 1828 Lord William Bentinck was sent out to India as governor-general where he remained in charge of the imperial interests for seven years. Bentinck had seen long service in southern Asia and appreciated the need of moral and administrative reforms in India. His first great act was to abolish the *suttee*. It was a Hindu belief that a widow ought not to survive her husband, but should mount the funeral pyre to be burned with his corpse. Widows were often voluntarily victims, but more frequently they yielded only to strong pressure. In 1829 Bentinck secured a decree according to which all who assisted at a *suttee* would be guilty of manslaughter. The decree was not immediately effective, but the practice had now become a dangerous one, and was gradually abandoned.

There had long existed in India a fraternity of assassins known as *thuggi*. The thugs infested the highways and made travel exceedingly unsafe. During the years of Bentinck's administration 1562 thugs were hunted down and hanged or deprived of their liberty. Later viceroys have continued Bentinck's work and the fraternity has been destroyed.

Canada: the Durham report. During this period England also entered into new relations with Canada. The two principal regions of this colonial domain, Upper and Lower Canada, had long shown signs of unrest. The older colony, Lower Canada (now Quebec), was French in population and spirit; the upper colony (Ontario) was English. Each viewed the other with jealousy and distrust; both were dissatisfied with their own situation. In Quebec a young French element hoped for inde-

pendence, or, failing in this, for annexation to the United States. In Upper Canada there was vigorous agitation for a greater measure of popular self-government. The trouble finally came to the point of rebellion, and the government felt that the Canadian demands could no longer be ignored. In 1838, Melbourne sent Lord Durham to Canada as lord high commissioner with large powers to rectify the situation. The commissioner, who will be remembered as the chief author of the reform bill of 1832, was a man of exceptional abilities though in his methods he was inclined to be arbitrary. He soon found himself in disagreement with the home government and resigned his office, but his ideas as to Canadian administration prevailed: the two Canadas were given a joint legislature with extensive control over the affairs of the united colony.

Lord Durham's mission marks the beginning of responsible government in the British colonies. Up to that time the colonial governors had been held responsible to the home government only. Lord Durham recommended that the colonial governor should be instructed to act in harmony with the strongest party in the colonial legislature and should select his advisers from that party. He further recommended that all the Canadian provinces be united into one government, an idea that was realized thirty years later when the Dominion of Canada was formed.

Queen Victoria. 1837-1901. In 1837 William IV died and the crown passed to his niece, the Princess Victoria, a young girl of eighteen years. Queen Victoria took her domestic and social duties very seriously; she had, therefore, not always the necessary time for governmental affairs, and as a result the prime minister's office grew to an even greater importance. Victoria's long reign of more than sixty-three years, the longest in English history, saw a series of remarkable men in charge of the queen's government. Four of these played large and brilliant parts: Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Benjamin Disraeli, and William Ewart Gladstone. The queen did not allow the prime minister and the Cabinet to control the government absolutely; she tried to keep informed on administrative affairs at all times and claimed a right to share in the adoption of governmental policies. Still, in these matters she usually found it necessary to defer to the opinions of the ministers in charge.

Prince Albert. In 1840 Queen Victoria married her first

cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, one of the lesser German states. Prince Albert was never popular with the English people: he was somewhat stiff and reserved and had none of those genial graces that Englishmen love to see in royalty. No place was made for him in the government, and for a long time he had no legal title; only a few years before his death was the queen able to persuade Parliament to give him the title of Prince Consort. Though he was the queen's husband, the ruling powers in England did not intend that he should be anything more than mere consort. This, however, did not prevent him from becoming a real force in the government of the kingdom. He was naturally the queen's confidential adviser, and his counsel carried great weight with the Cabinet as well as with the queen. After twenty years of married life the prince died, and for forty years longer the queen struggled single-handed with parties and ministers.

The popularity of the monarchy restored. It was the peculiar duty and privilege of Queen Victoria to reëstablish monarchy in the affections of the English people. The Hanoverian line of kings had not been famous either for intelligence or for virtue. The queen's grandfather, George III, had, indeed, lived a most proper private life, but his narrowness and stubbornness combined with a feeble intellect made him anything but an ideal ruler. Her uncle, George IV, had disgusted the nation; her other uncle, William IV, though in many ways an improvement on his impossible brother, was erratic, and was believed by many to be slightly unbalanced. But Queen Victoria, as wife and mother and mistress of a home, illustrated all that was noblest and best in the English character. Early in the queen's reign it was freely predicted that the British Isles would before long become a republic. To-day monarchy seems firmly intrenched in the English political system. Even radicals admit the value of a dynasty in a nation like England and in a government like that of the United Kingdom. Queen Victoria redeemed monarchy.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE AGE OF PALMERSTON

Problems of the early Victorian era. The first thirty years of Queen Victoria's reign were occupied chiefly with problems that concerned the United Kingdom in the larger sense, the British empire, and the position of England among the nations of the world. The enthusiasm for social legislation which was strong in the first reformed Parliament proved less vigorous after the elections of 1835, though several notable measures looking toward social improvement were passed during the following years. The interest in domestic issues was gradually yielding to a deepening interest in affairs abroad. The earlier decades of the Victorian era witnessed a series of vast movements in Europe and in the world at large: the revolutionary risings in western and central Europe in 1848; the Crimean War; the Sepoy rebellion against the East India Company; the unification of Italy; the Civil War in the United States; the intervention of France in Mexico; and the preliminary conflicts which led to the formation of the German Empire. In some of these movements England played a large and leading part; in every case she was an interested and attentive observer.

The major statesmen of the period. Of the statesmen who guided the British ship of state during this period four were pre-eminent: Peel, Derby, Russell, and Palmerston. The first two represented the Tory tradition with the difference that Derby (Lord Stanley), who had left the Whig connection in 1834, was steadily moving closer to the conservative right, while Peel, who had sprung from the middle class and had no fear of changes if they seemed likely to promote social justice, was gradually advancing toward Liberalism. Russell, though a man of moderate abilities only, had an excellent record and was one of the more prominent chiefs of the Whig element in the newly-formed Liberal party.

Lord Palmerston. The chief pilot of the period, however, was Lord Palmerston. Palmerston was an Irish peer, though

of English blood. He entered the House of Commons in 1807 and remained in that body almost continuously till his death fifty-eight years later. Throughout the larger part of this period he served as Cabinet minister, first in the foreign office, then for a few years in the home office, and finally as prime minister. Originally Palmerston was a Tory of the Canningite faction; but during the agitation for Parliamentary reform he deserted the Tory party and became identified with the Whigs. Palmerston's chief interest lay in foreign affairs, and in the conduct of the foreign office he frequently showed such an aggressive and domineering spirit that the peace of Europe was often despaired of. His ideas of foreign policy were totally different from those of the sovereign; for one thing he favored a closer and more cordial understanding with France, while Queen Victoria felt strongly drawn toward the German states. But this disagreement did not disturb Palmerston: he went ahead with his plans and notified the queen after he had taken action. A minister who employed such high-handed methods and showed such slight respect for the crowned heads of Europe as Palmerston did, could not fail to be a sore trial to the sovereign. But the interests of the British empire were carefully guarded when Palmerston was in the foreign office, and his methods and policies had the approval of the great majority of Englishmen.

The second Peel ministry. In August, 1841, the Melbourne government resigned. The Liberal groups had now been in almost continuous control for eleven years; their program for social betterment was apparently exhausted; and the English people had become weary of a government which seemed unable to develop an active domestic policy. As the Conservatives had carried the Parliamentary elections some weeks earlier, the queen very properly entrusted the administration to Robert Peel.

Peel's financial policy. The first great problem that the new government had to solve was the old difficulty of taxation. During Melbourne's administration the expenses of the kingdom had exceeded the income; and Peel, therefore, had to devise plans to wipe out the deficit. The Liberals had tried to increase the income by levying higher duties on imports but without success, as the higher rates tended to discourage importation. To remove the deficit Peel found it necessary to resort to Pitt's expedient of an income tax. He justified this on the plea that

an emergency existed which had to be met. It was hoped that the government would be in position to abolish this tax after a few years; but the available time never came, and the income tax still remains an important part of the British revenue system.

The agitation for free trade. About the middle of the nineteenth century certain very important changes came into the agriculture, the industry, and the public finance of the kingdom by the adoption of a policy of "free trade." Since the early days of English commerce it had been the policy of the government to prevent foreign merchants from competing successfully in English markets by placing a tax on imported products. For some time, however, it had been held by many students of economic problems that such "protective" taxes were of little advantage to English commerce and that they probably were a hindrance. The movement for free trade dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Adam Smith held that free trade was desirable, though perhaps not expedient as conditions were in his day. William Pitt took a step in the direction of free trade when he made his commercial treaty with France and agreed to lower the tariff on certain French products. Another step was taken about forty years later when William Huskisson was president of the board of trade: Huskisson secured lower tariff rates on a number of imported articles. There was, however, no organized movement against protective tariffs before 1838, when certain manufacturers in Lancashire organized the Anti-Corn Law League to secure the removal of the tax on imported wheat.

The attack on the corn laws. To protect the interests of the English farmer Parliament had at various times passed laws forbidding the importation of foreign wheat until English wheat should reach a certain price. It will be recalled that in 1815 the price limit was fixed at ten shillings (nearly \$2.50) per bushel. Later the law was modified in the hope of keeping the price at about \$1.80 per bushel. When crops were good these laws made little difference, as the large supply would force prices down; but when the harvest was light, they worked serious hardship among the poor. As it would sometimes take from five to ten days' wages of a common laborer to pay for a bushel of wheat, the price of bread was relatively high.

The iniquity of this had long been apparent. The leading

spirits in the Anti-Corn Law League were two prominent manufacturers in Lancashire, the economist Richard Cobden and the noted orator John Bright. Though the humanitarian spirit was strong in both these men, the purpose of the League was, on the whole, not of a philanthropic character. The leaders argued that without sufficient food the laborer could not be an efficient workman; and it was clear that with prices as they were he could not afford to buy what he and his family needed in the form of nourishment. The alternative was, therefore, higher wages or cheaper bread. They also argued that the corn laws interfered with the natural laws of commerce, inasmuch as they prevented foreign customers from exchanging their wheat for British manufactured products. One of the professed objects of the League was to "convince the manufacturers that the corn laws were interfering with the growth of trade."

Peel becomes a tariff reformer. Sir Robert Peel came from a wealthy family of cotton spinners in Lancashire and it was only natural that the arguments of Cobden and his associates should appeal strongly to him. He gradually came to believe that the English tariff system was not based on sound economic principles. He believed that a duty on exports and on raw materials used in English industry tended to discourage manufacturing and ought therefore to be abolished. He also held that a low tariff on imports would produce more revenue than a high tariff. The budget of 1842 accordingly provided for lower tariff rates on 750 articles out of a total of 1200 that were taxed in this way. At the same time the duty on raw materials was reduced to a merely nominal rate, while the tax on exports was almost entirely removed. Further changes in the same direction were made three years later. Peel was also convinced that the corn laws ought to be repealed or at least seriously modified; but his party was dominated by English landowners, and in his first attempt to remove the restriction on the importation of wheat he failed. Neither his party nor his Cabinet was willing to support him.

Agriculture in Ireland. It was a terrible calamity which befell Ireland in 1845 that had finally converted Peel to the policy of free trade in agricultural products. Ireland has an area of about 20,000,000 acres, one-fourth of which is mountain and bog. The climate being mild and moist, the island produces a wonderful vegetation and is properly called the Green Isle.

Ireland is, therefore, a natural grazing country and has always been well stocked with cattle. With the development of the great industrial centers in Great Britain came an increased demand for food which the Irish farmers were able to meet by turning from grain-farming to the more profitable occupation of cattle-farming. At the present time one-half of the entire area of the island is devoted to cattle pasture. Of the remaining 5,000,000 acres, 2,000,000 or more are set aside for meadow purposes. Consequently the entire population of Ireland is forced to get its vegetable food supply from less than 3,000,000 acres of land.

The fact that there was in the early forties less than one-third of an acre of arable land per capita in Ireland accounts in large part for the popularity of the potato as a farm product, as the potato yields far more abundantly than grain. The soil of the country is well adapted to the cultivation of this plant, and a field of moderate size would ordinarily provide the farmer's family with abundant food for the year to come. The necessary labor in the potato patch was slight; the farmer could leave the growing crop to the attention of his family while he sought employment elsewhere. Wheat was also an important crop in Ireland, but most of the grain was sold in England to meet the demands of the absentee landlord.

The "potato rot" and the famine. In 1845 a disease came upon the potato and the food supply of the people failed. The "potato rot," as the blight was called, was general throughout western Europe; but only in Ireland, where the population depended so much on the potato plant, did it cause real distress. The disease reappeared the next year and the misery continued. Several years of famine caused inexpressible suffering; and with the famine came pestilence to complete the work. Thousands perished, while in other thousands died hope and ambition and the joy of living.

In 1844 the population of the island was about 8,200,000. At present it is a little more than half that number. It is estimated that at least 300,000 people died of disease and starvation during the years of famine; since then the population has been reduced yearly by emigration, chiefly to the United States. During the second half of the nineteenth century nearly four million Irishmen came to the American shores.

The English people made a great effort to bring relief to the starving island. Parliament voted a large sum of money, and this was increased by voluntary subscription in which America joined. Food was rushed to the Irish ports. But what Ireland needed was cheap grain, and with the corn laws still in force the importation of cheap food was impossible.

The repeal of the corn laws. After having twice failed to induce his Cabinet to consent to changes in these laws, Robert Peel resigned his office as prime minister; but as Lord John Russell, the leader of the Liberal groups, was unable to form a ministry, Peel soon returned to the helm. All the members of his government were now ready to accept changes in the corn laws except Lord Stanley. Six months later Peel's measure for the modification of these laws passed the House of Commons, though most of the Tories voted against it. The tax on imported wheat was reduced to a nominal sum. The price of grain went down immediately; in the years prior to the Great War, English wheat sold for about sixty cents per bushel. Unfortunately the repeal was of little importance to those who were dying from hunger in Ireland; they had no money with which to buy bread at any price. But the English workingman now had cheaper bread; the need for higher wages was no longer so urgent as before; and certain forms of agitation among the laboring classes quieted down.

Divisions in the Conservative party: Peelites and Protectionists. The repeal of the corn laws split the Tory party. The more liberal section, which had come to doubt the wisdom of trying to build up any trade or industry by legislative favors, followed Peel out of the party and for a time formed a distinct Parliamentary group known as the Peelites. Among the Peelites was William Ewart Gladstone, who later rose to a unique position in the Liberal party and in the British kingdom. Gladstone entered politics in 1833 as a member for a pocket borough which had survived the reform measure of the preceding year. At the time he was a Tory of the sterner type. But like his great chief, Robert Peel, his opinions traveled steadily in the direction of Liberalism, and he closed his career in that political faith.

The more conservative wing, which still believed strongly in the duty of the government to protect English agriculture against competition from abroad, found a leader in a brilliant

young novelist of Jewish blood, Benjamin Disraeli. Unlike Gladstone, Disraeli had entered Parliament as a radical; but he soon found it expedient to join the Tories, with whom he agreed to the extent of being an opponent of Whiggism. Disraeli was a political adventurer: he had no interest in the landlord class, and his new political associates had little faith in him. But the "Protectionists" had no leader of their own class who could meet successfully in debate such men as Peel, Gladstone, Cobden, and Bright; Disraeli, who was a talented and vigorous speaker, was easily the first on his side in the House of Commons. Disraeli never wholly shed his radicalism, and under his leadership the remnant of the Tory party, which now definitely accepted the name Conservative, was forced to assume a more tolerant attitude toward the demands of the masses. Disraeli held with his Tory followers that the English constitution was sufficiently democratic and should not be tampered with; but he also held that social conditions in the kingdom were not ideal and might be improved. But while he believed that Parliament should not refuse to authorize necessary changes, he urged at the same time that great caution be employed in dealing with proposed reforms.

An age of prosperity. But Disraeli and his protectionist friends fought a losing battle. They had prophesied low prices, bankruptcies, unemployment, and other dire results from the repeal of the corn laws; these, however, failed to appear. A wave of prosperity had set in, which Peel's agrarian policy was unable to retard. In 1848 and 1849 the gold fields of California and Australia were discovered, and the sudden increase in the world's gold supply doubtless helped materially to stimulate English trade. With the removal of the tariff on wheat went the whole system of protective tariffs. Later ministers followed the example of Robert Peel and for more than a decade the work of reduction and readjustment continued. In 1849 the old navigation acts were also abolished. Three years later a resolution that the policy of free trade should be "firmly maintained and prudently extended" was approved in the House of Commons by a vote of 468 to 53. The Conservatives quietly dropped their demand for protection. For more than half a century England remained a free trade country. Recent legislation, however, shows a tendency to abandon this policy and to return to a system of tariffs which shall not only satisfy the needs of the

exchequer but shall also provide a measure of protection for certain important lines of British industry.

The Russell ministry. 1846-1852. Sir Robert Peel's ministry did not survive the repeal of the corn laws. The final vote on the bill was taken in the upper house on June 25, 1846. On the same night there was a division in the House of Commons on a measure for "the protection of life" in Ireland, in which the government suffered defeat; the Protectionists, the radicals (including Cobden), and a strong Irish element combined against the ministry, some because they disapproved of coercion, others because they disliked Peel. A few days later Lord John Russell became prime minister and Lord Palmerston was for the third time placed in charge of the foreign office. For a period of twenty years domestic affairs were allowed to rest, the attention of the people and the government being directed almost exclusively toward foreign and imperial affairs. Throughout this period Palmerston was the leading figure in English politics and one of the most prominent statesmen in Europe.

The Revolutions of 1848. In February, 1848, a revolution broke out in Paris, which, like the July Revolution of 1830, soon spread to the neighboring lands; and in a few months nearly all western and central Europe was ablaze with revolution. The movement actually began in January with an uprising in Sicily, but did not become serious before the following month, when the French overturned the monarchy and established the Second Republic. In March the revolution spread to the German and the Austrian states and there were riots and barricades in the streets of Vienna and Berlin. For a time it seemed as if the absolute monarchies of the Continent were doomed; but before the close of the year reaction was once more in the saddle, and nearly all the constitutions that had been granted earlier in the year under pressure were annulled.

The Chartist movement. There was no actual outbreak in England, but a demonstration in favor of what was known as Chartism made the governing classes very uneasy for a time. The object of the Chartist movement was to secure for the laboring classes an active share in the government of the land. The workingman could not vote, nor could he hope to be chosen to membership in Parliament. Even though a man of moderate means should be elected, he could scarcely afford to take his

seat, as the members received no pay for their services. Chartism began to appear soon after the close of the contest for Parliamentary reform and took definite shape about 1838. The leaders of the movement were chiefly men of the trade union type, the most prominent being Feargus O'Connor, an Irish agitator who had once held a seat in Parliament for the borough of Cork.

The Chartist program. The program of the Chartists, "the People's Charter," comprised six demands: (1) universal suffrage; (2) vote by secret ballot; (3) abolition of property qualifications for membership in the House of Commons; (4) compensation for members of Parliament; (5) equal electoral districts; (6) annual Parliaments. Universal suffrage would make the laboring men a power at the elections, but only if the extension of the franchise should be accompanied by ballot reform. It had long been the custom for the voter to write his name in the poll book opposite the name of the candidate for whom he cast his vote; but with a secret ballot the laborer or the tenant could vote his convictions or desires with greater security, as his ballot could then no longer be inspected by his landlord or his employer. In 1710 parliament, hoping to remove the temptation to accept bribes, passed an act providing that no person should be qualified to sit in the House of Commons unless he possessed property in land sufficient to provide an income fixed at £300 for borough members and £600 for those representing the shires. The law was not rigidly enforced, but it remained on the statute books, and in 1838 it was reënacted with an amendment allowing the income to be derived from any form of property. The removal of this qualification might, indeed, open the house to members chosen from the laboring class; but it would be of little practical value unless the old custom of paying the members for their services should be revived. By annual Parliaments the Chartists meant that the members should be elected for a term of one year only.

The Chartist petition. It was announced in the spring of 1848 that 250,000 men were planning to march upon Westminster on April 10 to present to Parliament a monster petition embodying these six demands. It was further reported that 5,500,000 persons had signed the document. The government took great precautions to prevent trouble on the day indicated: soldiers were stationed about at important points and a vast number of special constables (among whom was the future

Napoleon III) were sworn into service. The Chartists finally abandoned the procession that they had planned; but they presented their petition according to announcement. It was found to contain nearly 2,000,000 names, some of which, however, were fictitious. Much ridicule was heaped on the movement when it was learned that the petition fell short of the number of signatures reported; but thinking men soon began to realize that the Chartists were, after all, a numerous body whose demands could not long remain unheeded.

Soon after 1848 conditions among the laboring classes began to improve. The labor unions began to feel that it might be well to let politics alone. The Chartist agitation died down and the movement was rated as a failure. Nevertheless, the fact remains that all the demands of the People's Charter have been granted with a single exception. There is no longer a demand for annual Parliamentary elections; members of the popular house have come to be more heedful of the opinions and the wishes of the men who elect them than they were in 1848 and the need for short terms is no longer felt.

Palmerston's interest in European liberalism. In the revolutionary movements on the Continent the British government took no active part. Lord Palmerston assumed the position that the people of the British kingdom, while maintaining neutrality at all times, had a right to show a sympathetic interest in any movement that looked in the direction of constitutional government; moreover, he held that it was the duty of the queen's ministry to call attention to evil conditions in other states and governments, and to give advice, whether this was desired or not. He consequently showed an abiding interest in the nationalistic movements in Italy, Hungary, and other parts of Europe. When some of the Hungarian leaders after the failure of their uprising in 1848 found it expedient to retire to Constantinople, Palmerston sent an English fleet into Turkish waters to prevent the sultan from returning the fugitives to the Hapsburg authorities. In these policies he had the cordial support of English opinion; but he proved a great trial to his colleagues in the ministry, who feared that his inconsiderate and somewhat strenuous methods would provoke resentment in foreign capitals.

The Don Pacifico case. 1850. Palmerston's theory of intervention took its most extreme form in the so-called Don Pacifico

case, which became an issue on the floor of Parliament in 1850. Don Pacifico was a Portuguese Jew, though a British subject, residing in Athens. During the Easter festivities in 1847 an Athenian mob had sacked Don Pacifico's house, destroying his property. Instead of seeking redress in the local Greek courts, the injured merchant appealed to the British authorities. After some effort at negotiations, Palmerston sent a fleet into Greek waters as a warning to the Athenian government. France offered to mediate in the difficulty, and the offer was accepted; but before the French government could take action a settlement had been arrived at in Athens. Many Englishmen felt that unnecessary violence had been used in Greece and that an unnecessary affront had been given to France. Palmerston's policy was questioned in both houses; in the lower house Gladstone, Cobden, and Peel joined in the attack. But Palmerston in a brilliant and powerful speech extending over five hours, "from dusk of one day until the dawn of the next," successfully defended his policy, maintaining that 'a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injury and wrong.'

The Slesvig-Holstein problem. During the same summer the diplomats of Europe developed an interest in a difficult problem on the Danish peninsula. The king of Denmark was also duke of Slesvig and Holstein. The latter duchy was a German state and a member of the German Confederation. Slesvig was anciently a part of the Danish kingdom and was still in large part Danish in language and feeling. A strong party in Denmark wished to reannex Slesvig to Denmark, while a German party in the duchies wished to bring it into the German Confederation. In the conflict that ensued Palmerston sympathized with the Danish faction and acted accordingly. The outcome was that he deeply offended the queen and the prince consort, who were both very sympathetic toward Germany. In August, 1850, the queen sent a memorandum to Palmerston instructing him how to conduct his office. She demanded first that in the future he should take no action without consulting her and receiving her sanction; second, that after she had once approved a course of action the foreign minister was not to change it on his own motion. She also asked that she be kept informed on all matters

involving the relations of the kingdom with foreign powers. Palmerston agreed very properly and politely to conduct his office as the queen desired; but before long he relapsed into his old habits.

Louis Napoleon and Count Cavour. The Revolution of 1848, though not generally successful, had certain important results; for one thing, it brought two new men into European prominence: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, who had great ambitions for his dynasty in France; and Count Cavour, the chief minister of the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, who dreamed of a united Italy. In December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was elected president of France. Three years later he threw the constitution of the Second Republic overboard and proceeded to make himself emperor of the French. Lord Palmerston, who admired the Bonaparte family, privately expressed his approval of Napoleon's act. When this was learned the nation and the Cabinet became very indignant, and the blustering minister was forced to resign.

The first Derby-Disraeli ministry. 1852. There was joy in Windsor castle when the terrible Palmerston was driven from the foreign office, but the joy was short-lived. A few weeks later he "gave Johnny Russell tit for tat" by joining the prime minister's enemies and defeating him on an insignificant military bill. The queen now entrusted the government to Lord Derby and the Conservatives. Benjamin Disraeli entered the new ministry as chancellor of the exchequer and leader of the government forces in the House of Commons. But after a few months Lord Derby, finding himself unable to command a majority in the house, sought escape in resignation.

The Aberdeen ministry. 1852-1855. Lord Aberdeen, who had served as foreign secretary under Sir Robert Peel, was now made chief of a coalition ministry composed of Liberals and Peelites. The new cabinet was a powerful group, containing as it did, Russell, Palmerston, and others of nearly equal rank; but the members were not in agreement as to foreign policies and the ministry maintained itself for two years only.

The Crimean War. For a period of nearly forty years international peace had been maintained in Europe. Since 1815 there had been a series of revolutionary movements in various parts of the Continent, but no important war involving the great European

powers. This long period of peace came to a close in June, 1853, when the armies of the Russian tsar invaded Turkish territory. In the following February France and Great Britain sent an ultimatum to the tsar demanding the withdrawal of his forces from Turkish soil within two months. The Russian government ignored the ultimatum, and in March, 1854, England and France declared war in behalf of the sultan. Early the next year Sardinia-Piedmont joined the allies at the instance of its great minister, Count Cavour. After the Russians had been forced back across the Turkish boundary, the war was carried over into Russian territory on the Crimean peninsula, and hence came to be called the Crimean War. The immediate cause of the war was a quarrel between the tsar and the new emperor of the French as to who should be regarded as the special protector of the Christians in the Holy Land. The tsar even went so far as to claim the right to protect all the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Back of these local disputes, however, were certain large questions of international policy involving some of the more important states of Europe.

Causes of the Crimean War. 1. The great Ottoman empire, once the terror of Europe, seemed to be approaching a condition of feeble senility. The government appeared to have only an imperfect control of the imperial resources. The Turk was unable to stand without support. For a decade prior to 1840 the Sublime Porte leaned heavily on the great strength of Russia; but after that year the sultan sought and found his chief support in London.

2. It had long been the ambition of the Russian rulers to secure the control of Constantinople. The geographical situation of the Russian state with respect to foreign trade was never favorable. Nearly all the trade of the empire passed out through the Russian ports on the Black and the Baltic Sea, the entrances to both of which were controlled by alien governments. The Baltic Sea was open to the commerce of all nations; but the Turkish government exercised rigid control of the straits leading past Constantinople into the Black Sea. Consequently the expulsion of the Moslem power from European soil had come to be regarded by Russian thinkers as an economic necessity as well as a religious duty.

Early in 1853 Nicholas I confided to the British ambassador

at St. Petersburg that the Turk was a very "sick man" and urged the necessity of an agreement as to the disposal of his many possessions. The tsar's plan was to establish a group of Balkan states which would presumably submit cheerfully to a certain measure of Russian dictation; to make Constantinople a free city under Russian protection; and to allow the British government to add Egypt, Crete, and Cyprus to the British empire. But the Aberdeen ministry was not anxious to enter into any bargaining of this sort and rejected the offer.

3. The English government had watched with growing concern the efforts of the Russians to extend their control over the Ottoman lands. For more than a century the British navy had been a power in the Mediterranean Sea; but it seemed clear that if the Russian fleet in the Black Sea were to be allowed free passage through the Turkish straits, British influence in the eastern Mediterranean might not be able to maintain itself. There was also the fear that the Russians might eventually find their way through Turkish territory to the Persian Gulf, an advance which the English would regard as a threat against their supremacy in India. The British government therefore believed it necessary to maintain the integrity of Turkey even at the cost of war.

4. The new emperor of the French, mindful of the fact that the Napoleonic name had always been associated with military glory, was seemingly anxious to find an opportunity for the display of French valor. Furthermore, a victorious foreign war would, he believed, enhance the popularity of his dynasty and make secure his possession of the French throne.

Sevastopol. After the Russians had been forced back across the Pruth River, the British government ordered its commander in the field to embark for the Crimea and demolish Sevastopol, a celebrated stronghold which was regarded as a menace to Constantinople. To this fortress the allied forces now laid siege (September, 1854). But only inadequate preparations had been made; the necessary supplies had not been provided; cholera broke out in the camp; and the death rate in the hospitals was appalling.

Florence Nightingale. The government finally sent Florence Nightingale, an English nurse of training and experience, out to the East to take charge of the hospital service. The service

was located at Scutari on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus where large barrack hospitals were erected. During the winter Miss Nightingale had a daily average of nearly 14,000 suffering men in her care. During the first four months of her service, there were more than 8,000 deaths at Scutari; but under her efficient management conditions at once began to improve and the death rate was materially reduced. With Florence Nightingale's mission to the British hospitals in Turkey began the modern movement for sanitation in military camps, which has done so much to lessen the terrors of warfare.

Palmerston at the head of the government. 1855-1859. The news of the suffering in the British camps roused the entire kingdom and public sentiment drove the Aberdeen ministry from office. Unable to find another leader equal to the task, the queen to her great distress was forced to give Palmerston the reins of government. Disraeli described the new prime minister as "an old painted pantaloon, very deaf, very blind," one who would be sure to fail after a brief trial. But in spite of his physical infirmities and his seventy years, the resourceful minister assumed the duty assigned and pursued the war energetically to a successful issue.

The Treaty of Paris. March, 1856. In March, 1855, Tsar Nicholas died, discredited and broken-hearted, and was succeeded by his more enlightened son, Alexander II. Sevastopol fell in September and Napoleon III was now disposed to end the war. In February, 1856, a great European peace conference opened in Paris to restore peace to the world; after a few weeks of discussion an agreement was reached which was formally signed by the close of the following month.

Among the provisions of this famous treaty the following were the more important. (1) Russia abandoned her claim to the guardianship of the Greek Catholic subjects of the sultan. (2) The powers guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. (3) The Turkish government having promised religious freedom and administrative reforms without regard to race or creed, the powers on their part renounced all rights to interfere in the internal affairs of the Turkish state. (4) The Black Sea was neutralized; Russia and Turkey were both forbidden to maintain any ships of war on this sea, except such only as were necessary to police the waters.

Palmerston's policy had saved the Ottoman state and had, it was believed, removed the Russian menace from the eastern Mediterranean. But the settlement did not prove permanent. A few years after the great conference the French found an opportunity to intervene in Syria, thus strengthening their claim to a form of protectorate in those regions. The promises of reform on the part of the Turkish authorities proved illusory, and after two decades of unrest and misgovernment in the Near East it became necessary to deal with conditions in the Balkan area along new lines.

The government of British India. The English people enjoyed the renewal of peace for scarcely more than a year, when the empire was brought face to face with an uprising in India which threatened destruction to British supremacy in the Middle East. It is difficult to characterize the government of India in the first half of the nineteenth century: perhaps it may be called a matter of partnership between the English government and the East India Company. It will be recalled that in 1784 William Pitt had contrived a scheme of administration according to which the East India Company was allowed to select the officials of the Indian service, the crown reserving the right to veto certain classes of appointments. The act further established a "Board of Control" composed of six members appointed by the crown to which the governor-general of India was to be responsible. This board was to have its offices in England, while the governor-general resided in distant Calcutta; consequently the scheme did not provide a very effective control.

Lord Dalhousie. In Pitt's day only a relatively small part of India had been annexed to the dominions of the Company; but some of the governors-general were aggressively imperialistic and were constantly bringing new territories under the authority of the Union Jack. In 1848 Lord Dalhousie, a young Scotsman of great energy and prominent abilities, came to Calcutta as governor-general. He remained in India for eight years and gave the country the most notable administration in the history of the East India Company. Dalhousie introduced the railway into the East; he planned and carried forward a system of telegraphs; he promoted the building of roads and canals, the latter for use primarily in irrigation; he established an improved postal service; he reorganized the educational system and created a

department of public instruction; he also forbade certain inhuman practices, notably the branding of convicts and the sacrifice of human beings to appease the native divinities.

The expansion of British dominion. There is no denying the importance of Dalhousie's reform program, but it is a question whether his plans were not too extensive and thorough-going for the time and the people. The Oriental is by nature slow to accept innovations, and the Indian people regarded the railway, the telegraph, and the teaching of English with hostile and undisguised suspicion. This feeling was further intensified by the revival of the earlier "forward" policy with respect to territorial expansion. In 1843 General Napier, who had a command in western India, had found a convenient pretext for interfering in the affairs of Sindh, a Mohammedan state on the lower Indus. This eventually led to annexation, an act which General Napier characterized as "a useful and humane piece of rascality," and which he reported in the eminently truthful sentence: "Peccavi, I have Sindh."

Northeast of Sindh on the upper Indus are the territories of Punjab, the five rivers. Punjab is the home of the Sikhs, a monotheistic sect which in its ethical system closely resembles Christianity. In 1845 the Sikh army became uncontrollable and invaded British Indian territory. After two years of war the Sikhs were defeated and Punjab became a British protectorate. Trouble broke out once more in 1848, a few weeks after Dalhousie's arrival in India. The Sikhs were again completely defeated and their country was made a province of British India. Three years later Dalhousie found it necessary to send a punitive expedition into Burma, where British merchants and missionaries had long suffered from the hostility of the Burmese government. The outcome was defeat for the natives and the annexation of lower Burma to the Indian Empire.

If the people of Hindustan had possessed any real sense of national solidarity, the aggressive policies of Lord Dalhousie would have met an early defeat. But beyond the limits of British India the country was divided into a vast number of states, all nominally subject to the emperor at Delhi, but in reality enjoying almost complete independence. There were about seven hundred such states, a few of them large and populous, most of them very small. Many of these native govern-

ments were poorly administered, and Dalhousie honestly believed that under the more humane and intelligent rule of the East India Company the happiness and the prosperity of the native population would be largely promoted. He therefore believed in a policy of annexation, though preferably by peaceful methods.

The doctrine of "lapse." It happened occasionally that a native prince would die leaving no heirs to his dominions. In such cases ancient Hindu custom permitted the adoption of an heir, such adoption being considered proper and legal even though the act be delayed till the last hours of the ruler's life. Dalhousie refused to honor this custom and announced the doctrine that if a ruler died leaving no natural heir, his territories might properly be regarded as having "lapsed" or escheated to the East India Company. During the years 1849-1853 there were eight such escheats; in five of these cases the territories involved were permanently annexed to the British Indian state.

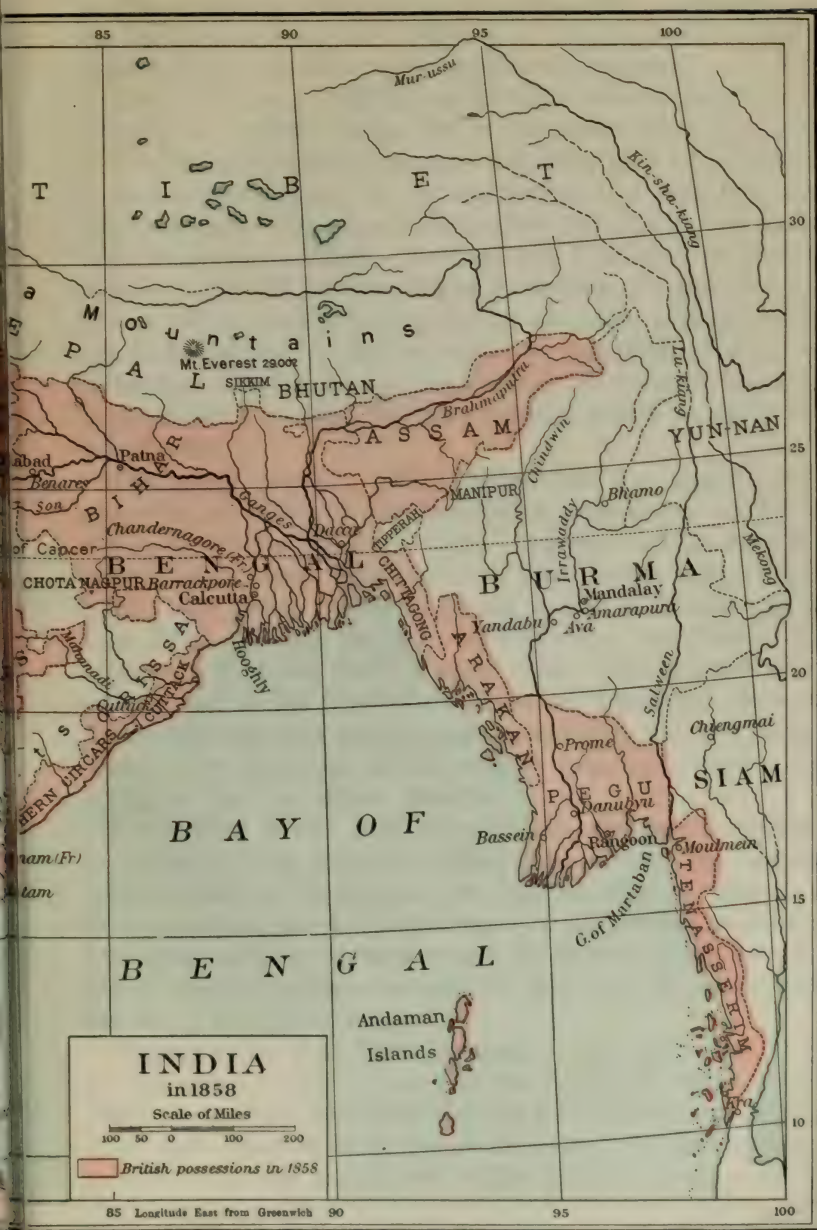
The annexation of Oudh. In the rich plain on the upper Ganges lay the important kingdom of Oudh, a state which ever since the days of Warren Hastings had proved a problem to the English administrators in Calcutta. Dalhousie did not wish to interfere with the constitutional status of Oudh; but the kingdom was in a state of apparently hopeless disorder, and early in 1856, a month before his return to England, the governor-general, acting on the advice of the directors of the East India Company, deposed the king of Oudh and joined his kingdom to the British provinces.

Discontent in India. To maintain its supremacy in India, the British government depended on an army made up chiefly of native soldiers of the Hindu and the Mohammedan faith. In 1857 the East Indian army was composed of 257,000 sepoy and about 40,000 British soldiers. The great preponderance of the number of sepoys over that of the British soldiers was in large part due to the need of soldiers in the Crimean war which had just come to a close.

When Dalhousie sailed for Europe he left the vast populations of northern India seething with unrest. The princes feared that they, too, like the rajahs of Oudh and Punjab might suddenly lose their royal privileges. The educated classes feared for the life of the ancient customs and the ancient faith. At the same time the prestige of the British soldier had suffered somewhat









by the disastrous outcome of an unfortunate expedition into Afghanistan (1838-1842) which cost the government several thousand men including several hundred Europeans.

About the time of Dalhousie's departure a vast conspiracy was forming in northern India, and a successful effort was made to sow disloyalty among the sepoy regiments that were stationed in the Ganges valley. It was represented to them that their new cartridges were greased with tallow from the cow, a sacred beast according to Hindu thinking, and with fat from the pig, an animal that all Moslems regard as unclean. It was necessary to tear off the paper covering of the cartridges with the teeth; but in doing this the soldiers would be partaking of what was forbidden. The Hindu as a result would lose his caste or station in Hindu society, while the Mohammedan would be guilty of a grievous sin.

The sepoy mutiny. 1857. Meanwhile the English were preparing to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of Clive's victory at Plassey (June 23, 1757). Scarcely had the festivities ceased before news came that the East Indian army was in revolt. The Sepoy mutiny broke out in May at Meerut not far from Delhi and soon the entire Ganges valley was aflame. The headquarters of the revolt were at Delhi, but the most severe fighting was in the province of Oudh: at Cawnpore where the British garrison was treacherously massacred, and at Lucknow where a few thousand British soldiers kept more than 50,000 Sepoys at bay for several months.

Fortunately for the English authorities, the native regiments in southern India remained loyal to the British flag and the warlike Sikhs of the Punjab, who had no religious scruples as to fat or tallow, gave active assistance in suppressing the mutiny. Delhi was taken in September and the fate of the uprising was sealed, though fighting continued in Oudh and in central India for nearly two years longer.

Passing of the East India Company. The chief result of the mutiny was a complete change in the system of Indian government. As a governing corporation the East India Company came to an end. In 1858 by an act of Parliament the government of British India was transferred to the British crown to be administered by a special Cabinet minister in Westminster, assisted by a council of experts, fifteen in number, nine of whom must

have served in India for a term of at least ten years. In India the governor-general was replaced by a viceroy. Lord Canning, the son of the great George Canning, who had served as governor-general during the trying months of the mutiny, was continued in charge of the administration in its new form and thus became the first viceroy of India.

Ministerial changes. The second Palmerston ministry. 1859-1865. The ten years following the great mutiny were quiet years in the domestic politics of the kingdom. In 1858 the Conservatives came to power with Derby and Disraeli in charge of the government; but after a year's tenure they were overthrown and the Liberals once more took control. Palmerston was made prime minister for the second time; Russell took the foreign office and Gladstone became chancellor of the exchequer. Of the three Gladstone alone showed much energy. He wished to carry forward a series of important reforms but his chief vetoed all innovations. Lord Palmerston was seventy-five years of age when he took office for the last time, and he was no longer so aggressive and quarrelsome as he had once been. His colleague, Lord John Russell, was seven years younger and had once been counted among the reformers; but Russell had never favored making very radical changes in the social or political constitution of the kingdom. Even the foreign office shared in the dull quiet of English politics.

The unification of Italy. Palmerston resumed control in June, 1859. The subject of greatest interest at the time was a movement to unify the Italian peninsula into a single state. Napoleon III had just marched his armies into northern Italy to assist the king of Sardinia-Piedmont and his great minister Cavour in an effort to expel the Austrians from Italian soil. The victories of the allied forces at Magenta and Solferino kindled a series of revolutions throughout the entire length of the peninsula, and less than two years later (February 18, 1861) Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed king of a unified Italian state comprising the entire peninsula with the exception of Venetia and the papal territories in the neighborhood of Rome.

As the unification of Italy meant that several princely families would lose their dynastic rights, the court at Windsor could not be expected to regard the movement in a favorable light. The three ministerial chiefs, however, Palmerston, Russell, and Glad-

stone, were all sympathetic toward the national aspirations of Italy and the English people shared this feeling quite generally. Though the British Cabinet took no active steps to promote the movement, Palmerston made no effort to conceal the attitude of his government and in this way prevented interference in Italian affairs on the part of neighboring states which might be interested in preventing unification.

The Suez Canal. During these years a great project in engineering was going forward on the borders of Egypt. In April, 1859, the Suez Canal Company began work on a waterway to connect the Red and the Mediterranean Sea. The company was organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, a French promoter, who had occupied various diplomatic positions in Egypt. Nearly all the stock of the company was sold in France, Egypt, and Turkey. In the Suez venture English capital had no part. Palmerston had opposed de Lesseps' project both in London and in Constantinople. He had begun to fear the ambitions of his old friend Napoleon III and denounced the canal project as an effort on the part of the French to strengthen their position in the Near East. Moreover he saw clearly that if the canal should prove successful England would inevitably have to show a greater interest in Egyptian affairs; but this he regarded as a dangerous interest and one that should not be cultivated.

The American Civil War. The singular lack of energy in the British government during the last six years of Palmerston's career appears most clearly in the relations of the foreign office with America, especially in the affairs of the *Trent* and the *Alabama*. On November 8, 1861, an American merchant vessel stopped the *Trent*, a British packet, in the Bahama Channel and seized James M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate envoys to England and France, who had taken passage on the *Trent* at Havana. The British government naturally regarded this proceeding as a violation of neutral rights. Palmerston seemed disposed to display some of his old-time vigor in the case; but on the advice of the prince consort, who lay on his deathbed and whose last counsel was to urge peace with the daughter nation, the American government was given an opportunity to explain and to make suitable amends. The government at Washington disavowed the act of the offending ship captain and released the envoys. Mason proceeded to Westminster

(where he was courteously received) but failed to obtain recognition for his government.

The case of the Confederate cruiser, the *Alabama*, serves to illustrate even better the listless fashion in which the prime minister and the chief of the foreign office conducted her Majesty's government. It was known in Westminster that a ship, "No. 290," was in process of building at Birkenhead; but the foreign office had no official information as to the intended use of the vessel, apparently because no such information had been sought. The American ambassador, Charles Francis Adams, was sure that the craft was being built for the Confederate government and strove persistently to have the vessel detained, but to little purpose. When the British authorities finally decided to act on Adams' request, the cruiser was already on the high seas.

The attitude of the English government toward the war. In the earlier stages of the War of Secession the cause of the American Union had few friends among the governing classes in England. It was quite generally believed that the South differed so widely from the North in social structure, in economic life, and in political outlook that it was entitled to a separate national existence. Among the commercial classes there was much hostile feeling toward the Union due in part to a recent tariff measure which threatened to limit English trade in the American ports. The Confederate government, on the other hand, seemed to favor a policy of free trade and the South was, therefore, thought likely to become an important market for British wares.

The friends of America. Lord Russell was apparently disposed to favor the United States; but Gladstone was impressed by the solidarity of the South and expressed his belief that Jefferson Davis 'had made an army, had made a navy, and, what is more, had made a nation.' The only prominent Englishman who did effective service in behalf of the Union was John Bright. Bright's principal argument was that the forces of the North were fighting the battles of democracy. His old friend Richard Cobden stood by him in all his efforts to prevent the British government from becoming committed to the cause of human slavery; but Cobden's days were nearly told, his wonderful vigor was gone.

The American war caused much suffering in England, especially among the weavers and spinners of Lancashire, whose employment was lost because cotton could no longer be imported so freely as before. In 1862 only one-third as much cotton came from the South as in 1861; consequently, the cotton mills of Lancashire were idle a great part of the time. But the English workingman had come to see that one of the great issues involved in the American conflict was human freedom, and he set his face against any effort on the part of his government to assist the South. The situation was at its worst in the closing months of 1862 when about 250,000 workingmen were receiving assistance from funds collected to relieve the distress among the industrial classes. In 1863 a fair supply of cotton began to arrive from Egypt and India, and the situation was measurably improved.

Importance of the Emancipation Proclamation. It is believed that in the autumn of 1862 the English Cabinet was ready to propose intervention in behalf of the Southern Confederacy. The war seemed unnecessarily cruel and promised to be long-continued. Napoleon III had for some time held out a proposal for joint action on the part of England and France. The distress in English industry was daily growing more acute; but before the Cabinet could take action came the news that Lincoln had announced his intention to emancipate the slaves in the areas still in rebellion on the following New Year's Day. Lincoln's announcement stayed the hand of Palmerston, for the English nation now refused to enlist on the side of the South.

European intervention in Mexico. While the War of Secession was going on in the United States there was also a civil war in Mexico. The English government had certain grievances against the Mexican republic and in October, 1861, Palmerston joined with Napoleon III and the king of Spain in a plan to intervene in Mexican affairs. A small body of English troops were sent to Mexico, where they remained a few months only. When England and Spain discovered that Napoleon III was planning to transform Mexico into an empire, they withdrew from the venture.

The Polish revolution. 1863. A year later a revolution broke out in Poland, which for a time threatened to disturb the general European peace. The British public sympathized with the revolutionary Poles and Russell showed some interest in

their fate. But the tsar in dealing with his Polish subjects had the support of Bismarck, the great Prussian statesman, and Russell's representations were calmly ignored in the Russian foreign office.

The German attack on Denmark. 1864. Palmerston's government suffered further discredit in 1864, when the problem of Slesvig-Holstein once more called for settlement. In November, 1863, the Danish government finally incorporated Slesvig into the kingdom of Denmark. The German states, still wishing to secure the duchy for the German confederation, protested against this action and followed up the protest with active hostilities. Hoping for aid from the powers the Danes resisted, but no assistance came. Palmerston and Russell suggested the advisability of intervention, but the queen, whose German sympathies were always strong, opposed interference. On her motion a conference was held in London to find a peaceful solution of the problem, but none was found. The Danes were defeated in the war and the two duchies ultimately became a part of the kingdom of Prussia.

An age of great progress. A year later (October 18, 1865) Palmerston died, having almost reached the close of his eighty-first year. He was in his day easily the most popular man in England; at the same time he was cordially disliked in the Continental courts and capitals. The first thirty years of Queen Victoria's reign have therefore quite properly been called the "age of Palmerston." Except for the repeal of the corn laws and the general adoption of a policy of free trade, there was little domestic legislation of outstanding character during these three decades. The interest of the ruling classes was concerned more largely with the British possessions over the seas, with Canada, Australia, and India, and with the new spheres of commercial influence that the British traders had established in various parts of the world outside the Continent of Europe. For the manufacturing industries of Great Britain had grown to immense proportions. This growth had called forth a corresponding growth of English commerce and of the English merchant marine: during the age of Palmerston the commerce of the United Kingdom increased five-fold. This again led to a growing interest in foreign markets and in the countries that produced the raw materials for the mills and factories of Great Britain.

The increasing activity of the British foreign office and the constant expansion of the British navy were therefore direct results of the economic revolution. Though English public opinion was not well pleased with the conduct of foreign affairs in the closing years of the great minister's career, the fact was recognized, nevertheless, that England was stronger and more prosperous in those years than ever before. Meanwhile, a number of difficult domestic problems had come into prominence and were pressing for solution. These Lord Palmerston left to his great successor as chief of the Liberal party, William Ewart Gladstone.

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CHAPTER XXIV

GLADSTONE AND THE PROBLEMS OF IRELAND

Russell and Gladstone. On the death of Palmerston his place at the head of the government passed to his old Whig associate Earl Russell, who now became prime minister for the second time. The actual head of the government was, however, not the chief minister, but William Ewart Gladstone, who as chancellor of the exchequer technically ranked second in command. The basis of Gladstone's power was his recognized leadership of the progressive forces in the House of Commons, which he had begun to assume while Palmerston was still on the treasury bench, and which he retained almost without interruption till his retirement from public life nearly thirty years later (1894).

The Whigs and the new Liberals. The passing of Lord Palmerston closed an important era in the history of English politics. The Whig aristocracy which had dominated the Liberal elements in the kingdom for nearly two centuries was soon to be replaced by a more radical, or at least a more democratic, group of leaders. The Whigs, who had never lost their old interest in the rights of property, wished to limit political power and influence to those who possessed property and contributed to the local "rates." The new Liberals, on the other hand, though not necessarily hostile to property, believed that the masses ought to be allowed a larger share in the government of the country, and were consequently in favor of a broader and more democratic franchise. To guard the new voters against intimidation by their landlords or employers they demanded a secret ballot. To ensure a more enlightened voting they favored general and compulsory education. The expense of maintaining a system of public schools would necessitate consistent economy in national finance, perhaps a considerable reduction in the estimates of the military budget; for the radicals were convinced that too much money was spent on the army and the navy and that the government was too much in the habit of sending expensive military

expeditions into distant parts of the world. To an aggressive foreign policy like that pursued in the vigorous days of Palmerston, the followers of Gladstone were distinctly opposed. Their chief concern was not the extension of British power over the sea but the growth of revolutionary discontent within the limits of the British Isles.

Agitation for Parliamentary reform. The Chartist agitation of twenty years before had been directed largely toward a series of reforms that would make the House of Commons a more distinctly popular and representative body. The movement was at last to bear fruit. Earl Russell had little enthusiasm for further Parliamentary reform; but Gladstone forced his sluggish chief to act. A measure providing for a moderate extension of the franchise was introduced into the House of Commons; but the more conservative element of the Liberal party refused to support it, and the ministry after only a few months of service under its new leadership went out of office.

The third Derby-Disraeli ministry. 1866-1868. The Conservatives now assumed control with Lord Derby as prime minister and Benjamin Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. Twice before these two men had been associated in these offices, though for brief periods only. The earl of Derby was a man of great ability and much learning; but he had no real taste or liking for political activities. Originally Derby was a Whig; he had fought with Russell and Grey for the great reform of 1832; two years later he had led the fight for the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. He was, however, of a conservative temper and the reforming energy of his party eventually drove him across the line into the Tory camp. Lord Derby was at this time not in favor of changes in suffrage or representation; but a series of popular demonstrations during the summer of 1866 convinced him that there was a national demand for Parliamentary reform which the Conservatives would have to meet or leave the government.

The Reform Act of 1867. Accordingly Disraeli set about to contrive a bill which in a much amended form proved acceptable to the House of Commons and became a law. The Reform Act of 1867, the Conservative "leap in the dark," as Lord Derby called it, went even farther in the direction of radicalism than the Liberals had proposed to go. Eleven boroughs were wholly

deprived of representation in Parliament and thirty-five lost one member each. The vacant seats were distributed among the larger towns and the more populous counties.

Far more significant were the measures dealing with the suffrage. In the boroughs every rate-paying citizen who occupied his own or a rented dwelling house was allowed to vote; this was called "household suffrage." The vote was also given to lodgers who paid a yearly rent of £10 or more for furnished lodgings. In the counties the franchise was extended to all who owned or rented for life a parcel of land that would yield at least £5 in rent to the owner; tenants who leased land for a limited period but paid £12 or more in annual rent were also given the ballot. The result was that the electorate which before the passage of this act numbered approximately one million was practically doubled. The new voters came in largest numbers from the laboring classes in the cities; the workmen of the rural districts were not enfranchised before 1885.

The Dominion of Canada. Earlier in the same year Parliament had enacted an important colonial statute, the British North America Act, by which four Canadian provinces, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, were united into a self-governing federation. A movement looking toward a closer union of these provinces had begun to take form in the early sixties and soon developed considerable strength in all parts of Canada. In October, 1864, a convention was held in Quebec, at which the framework of a future Dominion was discussed and agreed upon. The leader of the movement was John Alexander Macdonald, a great Canadian lawyer and statesman, who became the first prime minister of the new federation. Macdonald was ably supported by Sir George Cartier, who led the French-speaking element in the province of Quebec.

The movement owed its success in some measure to the victory of the Union forces in the American Civil War. It was feared that the great republic might some day desire to annex the British American provinces, and it was felt that in such a contingency Canadian defense could be more effectively organized and promoted by a unified government than by the separate colonies. The fear of American domination became quite real in the summer of 1866, when upwards of 40,000 Irish-American Fenians, many of them veterans of the war that had closed the

year before, gathered on the borders of Canada with the avowed purpose of making war on the British empire. The Fenian plans failed; but they served to hasten the movement for a unified Canada, which achieved its purpose a few months later.

The Canadian system of government is a combination of English and American elements. The federal idea is American; but the executive with its Cabinet, or Privy Council, responsible to the dominion Parliament is planned on English lines. In the distribution of powers between the provinces and the government of the dominion an important innovation was introduced: the powers granted to the provinces are enumerated and defined; all remaining powers are reserved to the Parliament of Canada. The nominal executive is the English sovereign represented at Ottawa by a governor-general; but the actual ruler of the dominion is the prime minister of Canada. The governor-general appoints the prime minister but he is always careful to select the leader of the political party that is strongest in the Canadian House of Commons.

Disraeli's interest in foreign and imperial policies. A few months later Lord Derby resigned his high office and Benjamin Disraeli became prime minister. From that time on till Disraeli's death in 1881, English political history is a long duel between the keen, resourceful Conservative leader and his more progressive opponent, W. E. Gladstone. Disraeli's interest like that of Palmerston before the years had weakened him, lay almost wholly in foreign affairs: he was drawn especially toward the Orient, the group of lands and the nations that had been so closely associated with the history of his own race. He also favored strongly the expansion of the British Empire through the annexation of territories beyond the limits of European civilization. Disraeli was the first great prophet of the newer British imperialism. But he was not permitted to choose his field of action at this particular time. A few months after his elevation to the premiership Gladstone forced the Irish question into Parliamentary politics. As the majority of the House of Commons was against the government, Disraeli ordered a new election under the law of 1867. He hoped that the new voters would have the grace to support the party that had enfranchised them, but in this he was grievously disappointed. The Liberals were returned to the House of Commons with a substantial

majority and the Conservatives left the Cabinet (December, 1868).

The first Gladstone ministry. 1868-1874. The queen promptly but regretfully sent for Gladstone and gave the government into his hands. The new prime minister was one of the most remarkable men of his century. He did not have the quick vision of genius, but he was highly talented and presented his plans and measures with wonderful power. Gladstone was interested chiefly in domestic problems and in reforming legislation. During his first ministry the English public school system was organized; the English universities were opened to Catholics and dissenting Protestants; an act providing for a secret ballot was passed; the central courts were reorganized along modern lines; the practice of selecting officials for the civil service by competitive examinations was further extended; and the old practice of buying commissions in the army was abolished.

The Education Act. 1870. The Education Act of 1870 was of singular importance: it gave England a system of public schools supported by the government and managed by school boards elected by the taxpayers. The need for such a measure was very great. In 1870 scarcely more than half of all the children of school age in England were provided with school facilities. Public schools in the American sense did not exist. Of about two million children actually enrolled in classes more than one-half received instruction in schools provided and managed by voluntary societies, most of which were agencies of the established church; the remainder attended institutions of a more strictly private sort and of varying degrees of excellence. Since 1833 the "voluntary" schools had received some assistance from public funds, in return for which the state claimed the right to inspect the instruction and to advise in matters of management. Among the school inspectors perhaps the best known was Matthew Arnold, who served in this capacity for thirty-five years. The strictly private schools were not inspected.

Under the new law the voluntary schools were allowed to continue where they seemed to meet the needs of the community; wherever necessary the school boards were authorized to establish new schools. Religion according to the Anglican standard continued to be taught in most of the voluntary schools, but

children of Catholics and Nonconformists were not to be compelled to receive such instruction; in the new board schools all religious teaching was to be undenominational in character. But the fact remained that taxpayers who were not Anglicans might have to contribute to Anglican instruction in the older voluntary schools, and this problem of public education still remains unsettled.

Trade union legislation. 1871. Another matter that interested the leaders of the Liberal party was a demand of the labor unions for a more satisfactory legal status. During the thirty years following the rise and disintegration of the Chartist agitation the cause of unionism began to develop a considerable numerical strength and won a series of notable Parliamentary victories which effectively removed whatever taint of illegality might still adhere to combinations of workingmen. In 1859 it was enacted that strikers might legally use "peaceful persuasion" in an effort to induce other workingmen to join them in order to make the strike a unified movement. But in 1867 the unions discovered that, though they enjoyed a legal existence, they were still in a measure outlaws having no standing in the courts. There was apparently no way to secure the funds of the organizations; and some of them had already had bitter experiences with dishonest officials.

The Trade Union Act of 1871 relieved the unions from the danger that still lurked in the old phrase "restraint of trade," and empowered them to secure and hold such property as might be needed to carry out the purposes for which they were organized. In a supplementary act the government attempted to draw the line between lawful and unlawful forms of picketing and extended slightly the field of operations that the unions might occupy during a strike. The measure was very unsatisfactory to the organized workingmen since anything that had in the least the appearance of intimidation was forbidden.

The army reform. 1871. It had long been customary to allow a regimental officer who wished to retire to sell his commission to any officer of lower rank who was willing to pay for it. A bill providing for the abolition of this practice failed to pass the House of Lords; but Gladstone achieved his purpose by use of the royal warrant. A scandalous practice was thus ended, but the government did not accomplish a real reform. The

army continued to draw its officers chiefly from the aristocratic classes; for a number of years, however, there has been an active movement looking toward a more democratic system of allowing promotion from the ranks.

The Ballot Act. 1872. The Reform Act of 1867 did not alter the methods of voting. It was still customary to record the vote of every elector in the poll-book, where every one could see how he had cast his ballot. Under such conditions the right of suffrage could be of little value to the newly enfranchised farmer or workingman: his landlord or employer would often force him by threats or otherwise to vote for his own candidate. To remedy this condition the Liberals in 1872 supplemented the reform measure with a Ballot Act which provided for a secret ballot at Parliamentary elections.

The Judicature Act. 1873. In 1873 by the Judicature Act the central law courts were consolidated into a single court, the Supreme Court of Judicature. The new organization was supplemented by important changes in the methods of trial, with a view to making legal procedure simpler and cheaper. Under the new English system men charged with crime are brought to trial without unnecessary delay; the long tedious trials extending sometimes through weeks and months which are still common in America are almost unknown in England.

The problem of Ireland. The greatest problem that Gladstone had to face was how to bring peace and contentment to the people of Ireland. It was a vote on this question that had made him prime minister, and the Irish problem followed him to the end of his long career.

The Irish question was a complicated one, but three distinct issues were prominent. (1) There was the old problem of the land and the rights of the tenants who were cultivating the land. (2) There was the problem of the Protestant church: for three hundred years the Irish Catholics had been compelled to support a church establishment to which only a fraction of the population, approximately one-eighth, actually professed adherence. (3) Since the days of Catholic emancipation a new problem had arisen in a demand for the repeal of the Act of Union or for a separate Irish government; this is known as the demand for "home rule." Gladstone did not at this time believe that the Irish were interested in the demand for a separate Parliament;

but he recognized that they had a real grievance in being denied opportunities for higher education in their own country. There was no Irish University; Trinity College in Dublin was an Anglican institution which no Catholic Irishmen could well attend. There were colleges of a non-sectarian character in Cork, Galway, and Belfast; but these were not adequate to the needs of the island and were not satisfactory to the Irish clergy, who demanded institutions of a more distinctly religious character.

The "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood." After the great famine and the disorders of 1848, Ireland remained comparatively quiet for a decade. But in 1858 the calm was disturbed by the organization of a series of secret revolutionary "circles" which were later unified into an "Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood" usually called the "Fenian Brotherhood." The Fenians were strong and numerous in Ireland but stronger still among the Irish Americans. The purpose of the brotherhood was to revolutionize the island and establish an Irish republic. The American Civil War prevented revolutionary activities for some years, but when that was over the Fenians began to plan for an uprising in Ireland and for an attack on Canada by Irish Americans. The invasion of Ontario met vigorous resistance from the Canadian militia and the enterprise failed. The English government was well informed as to the plans of the brotherhood in Ireland. The Fenian leaders were seized and imprisoned and the movement collapsed (1867).

The English outlook on Irish affairs. The Fenian uprising with the trials, deportations, and executions that followed in its wake made a deep impression on the English mind. There was no sentiment for Irish home rule in England, nor did any one seem prepared to suggest a solution for the Irish land problem; but many Englishmen were convinced that to force the Irish Catholics to support Protestant churches was an evil that ought to be remedied at once. In 1868 Gladstone brought the matter up in the House of Commons and carried a series of resolutions presenting the Liberal view. Disestablishment was made an issue in the Parliamentary election later in the year and received an emphatic endorsement at the polls.

Disestablishment of the Irish Protestant church, 1869. The next year Gladstone introduced a bill for the disestablishment

of the Protestant church in Ireland. It met with bitter opposition from the Conservatives, but in the end it passed the House of Commons with a good majority and was finally accepted by the House of Lords, though with great reluctance. The new law provided that the old ecclesiastical order on the island should cease with the year 1870. The Protestant forces of the Anglican type were allowed to organize themselves into an Episcopal church, as they did shortly before the new measure was to take effect. The new organization was allowed to retain all the church buildings of the old establishment and a little more than half of its endowments (approximately £8,000,000). Ample provision was thus made for the support of the clergy. But the organization is not a state church; its bishops do not sit in the House of Lords; and it can enforce no contributions from Irishmen of other faiths.

The problem of land tenure. One of the three great Irish problems had now been satisfactorily solved. The Gladstone ministry next undertook to find a solution for the problem of the land. Throughout the British Isles the land is generally owned by landlords and tilled by tenant farmers; but the conditions under which land is rented or leased are not the same in all parts of the kingdom. In England the farmer usually takes a lease for a long period; he pays what is regarded as a reasonable rent; and he receives compensation for such improvements as he puts upon the farm. If an English landlord should prove unreasonable, the tenant might refuse to renew his lease and migrate to one of the neighboring industrial centers where labor is often in demand.

In Ulster the customs governing the tenure of land resembled somewhat those current in England; but in the other parts of Ireland the situation was wholly different. Before the days of Gladstone the Irish tenant had long been more or less at the mercy of the landlord: he had frequently no choice but to take his farm on the owner's terms or to seek relief in emigration to America or to distant parts of the British empire.

The productive soil in Ireland (about 15,000,000 acres) is divided into approximately 500,000 farms, large and small, the average size being less than thirty acres. Of land actually tilled and producing food crops each farmer usually has only a few acres. Before the famine many of the farms were pitifully

small, less than an acre at times. After the tragedy of those years tenant conditions grew steadily worse. Many of the farmers were anxious to secure larger holdings and thus there arose a keen competition for desirable farms. There was, therefore, a great temptation to consolidate small holdings, which could be done only by refusing to renew the leases. If the tenant refused to leave the land after his lease expired he might be evicted. Such an outcome was not at all uncommon during the years of the Fenian agitation, and every year the agrarian situation grew more distressing.

The Irish Land Act. 1870. The Irish Land Act of 1870 provided that when a tenant left his farm he could demand compensation for all improvements that he had made upon it, if these actually did increase the rental value of the land. It also enabled a farmer, who had faithfully paid the rent as agreed, to collect damages in case his landlord dismissed him for any other reason. In this way the law recognized the fact that the landlord did not possess absolute ownership of his land but that the occupying tenant also had certain rights to the soil that he worked. The act further provided that, if the landlord should be forced to sell his land, it should be sold to the tenants in case they wished to purchase their farms. Farmers with insufficient means could borrow the purchase money from the government on liberal terms. Thus the correct principle, that of land purchase by government assistance, had been found and stated, but it was to be applied in special cases only. Several thousand tenants were enabled to buy their farms under the provisions of this law, but on the whole Gladstone's first Land Act was not successful; the agrarian situation was not improved.

The University Bill. 1873. Three years later Gladstone returned to the Irish question, this time to the subject of higher education. He now proposed to establish an Irish university which was to be open to students of all creeds, but in which controversial subjects such as philosophy, theology, and history were not to be taught. The bill was rejected by a close vote. Of the three Irish grievances that he recognized as legitimate Gladstone had redressed one; he had also indicated the proper principle for the solution of the land question, though the problem itself had scarcely been touched.

Dissatisfaction with the Liberal program. After five years

of Liberalism and reform the English people began to tire of Gladstone. For a generation the economic thought of the kingdom had been dominated by the so-called Manchester school, which held that a business man should be given as complete freedom as possible in the management of his affairs and that attempts on the part of the government to regulate business were scarcely legitimate. To the Manchester economist the recognition of tenant rights in the Irish Land Act and the partial disendowment of the Irish church looked like unwarranted interference with property rights. Violent protest was called forth by the trade union measures of the government, for those who held to the Manchester creed objected to all interference between the employer and his workingmen. Thus the Liberal program called forth strong opposition from the wealthier classes, while the Irish peasant and the English laborer, whose condition Gladstone had honestly sought to improve, were dissatisfied because his reforms were not sufficiently comprehensive and far-reaching.

A demand for an "aggressive" foreign policy. The nation was also displeased with the Liberal foreign policy; it was not sufficiently "aggressive" to suit the average Englishman. Gladstone looked at foreign policies from an unusual point of view: with him the question was not what might bring profit to England but what seemed just and equitable toward the people concerned. During the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), England remained strictly neutral. It is difficult to see what other course was possible under the circumstances, especially since the queen was strongly opposed to any interference with the plans of Prussia. But in the course of this war the German empire was formed and the center of European political life was transferred to Berlin. As England had no part in this reshaping of Europe, many Englishmen felt that the foreign office had not watched over the interests of the kingdom as faithfully as the English people had a right to expect.

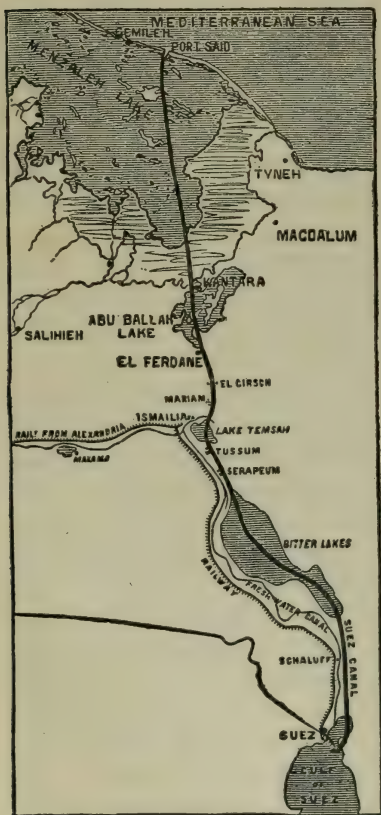
Since the close of the Crimean War, the Black Sea had remained a neutral area open to the merchant ships of all nations but closed to ships of war, except a few light ships that Russia and Turkey might employ for police purposes. But soon after the outbreak of the war between Prussia and France the tsar's government served notice on the powers that Russia would no

longer be bound by the agreement of 1856 and began to plan for a fleet on the Black Sea. The English foreign office protested but to no purpose as the nation was not prepared to go to war. Though this was thoroughly understood in England, it was felt, nevertheless, that the kingdom had suffered a diplo-

matic defeat and that English prestige was on the decline.

This feeling was intensified a year later when the *Alabama* claims were finally settled. By the treaty of Washington Gladstone had agreed to refer the dispute to a court of arbitration; but the outcome was very distasteful to the English voter who chose to regard the whole proceeding as another proof of incapacity in the foreign office.

Disraeli's second ministry, 1874-1880. In the elections of 1874 the Conservatives won a decisive victory, and Disraeli became prime minister once more. So complete was the Liberal defeat that Gladstone in his disappointment decided a few months later to abandon political leadership, and for a brief period the Liberal forces in Parliament were led by Lord



THE SUEZ CANAL

Hartington, a member of the Whig Cavendish family, whose views were more conservative than those of Gladstone but who thus far had loyally followed his great chief.

Disraeli was theoretically a believer in social reform, he had once written that "the social happiness of the millions should be the first object of a statesman," and that "the rights of

labor were as sacred as those of property." But the Conservative party had only a limited program of social reform to offer; the most important measures of this sort to the credit of Disraeli's second ministry were a factory act providing that women and children should not be held to labor in the cotton mills more than nine hours each day, and two measures giving further protection and liberty to the labor unions. One of these wiped out the old distinction between master and servant and made employment a matter of civil contract with equal responsibilities for employer and workingman before the civil law. A second measure by amending the conspiracy law made it legal for men to do as a group what would be lawful for each to do as an individual. This would permit "peaceful picketing" and made the strike a much more effective weapon than it had been under the older laws. These measures were all passed in 1875.

Imperial expansion: the Suez Canal. The reform program of the new ministry was soon exhausted and Disraeli now sought to divert the attention of the British public from domestic problems to foreign policies and colonial expansion. The new policy was initiated in 1875 with the purchase of what was practically a controlling interest in the Suez Canal. By the opening of this waterway the distance from London to Bombay was cut from approximately 11,200 miles to 6,300. The canal gave the English foreign office a new interest in the Near East, which became still keener when Disraeli again took office as premier. The Suez Canal was built and operated by a joint stock company in which the khedive, or king, of Egypt was the heaviest shareholder. The government of Egypt was carried on very extravagantly, however, and the khedive's treasury was frequently on the verge of bankruptcy. He was finally driven to sell his interest in the canal, which the English government bought for about £4,000,000. The transaction was important not only as a master stroke in diplomacy but as a financial investment: for some years before the Great War the canal shares yielded annually a dividend of twenty-five percent.

Victoria, empress of India. 1877. The British empire may be said to have had its beginning in February, 1601, when the first fleet of merchantmen sent out by the East India Company weighed anchor and began the long journey to Hindustan. And

throughout the history of the empire India has continued to remain its great central fact. In form India was an empire and down to the outbreak of the Sepoy mutiny the officials of the East India Company gave a certain measure of nominal recognition to the Great Mogul residing in Delhi. But the mutiny swept away not only the East India Company but also the ancient Mogul dynasty, and for nearly twenty years the imperial dignity was held in abeyance. It now occurred to Disraeli that it might be expedient to revive the imperial title in the person of the English queen. Victoria received the suggestion with much enthusiasm, but Parliament was reluctant, and only after serious debate did the House of Commons finally agree to the project. Accordingly on New Year's Day, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India (*Kaisar-i-Hind*) in the more important cities of Hindustan to the apparent satisfaction of the native population. The new title had scarcely more than a sentimental value, as it did not affect the relations of India to the British crown in the slightest degree. The queen was not ungrateful: soon after Disraeli had successfully piloted the Royal Titles Bill through the lower house, he was elevated to the peerage and took his seat in the House of Lords as the earl of Beaconsfield.

The Russian advance in Central Asia. Fear for the security of British power in India was to a great extent responsible for the line of policy adopted by the English government toward Russia and the Near East. During the sixties and the early seventies Russia was continuously extending her frontiers southward across Central Asia, annexing the ancient dominions of Tashkend, Samarkand, Khokand, and other Asiatic lands, to the great distress of sensitive Englishmen who feared that Russian armies might some day be seen on the northwest frontiers of British India.

Revolution and war in the Balkans. 1875-1878. English statesmen also saw a danger in the new Russian fleet in the Black Sea, a danger which looked more ominous now that England controlled the new water route to India. It seemed necessary, therefore, to prevent the Muscovites from using the Turkish straits; and this necessity again suggested that the Turkish empire would have to be maintained. The character of Turkish rule, especially in the Christian lands of the Balkan

peninsula, was such, however, that many Englishmen revolted against the policy of giving continued support to the sultan. During the years 1875 and 1876 there were uprisings, first in Bosnia and Herzegovina and later in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro. The Bulgarian revolt was put down by the sultan's soldiers with such barbarities that all Christendom was shocked. Gladstone now came forth from his retirement and roused English opinion against "the unspeakable Turk" with a pamphlet in which he described the "Bulgarian horrors" and challenged the policy of the government in the Near East.

Before the news of the atrocities in the Balkans reached London, Lord Beaconsfield had been disposed to resent the efforts of the European powers to force reforms on the Turkish sultan. The pressure of public opinion soon forced him to change his attitude in this respect and to join in the general demand for a more enlightened régime at Constantinople. But the sultan refused to take his arguments seriously and war broke out in the Balkans between Turkey and Russia in 1877. The Turks fought with traditional bravery, but were finally forced to sue for peace. A treaty was drawn up at San Stefano the chief feature of which was the creation of a relatively large Bulgarian state with seaboard on both the Black and the Aegean Sea. Fearing that the creation of a strong Bulgaria would mean Russian control of the policies of the Balkans, the English government refused to accept the arrangements of San Stefano and insisted that the treaty be revised in a European congress. Russia objected to the plan but finally yielded, and such a congress assembled in Berlin in the summer of 1878, with Beaconsfield and Salisbury representing the British government. By that time, however, the more important questions had been settled in a series of secret agreements, and the congress found little to do but to give these the necessary sanction.

"Peace with honor." 1878. In England the outcome of the negotiations at Berlin was received with general satisfaction: the traditional English policy in the Near East had been maintained; the danger of a Greater Bulgaria had been dispelled; the ambitions of Russia had been foiled; Turkey remained in control of the straits. Beaconsfield's "peace with honor" included the new obligation to protect Asia Minor, in return for which England was allowed to occupy and administer

the island of Cyprus, the theory being that the British military forces would need a base near Asia Minor in order to be able to render quick and effective service. Cyprus remained nominally a part of the Turkish empire till 1914, when it was formally annexed to the British dominions.

Disraeli's adventure in Afghanistan. One result of the clash between Great Britain and Russia in 1878 was the resumption of Russian activities in Central Asia. Between Russian Turkestan and British India lies Afghanistan controlling the entrances to the mountain passes through which alone India can be successfully invaded from the northwest. Fearing Russian intrigue at the court of the Afghan emir, the Beaconsfield ministry was anxious to locate a "resident," or permanent agent, at this court. To this the emir objected, believing that the appointment of a resident was part of a plan to deprive his people of their independence.

In the summer of 1878, while Beaconsfield was administering defeat to the tsar's government in Berlin, a Russian embassy arrived at Afghanistan. This decided the British authorities in India; an armed force was sent across the border to coerce the obstinate Afghans. The emir having fled to Russian territory, the new ruler at Kabul agreed to receive a resident; he further agreed that the British might occupy the great passes and control the foreign policies of his country. Afghanistan was now virtually annexed to the British empire. A few months later the mob at Kabul rose and murdered the resident. For a year the war continued but the British under Lord Roberts were finally victorious. By this time the Beaconsfield ministry had fallen, and the Liberals were once more in Downing Street. The new government closed up the affair as soon as possible. The British forces were withdrawn and no effort has since been made to compel the Afghans to accept a permanent resident.

Boers and Britons in South Africa. The "forward policy" which led to such great complications in Asia was also followed in South Africa and with similar results. The Dutch had founded a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in the days of Cromwell and held the colony till 1795 when it was seized by the English on the request of the reigning prince of Orange, who feared that the Cape would fall into the possession of the French. A decade later the colony became definitely a British possession.

The Cape country already had a considerable population composed chiefly of Dutch farmers or Boers; the number was soon materially increased by immigration from Great Britain. The slow-moving Boer did not like the more aggressive Englishman, and there was friction in Cape Colony from the very beginning of British rule. The Boers had enslaved the native blacks in large numbers; and when slavery was abolished in the British dominions (1834) many of the farmers felt that English rule had become unendurable. They determined to seek another land where they could enjoy freedom and keep slaves. Beginning the next year these dissatisfied Dutchmen sold or left their farms and migrated in large numbers to the northeast beyond the borders of Cape Colony and founded the republic of Natal. But the English followed them and in 1843, after a stubborn resistance on the part of the new settlers, Natal was annexed to the British crown.

The main stream of the Boer migration was now diverted to the high tableland beyond the Orange River, where a settlement had been founded a few years before. This region was also claimed as British territory; but in 1854 the claim was surrendered and the Boers organized a second republic, the Orange River Free State. Meanwhile a number of emigrants from the Cape country had traveled still farther to the north across the Vaal River into a region nearly one thousand miles from Cape Town. Here they built up a group of communities which were ultimately united into the South African, or Transvaal, Republic. Thus all the four states that now make up the South African Union were founded by the Dutch.

The discovery of diamond fields in the Orange valley. The English showed no great interest in the interior of South Africa before 1867 when diamonds were discovered near the Vaal River in what has since been called Griqua Land West, and soon 10,000 men were gathered in the "wet diggings." In 1870 a diamond field was discovered in the barren country twenty miles farther south where the city of Kimberley later grew up. The region was in dispute between the Orange Free State and a Kaffir chief; but eventually it passed into the possession of the British crown and was annexed to Cape Colony (1871).

The Zulus and the Boers. During Disraeli's second ministry the Boers of the Transvaal became involved in war with chiefs

of neighboring native tribes and a situation developed which the authorities at the Cape could not afford to ignore. Along the border between Natal and the South African Republic lived the Zulus, a very capable and aggressive people of Kaffir, or Bantu, stock. The Zulu chiefs wished to extend their territories, and in so doing they came into conflict with the white settlers. Knowing that the Boers were in great danger, the colonial authorities sent Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who had long been in charge of native affairs in Natal, to the Transvaal to look into the situation. Shepstone was soon convinced that annexation was the only remedy and he promptly raised the British flag over the territories of Transvaal.

This act saved the Boer frontiers from destruction; but it displeased both the Boers and the Zulus. The Zulu king, relying on a well-disciplined army of 40,000 native soldiers, thought himself strong enough to defy the British government; and in the war that followed his forces were at first victorious. In the end, however, they were overcome, though not until 20,000 British soldiers had been sent against them. Zululand was made a British province and some years later was annexed to Natal.

The Afrikaner revolt. 1880-1881. The Boers protested loudly against the annexation of their country, but so long as there was still danger from the Zulus, they thought it wiser not to fight. They also hoped much from Gladstone, who succeeded Beaconsfield as prime minister in 1880. But the Liberal ministry was slow in declaring its intentions and in December the Afrikanders rose in revolt. The Boers were a strong and courageous people, excellent marksmen and virile fighters. Their new president, Paul Kruger, was a man of ability, vigor, and patriotic fervor and under his leadership order and efficiency was restored. From the first, victory was on the side of the Afrikanders. In January they defeated a British force at Laing's Nek; in February they won a decided victory at Majuba Hill. The numbers engaged in this famous battle were small; but the outcome revealed the startling fact that man for man the Afrikaner rifleman was superior to the British soldier.

Even before the outbreak of the Boer rebellion Gladstone had reached the conclusion that the Conservative ministry had not dealt justly with the Afrikanders and that self-government

should be restored to them. Negotiations for peace on this basis were initiated and in the agreement that was finally reached the English government recognized the independence of the South African Republic, though retaining certain suzerain rights, which neither side understood very clearly. Two years later (1884) the agreement was revised and in its new form there was no reference to British overlordship, wherefore the Boers insisted that their independence was now complete and unqualified. The British, however, refused to accept this interpretation and continued to exercise a certain control over the foreign relations of the South African Republic. This assertion of superiority was the source of much trouble in the following decade.

The Irish Land League. 1879. All through the six years of Conservative administration there was constant agitation and much unrest in Ireland. This culminated in the formation of an Irish Land League, organized in 1879 by Michael Davitt, who had once been a leader among the Fenians and had suffered punishment in an English prison for his revolutionary activities. Davitt was Irish born but had grown up in Lancashire where he earned his living as a mill hand. He had no first-hand knowledge of the Irish land problem but probably hoped to make the situation serve his revolutionary purposes. The Land League was organized to make war on the English landlords in Ireland. Its leaders preached that "the land belongs to the people" and must be restored to the people either by confiscation or by purchase and compensation at low rates. The movement was consequently one that appealed chiefly to the tenant class. Many Irish landlords whose sympathies had earlier been anti-English were driven by the Land League agitation over to the English side.

The practical program of the Land League was far more moderate; it consisted of three chief demands, the so-called three F's: fair rent, fixed hold, and free sale. By "fair rent" the leaders meant a rent that was not fixed exclusively by the owner of the land, as the landlords had a habit of raising the rent to a point that the tenants regarded as unreasonable; a fair rent would consequently imply a reduction of rents. By "fixed hold" the League meant that a tenant should not be deprived of his farm so long as he paid the specified rent. But

if a farmer wished to surrender his farm, it was held that he should be allowed to sell his interest in the land, or his right to remain upon it, to another tenant: this was called "free sale."

Terrorism in Ireland. The methods of the League were on the other hand often cruel and violent. For more than a year the chiefs of the League and their followers terrorized the island. They would allow the agents to collect only what the tenants considered a fair rent. The farmers who paid what the landlords demanded were persecuted in a variety of ways: threatening letters were sent to them; shots were fired through their windows; their cattle were maimed; their crops were destroyed. Landlords and their agents were especially made to feel the displeasure of the League. One of these agents, Captain Boycott of County Mayo, found life in Ireland exceedingly hard: since his day the word "boycott" has come to stand for the sort of treatment that the League meted out to the unfortunate captain and to others of his class and kind.

The Home Rule movement: Butt and Parnell. Terrorism in Ireland was accompanied by obstruction in the House of Commons. Just before the close of Gladstone's first ministry there was organized a new political party with self-government for Ireland as its chief tenet. Though officially this party was called the Nationalist party, its members were usually known as "Home Rulers." Its earliest leader was Isaac Butt, a Protestant Ulsterman of learning and ability: Butt believed that the Irish Parliament should be restored and that the British empire should be organized into a federation. In its leadership the new party was aristocratic; Butt's associates were chiefly landlords and many of them were of the Protestant faith.

Charles Stewart Parnell. The Home Rule movement was not taken seriously at first; but in 1875, a young Protestant landlord from County Wicklow, Charles Stewart Parnell, entered Parliament and took his place among the Nationalists. Parnell was a cold, silent, reserved man who showed little promise as a Parliamentary leader: but it was not long before he became a chief among the Irish members, and under his leadership the Nationalist group became a terror to English politicians. It was the purpose of Parnell and his followers to block legislative business until the House of Commons should be willing to take up the question of "repeal." They made lengthy speeches on the

most trivial subjects, raised objections wherever possible, and usually voted "no" on proposed legislation. In July, 1877, a group of Irish members kept the House of Commons in continuous session for twenty-six hours and in January, 1881, for forty-one hours. The discipline of the party was perfect; Parnell was in complete control.

When Beaconsfield left the cabinet (in 1880) the Home Rulers counted sixty-five votes in the House of Commons. But a great change was coming over the leadership of the party. Parnell had allied himself with the Land League and the methods of this organization soon drove the landlords out of his party. Their places were taken by younger men, many of whom were able, clever, and talented, though not in possession of independent income. But funds to carry on the home rule campaigns were found in America where a vast host of Irish emigrants watched the conflict in the British kingdom with eager interest. In 1880 Parnell and his lieutenant John Dillon toured the United States and returned with a fund of about \$200,000.

Conservatism in decline. After his return from the conference at Berlin Lord Beaconsfield for a few months enjoyed a popularity almost without precedent; two years later the British electorate drove him from office. The year 1879 was a hard year for Conservatism. The harvest had failed. The Land League was terrorizing Ireland, and Parnell was obstructing progress in Parliament. Englishmen were being murdered in Afghanistan, and English forces had suffered defeats in a miserable war with the Zulus. The opposition complained that 'Beaconsfield's domestic policy had been written in water while his foreign policy had been traced in blood.' Gladstone again came forth from retirement and in a series of addresses to the electors of Midlothian he stirred the nation mightily against the Conservative administration. Early the following year Beaconsfield found it expedient to appeal to the country, but the result was again disastrous: the Liberal party was returned to power with a clear majority of nearly fifty over the combined forces of Conservatives and Home Rulers. Lord Beaconsfield resigned and Gladstone was summoned to take charge of the queen's government.

Gladstone's second ministry. 1880-1885. Lord Beaconsfield

had tried to make the Irish question an issue in the general election but without success; it was his "forward policy" and his apparent liking for petty but expensive wars that the electorate seemed most anxious to condemn. Still, when Gladstone returned to leadership it was the situation in Ireland that gave the government most concern. The "agrarian crimes," as the persecution of landlords, agents, and obedient tenants was called, were exceedingly numerous in the autumn of 1880. More than 2500 such crimes were committed in that year, for all of which the government held the Land League responsible. The landlords on their side took occasion to evict more than 10,000 tenants who had refused to pay the stipulated rent or had otherwise offended the owners of their farms.

Ireland: a Crimes Act and a Land Act. 1881. The new government recognized the fact that the Irish tenants had real grievances which ought to be redressed; but Gladstone insisted that crime, and particularly agrarian crime, must be suppressed before remedial legislation could be undertaken. The titular head of the administration in Ireland was still the lord lieutenant whose official residence was Dublin Castle. But the most important official was the chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, who was, however, a secretary only in name. The chief secretary had a seat in the British Cabinet, and it was to this official that the government looked for the proper solution of Irish problems. William E. Forster, the new chief secretary, asked Parliament to pass an act for the preservation of the peace in Ireland, popularly called the Crimes Act, which virtually permitted the lord lieutenant to imprison any one whom he regarded as an enemy to the peace of the island. The bill was passed and Parnell and Dillon with several of the other Irish leaders were thrown into prison at Kilmainham, a suburb of Dublin, where they were detained for several months without trial.

The Crimes Act was accompanied by another Land Act which granted everything that the Land League had contended for. The new law provided for a group of land courts which were empowered to fix rents, to value improvements, and to watch over the rights of the tenant farmers. The Land Act of 1881 was an important forward step, but it did not provide a final settlement, for the landlords still owned the land.

The "Kilmainham Treaty"; the tragedy in Phoenix Park.

Unfortunately the new land measure was enacted at a time when the Irish public mind had been stirred to great wrath because of Forster's coercion law, and it was not gratefully received. Gladstone soon began to feel that his policy of repression was a failure. Parnell at the same time found the boredom of prison life very trying and entered into communication with the prime minister. The Irish leader was finally released from prison on the understanding that he would support the measures of the government. Gladstone on his part promised conciliation and further legislation to remedy the ills of Ireland.

Forster, disgusted with this change of policy, resigned his office, and the prime minister sent Lord Frederick Cavendish, a brother of Lord Hartington, to Ireland as chief secretary. Soon after his arrival in Dublin, and while walking through Phoenix Park, the new secretary fell in with Thomas Burke, another government official, who was deeply hated in Ireland. Suddenly a band of revolutionists surrounded the two men and slew them both. The tragedy filled the entire kingdom with horror. Conciliation was stricken from the Liberal program and coercion took its place. The alliance between Gladstone and Parnell was broken, to the great dismay of the Irish leaders, and the solution of the remaining Irish problems was made exceedingly difficult.

The situation in Egypt; Arabi Pasha's revolt. A few months later public attention was diverted to the Nile country where a strong anti-European movement was taking form. After the purchase of the Suez Canal shares the British foreign office naturally developed some interest in the affairs of Egypt; keener still was the interest in the financial circles of London. The situation in Egypt was peculiar. The country was a kingdom, one of the oldest in history, but it was tributary to the sultan of Turkey, whose control had, however, become very ineffective. During the seventies Egypt was governed by the khedive Ismail, a prince of Albanian blood, able and clever, but very extravagant, who succeeded in adding several million dollars annually to the deficit of the national treasury. The European bondholders, who were interested in the Egyptian debt, now began to make earnest appeals to their respective governments urging intervention in Cairo. The outcome was

that after various futile experiments the English and French governments forced Ismail to abdicate and induced his successor to take several English and French officials into his Cabinet (1879). The new khedive was well meaning but weak, and his European officials virtually controlled the government. This plan, usually known as the "dual control," seemed to work satisfactorily; and Gladstone, when he took office again the following year, decided to let the agreement stand.

But European control was not relished by the Egyptian nationalists, and in 1881 the dissatisfaction developed into open rebellion. Since the English had helped to place the new khedive on the throne, it was felt in Westminster that the government owed him defense and support. The following year a British army defeated Arabi Pasha, the leader of the uprising, at Tel-el-Kebir, and the rebellion collapsed (1882). Arabi Pasha was sent in exile to Ceylon and the European officials remained in charge.

The French in Tunis. The same year France withdrew from Egypt. At the congress of Berlin Waddington, the French representative, had shown much resentment at the English acquisition of Cyprus, and in order to secure his assent to that transaction it was agreed that France should have free hands in Tunis. Trouble soon broke out on the Algerian border and in 1881, when Arabi Pasha was rallying his countrymen against the foreign infidels, the French were busy "pacifying" Tunis.

English control in the Nile valley. For a period of forty years the destinies of the Nile valley were guided by British statesmen. A representative of the British government was sent to the Egyptian court as "resident;" usually this office has been combined with that of consul general. The function of the resident was to give the khedive "advice" and to insist that his advice be taken and followed. The advice was supported by the presence of a British army. The most famous of these residents was Sir Evelyn Baring, better known as Lord Cromer, a great English proconsul who for a number of years resided in Egypt. The residents "advised" many important reforms and much was done to improve conditions in the Nile valley: on the whole Egypt profited greatly from English control, though the natives did not become fully reconciled to the masterful methods of Cromer and his successors. In 1914, when

Turkey entered the war against England, the ties that bound Egypt to the Ottoman empire were severed and Egypt became a British protectorate. This relationship was maintained till 1922, when the British government recognized the independence of Egypt, at the same time retaining certain suzerain rights.

The Egyptian Sudan. The news of British success in Egypt was soon followed by ominous reports of a strange religious movement on the upper Nile. To the south of Egypt and extending far westward along the southern border of the Sahara lies a vast, mysterious region called the Sudan. A large part of eastern Sudan had, during the course of the nineteenth century, been annexed to Egypt; but the Egyptian rule was bad; the khedive's officials plundered the half civilized natives; and there was much unrest among the tribesmen on the upper Nile. In 1881, the year of Arabi Pasha's rebellion, a Mohammedan fanatic, who called himself the Mahdi, or Messiah, raised the standard of revolt and preached a holy war against the alien oppressors. Two years later an Egyptian army commanded by a British general, Hicks Pasha, was cut to pieces by the Mahdi's forces at El Obeid. Of 12,000 British and Egyptian soldiers not one returned to civilization.

General Charles Gordon. It was Gladstone's intention to withdraw from the Sudan and surrender the country to the Mahdi; this plan was in the main approved by the British agent in Cairo. There were, however, Egyptian garrisons at various points in the country, which were hard pressed by the Mahdi's troops; it was the first duty of the government to rescue these. General Charles Gordon, popularly known as "Chinese" Gordon, was sent to Khartum, the capital of the Sudan, presumably to arrange with the Mahdi for a peaceful withdrawal of the Egyptian garrison. Gordon had seen much service in half-civilized lands; only a few years before he had been governor of the Sudan, and as such had carried on relentless warfare against the slave traders in Central Africa. Like the Mahdi, Gordon was something of a religious fanatic, and he decided to stay in the Sudan until he could end the rebellion. His mission failed. He reached Khartum in February, 1884; two months later the city was invested by the rebels. After some delay a force was sent out to relieve him. It reached Khartum in January, 1885; but two days earlier Gordon had been slain

by the Sudanese. Eleven thousand soldiers and inhabitants of Khartum were put to the sword on that same day. The British force returned, and for ten years the natives were left in undisturbed control of eastern Sudan.

Parliamentary and franchise reform. The disasters in the Nile country may have been due in part to Gladstone's inability to take a real interest in foreign affairs. While Gordon was in Khartum, the prime minister was directing his energies toward a new measure of Parliamentary reform. The reform act of 1867 had enfranchised the workingmen in the urban communities, but the country laborers were still refused the privilege of the ballot. There was an insistent demand for a new franchise law that should remedy this defect, and Gladstone was easily persuaded that the demand was just. In 1884 the government introduced a franchise bill into Parliament which in due course was passed by the lower house, but was rejected by the Lords on the plea that, if the franchise was to be extended, there ought also as in 1832 and 1867 to be a new distribution of Parliamentary seats. Gladstone accepted this suggestion, and on his promise to take up the entire subject of Parliamentary reform the Lords accepted his measure. The promised distribution bill was passed the following year. It was the product of extended conferences between the leaders of both political parties and was therefore not a partisan measure.

By the reform acts of 1884 and 1885 the British kingdom took a long step in the direction of political democracy. About two million men, chiefly laborers in the rural districts, were given the right to vote. At the same time the kingdom was divided, as nearly as might be, into equal Parliamentary districts, each sending one member to the House of Commons. A large number of small boroughs were deprived of their right to a separate representation, while the larger cities received a corresponding increase in membership. The reluctance of the House of Lords to extend the franchise led to severe criticism of that body and to an organized movement to deprive the peers of their seats in the upper chamber. In the course of time this movement gained considerable strength, but not till 1911 did the question of "ending or mending" the House of Lords come into the realm of serious politics.

The first Salisbury ministry. 1885. The Home Rule party

was much displeased with Gladstone's attitude toward Irish questions and shortly after the passage of the third Reform Act Parnell threw the strength of his following to the Conservative side and the Liberals were outvoted. The question at issue, an increase in the tax on beer, was relatively unimportant, but the Cabinet chose to regard the vote as expressing a lack of confidence in the government and resigned.

The Marquis of Salisbury, who had served under Derby and later under Disraeli, now became prime minister as the head of a Conservative government. Lord Salisbury was in a rather embarrassing position; he had been placed in power by the Irish vote and could consequently not afford to offend Parnell. He decided not to continue repression of Ireland and to attempt a solution of the land problem. Accordingly his party passed a Land Purchase Act (Lord Ashbourne's Act), the first in a series of five such laws. By this act the government set aside a sum of about \$25,000,000 from which Irish farmers might borrow what they needed to purchase the land that they tilled. The purchase price was to be repaid in forty-nine annual installments. Several thousand tenants took advantage of this offer and bought their farms.

The demand for home rule remained but to this the Conservative leaders would not listen. Lord Salisbury's first ministry was consequently short-lived. In the general elections held in December the Liberals were victorious though they did not have a majority of the entire membership. Soon after the meeting of the new Parliament the Irish members joined the Liberals for the moment, and Salisbury was forced to resign after having remained in office only seven months. Gladstone returned to the premiership for the third time.

Gladstone's third ministry; the first Home Rule Bill. 1886. Gladstone had by this time become convinced that a separate Parliament for Ireland was the only solution for the Irish problem. Accordingly he came to an understanding with the Parnellites and prepared a bill for the creation of a government at Dublin. The bill provided that the lord lieutenant, or viceroy, was to remain the executive as formerly, and that the English Parliament was to continue legislating for Ireland in all matters affecting the empire; but in this Parliament Ireland was not to be represented, though the Irish people were to continue as

before to share in the financial responsibilities of the United Kingdom.

The new Irish Parliament was to be composed of 307 members, of whom 103 were to be chosen by the wealthier classes and the remaining 204 by the rest of the voting population. It was planned that, while these two groups might for a period of three years vote as separate bodies, they should ultimately form a single house. The Dublin Parliament was to be given extensive authority over Irish affairs, but such subjects as trade, customs, the army, the navy, colonial affairs, and foreign relations were in the main reserved to the Parliament and government at Westminster. The new legislature was also forbidden to enact any law that might give a religious body a favored position in the state.

Opposition to Irish home rule. In Ireland the First Home Rule Bill met with a very favorable reception; but in England it encountered determined opposition. Lord Salisbury, speaking at a Conservative meeting, declared that what Ireland needed was not a separate legislature but fearless and unsparing government. Lord Randolph Churchill, a brilliant but erratic Englishman of Conservative tendencies, made a journey into Ulster and succeeded in stirring up strong opposition to the bill among the Scotch-Irish Protestants. On his return he announced that if home rule should become a fact, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right."

The Liberal-Unionist secession. The bill caused a serious split in Gladstone's own party; 93 members of the House of Commons led by Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Hartington, and John Bright refused to vote for the Home Rule Bill, and the measure was defeated. Later in the year the seceders organized themselves into a new party called the Liberal-Unionist, which for some time maintained a separate organization. Lord Hartington represented the old Whig element in the Liberal party, an element which had often found it difficult to follow Gladstone, especially in his efforts to improve conditions in Ireland. There was also a personal element in Hartington's opposition to Irish home rule: he could not forget the murder of his brother four years earlier in Phoenix Park. John Bright had served for a lifetime under the Liberal banner and the aged leader found it very hard to part company with his old chief.

But he feared that a Dublin Parliament would prove dangerous to the peace of Ulster and he believed that the unity of the kingdom was essential to the peace and prosperity of the British people.

Joseph Chamberlain was a manufacturer from Birmingham and was classed as a radical. It was believed that he had earlier favored some sort of self-government for Ireland and his activity in opposition to the proposed measure caused much surprise. The radicals in the Liberal party did not regret to lose Lord Hartington and his following of aristocratic Whigs; but the loss of Joseph Chamberlain was a hard blow. Many had been looking forward to the time when he should succeed Gladstone (who was now seventy-seven) as the chief of the Liberal forces, and they found it hard to think of him as allied with the Tories.

The Unionists in control. A defeated Cabinet may either resign or call a new election, "appeal to the country," as it is called in England. Gladstone chose the latter course but his party was overwhelmingly defeated. The electorate of Great Britain was clearly opposed to home rule in Ireland. Gladstone resigned his office, and the Unionists now came into the control of the government which they managed to keep almost continuously for nearly twenty years.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE UNIONISTS AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

Political parties. For a decade following the election of 1886, the members of Parliament were grouped into four parties: the Conservatives, the Liberal Unionists, the Liberals (or Radicals), and the Irish Nationalists. The Conservatives still professed to accept the principles of Disraeli, though they were less eager than earlier for adventures in foreign policy. The Liberal Unionists were at one with the Conservatives on matters relating to Irish home rule and the unity of the kingdom; but on the whole they were more liberal than their allies, somewhat less impressed with the sanctity of existing institutions and less reluctant to support domestic reform. In the House of Lords they were led by Lord Lansdowne and in the Commons by Hartington and Chamberlain.

The Newcastle program. The secession of the Whig element left the radical leaders in full control in the councils of the Liberal party. The radical influence was strikingly evident in a convention of the National Liberal Federation held in Newcastle, in 1891. To the older politicians the Newcastle program looked like the last word in radicalism. It called for home rule for Ireland; disestablishment of the churches in Wales and Scotland; reform of the House of Lords; land reform; heavier taxation of wealth; "local veto" (local option) with respect to the liquor trade; and local self-government for the parishes. Gladstone continued as the leader of his party and Sir William Vernon Harcourt, a brilliant Whig barrister with radical tendencies, became his chief assistant in the House of Commons.

The second Salisbury ministry. 1886-1892. As no single party could control the lower house, Lord Salisbury was anxious to form a coalition with the Liberal Unionists, even offering to serve under Hartington as prime minister. But the Hartington group was unwilling to promise more than friendly coöperation on measures that agreed with the principles of both parties.

Lord Salisbury accordingly became prime minister with a Cabinet chosen exclusively from the conservative group.

The reform program of the Unionist alliance. The alliance with the Liberal Unionists added greatly to the strength of the new government both in numbers and in ability; but the support was not without its price. To please the radical Chamberlain and his associates the government found it necessary to urge the adoption of important progressive measures: a new Education Act and a County Councils Act. The Education Act of 1870 had made education compulsory and had provided a measure of financial aid but not sufficient to relieve the parents of the burden of educating their children. By the Act of 1891 this was remedied and elementary education was made practically free.

For nearly five centuries the local government in the county areas had been in the hands of the local justices of the peace meeting in quarter sessions. On the whole the management of county affairs had been honest, economical, and efficient; but the system was not democratic, since the justices were selected by the central government, and not by the voters of the counties. This was remedied by the County Councils Act, the purpose of which was to give the people a voice in the management of local affairs. The quarter sessions were deprived of their administrative powers, and these were transferred to a new body, the county council, most of the members of which were chosen directly by the rate-payers of the county. The new administrative bodies were patterned after the councils which for half a century had been administering borough affairs. Some of the larger counties were divided, each section being formed into a separate administrative county. All of what is usually called London (outside of the old City of London), a densely populated area composed of twenty-eight separate boroughs, was also formed into a county with a government of the council type. The County Councils Act of 1888 was limited in its application to Great Britain; ten years later it was extended to Ireland.

Balfour's Irish policy. The Irish policy of Salisbury's second ministry differed in an important respect from his earlier policy, inasmuch as it called for repressive legislation as well as for social reform. Early in 1887 the prime minister chose his

nephew, Arthur James Balfour, to be his chief secretary for Ireland. Balfour was a brilliant scholar and a writer on philosophic themes who also proved a practical administrator and a sagacious political leader. In Parliament he fought the Home Rulers on all points: in Ireland he was a close student of every phase of Irish affairs. Soon after his appointment he introduced a new Crimes Act in the House of Commons which unlike earlier laws of its kind was to be a permanent measure.

On the recommendation of Balfour the British government continued the policy of land purchase. In 1888 a second act of this kind was passed and a third three years later. By the act of 1891 the sum of £30,000,000 was set aside as a loan fund from which those who wished to buy their farms might borrow. The terms were the same as under the act of 1885. Since 1891 two other land purchasing acts have been passed, the last in 1903 when Balfour was prime minister. These laws made it possible for every Irish farmer to be his own landlord. They all were enacted by the Conservative party, but the principle followed was first urged by John Bright and was stated in Gladstone's Land Act of 1870. As a rule the purchasing price was counted equal to the rent of the farm for twenty years. The land purchase acts have proved a success, and the Irish land question has passed out of British politics.

Charles Stuart Parnell. An important feature of the ministerial policy with respect to Ireland was a determined effort to discredit the leaders of the Home Rule party, notably Parnell. In 1887 when the Crimes Act was being debated, the *London Times* published a series of articles under the heading "Parnellism and Crime," the purpose of which was to show that Parnell approved the criminal methods of the Land League and similar Irish associations. Most damaging of all was a letter alleged to have been written by Parnell in which he apparently approved the murder of Burke in Phoenix Park. Parnell denied the authenticity of the letter, but took no further action for more than a year when the matter on his request became the subject of inquiry on the part of Parliament. It was found that the letters published were forgeries and Parnell was exonerated (1889).

This was the last real victory of the great Irish chieftain. A year later he became involved in a divorce suit brought by

his former friend and associate Captain William O'Shea. The English Liberals demanded that Parnell be deposed from the leadership of the Irish party, and with much reluctance the majority of the Parnellites yielded to this demand. They found a new leader in Justin McCarthy, an Irish journalist residing in England, who was as much an English Liberal as an Irish Home Ruler. A minority of twenty-six members adhered to the old chieftain. When Parnell died, less than a year later, John Redmond became the leader of the Nationalist minority.

A cautious foreign policy. Except for a military expedition into Burma in the first year of the administration, Lord Salisbury's second ministry enjoyed a period of unbroken peace. There was no lack of intricate problems at the British foreign office; but the prime minister was himself in direct charge of the department and the nation felt secure; for Salisbury, though never yielding where British right was involved, was cautious and even-tempered in his negotiations and was usually able to avoid a serious conflict. Though at one time an associate and follower of Disraeli, he had come to doubt the wisdom of the older English attitude towards Russia and Turkey. His administration was also notable for an effort to approach Germany and the Triple Alliance with a view to a closer understanding; but the effort led to no tangible results.

England in Africa. The energies of the English foreign office was directed chiefly toward securing a peaceful solution of a series of problems that had arisen in Africa. During the second half of the nineteenth century England made extensive additions to her territories over the seas, notably in the "Dark Continent." British expansion in Africa has followed three general lines: from Egypt southward into the Sudan; from British East Africa northwestward to the head waters of the Nile; and from Cape Colony northward into the valley of the Zambezi River and beyond. England has in this way come into possession of a continuous strip of territory extending from the frontiers of Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope. Of less importance has been the enlargement of the older British possessions on the coast of upper Guinea. The two great political parties have both shared in this development, but the greater credit belongs to the Unionists. Many a venturesome Briton has found abundant wealth in these regions; but the history of

England in Africa also illustrates the more serious phases of empire building, for much of this territory was purchased through the war with the Boers, the most expensive single war in English history prior to 1914.

Livingstone and Stanley. The new interest in Africa that came about 1880 was chiefly due to the travels of a great Scottish missionary and explorer, Dr. David Livingstone. Livingstone had come into South Africa in 1840 as a medical missionary and served in this capacity for fifteen years. Even during this period he made important journeys into the interior, and, when after a visit to Europe he returned to Africa in 1858, he came with a new purpose: to enlarge the world's knowledge of the Dark Continent. For fifteen years he gave his energies chiefly to exploring the vast areas between the Zambezi River and the headwaters of the Congo and the Nile. He died in 1873 near Lake Bangweolo on the southern fringe of the great Congo basin.

Livingstone's task was taken up by a number of other travelers of lesser note, the most famous of whom was Henry M. Stanley, an American journalist (though of British birth), who crossed the African continent from Zanzibar to the Atlantic coast during the years 1874-1877. On this expedition Stanley surveyed the great lakes at the head of the Nile basin and traced the great Congo River from Lake Tanganyika to its mouth, more than 2000 miles distant.

The "scramble for Africa." The accounts of these explorations stirred up much interest in Europe, and the various nations that already had possessions in Africa began to take a greater interest in them. The French, who had stations in the Senegal country, quietly began to extend their territories inward toward the Niger valley. In England the Disraeli ministry was beginning to see new possibilities in South Africa; it was while Stanley was on his great journey to the Congo region that Shepstone annexed the Transvaal to the British Empire.

The real "scramble for Africa" began about 1881 and continued to the close of the decade. In that year the French annexed Tunis and began a series of operations which in the following two decades were carried southward across the Sahara and into the vast stretches of western Sudan. A few years earlier an International Association had been formed for

the development of the Congo basin, and the Congo Free State came into being. This association owed its existence largely to its chief promoter, King Leopold of Belgium, and consequently found its headquarters in Brussels. The original intention was that the Congo Free State should be an international state; but as King Leopold was left practically alone with the problem of financing the venture, the new state soon came to be regarded as his own personal dominion. In 1908 the Belgian government annexed the Congo territories and Belgium thus came into possession of an African empire.

Meanwhile the Germans had also developed a desire for colonial territories. In 1883 F. A. E. Lüderitz, a German merchant, appeared in the region of Walfisch Bay and raised the German flag over a large territory that afterwards became German Southwest Africa. The following year Gustav Nachtigal, a German physician, was sent to Africa to inspect the German trading stations on the Guinea coast; the outcome of this visit was that Germany added two new colonies to her empire, Togoland and Kamerun. The same year Karl Peters, a Prussian scientist, landed at Zanzibar and raised the German flag over what later became German East Africa.

Walfisch Bay and Zanzibar. Germany thus came into possession of some 800,000 square miles of territory, much of which was of doubtful value. A fact that displeased the Germans was that Walfisch Bay and Zanzibar, the natural ports of German Southwest Africa and German East Africa, were already in the hands of the English. The Gladstone ministry watched German expansion in Africa with only slight concern, but could not be induced to lower the flag at Walfisch Bay. The dispute over Zanzibar was adjusted by Salisbury in 1890. In return for the recognition of British rights in Zanzibar the English government ceded the little island of Heligoland to Germany. Heligoland is a rock less than three miles in circumference situated in the North Sea about forty miles northwest of the mouth of the Elbe River. The Germans transformed the island into an impregnable naval station, which proved of great value to the German admiralty during the World War.

Discovery of gold in the "Rand." 1885. The interest of the British public in the possibilities of further expansion in Africa was not fully awakened before 1885, the year following

the tragedy at Khartum: in that year gold was discovered near the southern border of the Transvaal. Since 1870 a steady stream of European adventurers had been flowing into the Kimberley district, where the diamond fields continued to yield their hoarded wealth. But after gold had been found in the hill ranges of Witwatersrand (Whitewater slope), this stream was diverted toward the Transvaal country. In the new mining area there grew up a large and important city, Johannesburg, inhabited almost exclusively by a floating population of aliens, who had come to seek their fortune in the gold fields. These aliens the Boers called "Outlanders."

Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company. Among the immigrants who found their way to South Africa in the decade of the seventies came Cecil Rhodes, a young Englishman who soon rose to a high position of leadership among the British elements in those regions. Cecil Rhodes was a keen, far-sighted, and resourceful man, who loved to plan and to carry out large undertakings. After a time he found his way into the Kimberley diamond fields where fortune favored him from the very first. At the age of eighteen the youthful immigrant was already a man of considerable wealth.

But Cecil Rhodes very soon developed an interest in the vast interior country lying to the north and northwest of the Boer republics. South Africa, as Englishmen knew it in the days of Livingstone, had few attractions for a European. The most prominent feature of the country is a chain of mountains running somewhat parallel to the southeastern and southern coast and from thirty to one hundred miles inland. Between the mountains and the sea the rainfall is abundant; but on the great plateau beyond the ranges the rainfall is scanty and the agricultural possibilities are not very great. The eastern part of this plateau was occupied by the two Boer republics. West of these lay a broad belt of unoccupied country, largely desert, the importance of which lies in the fact that it is the highway to the great valley of the Zambezi, a thousand miles to the north of Cape Colony.

West of the Boer republics lies the great semi-arid region of Bechuanaland, which was definitely made a British protectorate in 1885. Farther to the north between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers lie Matabeleland and Mashonaland, both of which

were known to have important mineral and agricultural resources. To secure this great area Cecil Rhodes organized the British South Africa Company which received its charter in 1889. The purpose of the company was to carry on commercial and mining operations, to plan colonies and to build railways and telegraph lines. The company was also given extensive administrative powers. In this way a large interior province was added to the British empire, a vast area of nearly 450,000 square miles comprising the best parts of Central Africa. The territories of the South Africa Company had no common name at first, but by general consent they have come to be called Rhodesia.

Rhodesia. In 1890 an expedition rode northward from Kimberley to take formal possession of the territories assigned to the company. A capital was established in Mashonaland at a point called Salisbury. Later the center of government was moved farther south to Buluwayo. A railway was soon pushed northward from Kimberley through Buluwayo and across the Zambezi River as far as the boundary of the Congo Free State. By an agreement with Portugal in 1891 the South Africa Company was permitted to build a railway from Salisbury eastward through the Mozambique country to a port on the Indian Ocean. This railway has been extended from Salisbury southwestward and joins the main line at Buluwayo.

William Mackinnon and the Imperial East Africa Company. During the same period two other trading companies were successfully extending British influence and dominion in eastern and western Africa. In 1887 the sultan of Zanzibar granted extensive commercial and territorial rights to an association which had been formed to promote British trade in East Africa. This association had been organized through the efforts of William Mackinnon, a British merchant with a long experience in East African affairs; the following year it was reorganized and chartered as the Imperial East Africa Company. For a period of seven years this company carried on an extensive commercial enterprise from Zanzibar and Mombasa northwestward across the highlands as far as the sources of the Nile. The company was not financially successful, however, and in 1895 it surrendered its charter to the British crown, which thus came into direct control of British East Africa. At first a pro-

tectorate, this part of Africa has in recent years been renamed and reorganized as the Kenya Colony. A railway has been built from Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza, and the regions about the headwaters of the Nile have thus been brought into connection with the ports on the eastern coast.

Sir George Goldie and the Royal Niger Company. British traders have been active on the Guinea coast and at the mouth of the Niger River for more than three centuries; but very little had been done to push British influence into the interior before 1879, when Sir George Goldie, a young Englishman who had traveled widely in the Guinea country, consolidated the English trading interests on the Guinea coast into a single United African Company. In 1886 this association secured a charter as the Royal Niger Company and assumed the task of extending British dominion along the lower course of the Niger River. For thirteen years the company operated as trader and colonizer with signal success; but in 1899 it surrendered its charter as a governing corporation, and its authority in Nigeria passed to the British crown. The association continued as a trading concern under a simplified name: the Niger Company.

The Liberal imperialists. These great forward movements in the colonial field were no doubt in large part responsible for the development of a keener and more favorable interest in imperial affairs on the part of the British public in the decade of the eighties. Imperialism, the belief that it is proper and often desirable for a strong nation to control or administer other lands and other peoples, came to be widely held in England. Colonies, once regarded as a burden, were now held to be desirable and even necessary to English prosperity. Imperialistic sentiment was naturally strongest in Conservative circles; but there was also a notable group of Liberal imperialists including such leaders as W. E. Forster, Lord Rosebery, H. H. Asquith, and Edward Grey. Imperialism also found a literary exponent in Rudyard Kipling, whose tales and poems deal largely with England over the seas and with the greatness of the British empire.

The fourth Gladstone ministry. 1892-1894. The Parliamentary elections of 1892 showed, however, that the great mass of the British electorate had not yet been converted to the

new imperialistic faith. The Conservatives were beaten though not decisively; in the new House of Commons the combined forces of Liberals and Home Rulers had a majority of forty. The new Parliament on the motion of Herbert H. Asquith voted a lack of confidence in the Conservative government. Lord Salisbury resigned, and the "Grand Old Man," who was now eighty-three years old, became prime minister for the fourth time. Among the members of his cabinet were Lord Rosebery, who took the foreign office, H. H. Asquith, who took charge of the home department, John Morley, an English man of letters, who was made chief secretary for Ireland, and W. V. Harcourt who returned to his earlier duties as chancellor of the exchequer.

The second Home Rule Bill. 1893. In the new Parliament there was no real majority for any line of policy except Irish home rule, which was also the only question in which Gladstone now had a real interest. A new bill for the government of Ireland was prepared and promptly introduced into the House of Commons. It differed from Gladstone's earlier plan only in that it provided for an Irish membership of eighty in the common British Parliament, who were, however, to have the right to speak and vote on Irish questions only. After a long and bitter debate the bill passed the House of Commons by a small majority; but when it came to the House of Lords it was rejected by the decisive vote of 419 to 41.

The last years of Gladstone. On March 1, 1894, William E. Gladstone made his last speech in the House of Commons and two days later he resigned his office as the head of the queen's government. Since 1832, a period of sixty-one years, he had been almost continuously a member of the House of Commons. Since 1852 he had served in every Liberal Cabinet. For nearly thirty years he had been the most prominent figure in English politics and one of the most eminent of the world's statesmen. His retirement was forced, not by a failure of intellectual vigor, but by a weakening of physical power, particularly hearing and eyesight.

At the time of his withdrawal from public life Gladstone was not popular in England: his countrymen resented his effort to secure home rule for Ireland which they regarded as destructive to the unity of the kingdom. But during the last four

years of his life the dislike and the hatred were passing away, and England once more began to realize the wonderful greatness of the man. When he died lords and princes bore his body to the tomb and the entire world joined in doing honor to his memory.

The Rosebery ministry. 1894-1895. On Gladstone's retirement the queen sent for Lord Rosebery, a prominent peer of Scottish ancestry, who, though he had been a faithful adherent of Gladstone, had never been enthusiastic for Gladstone's program of political reform. Lord Rosebery was a man of marked ability, a convincing orator, and a brilliant writer; nevertheless, his appointment to the premiership was fatal to Liberal success: it split the party into two contending factions, a moderate group led by the prime minister and a radical section which looked for leadership to Sir William Harcourt. It is said that during the nineties Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a genial and popular Scotsman, was the only member of Parliament who was on speaking terms with both factions of the Liberal party.

After the failure of the second Home Rule Bill the ministry proceeded with the consideration of various other measures included in the Newcastle program, but wholly without success except in the matter of parish councils. In 1894 local self-government was extended to the parishes (areas that correspond roughly to the American towns or townships) by the creation of parish meetings and parish councils. The parish meeting is an assembly of the citizens of the parish somewhat like the American town meeting. All but the smaller parishes also have councils, to which are assigned a general oversight of all parish business. Thus by the close of the century the government of England, both local and central, had been made essentially democratic.

The Liberals and the House of Lords. Unfortunately no single party had a clear majority in the House of Commons, and under the leadership of Lord Salisbury the House of Lords took the position that the nation had not accepted the Newcastle program and that the upper house was not opposing the will of the people in rejecting the bills of the Gladstone-Rosebery government. Of four important reform measures passed by the House of Commons the Lords accepted the Parish

Councils Bill only. The upper house also accepted a "death duties," or graduated inheritance tax, a measure contrived by the chancellor of the exchequer, Sir William Harcourt. This bill called forth determined opposition, but the lords did not have the courage to reject a finance bill.

Salisbury's third ministry. 1895-1902. The Liberals now proposed to give the lords ample opportunity to "fill up the cup of iniquity" by introducing a series of bills which the upper house would probably reject. But before these had been safely piloted through the lower house, the government was defeated on a trivial motion and resigned. Lord Salisbury again took office and writs were issued for a general election. In this the Conservatives and their allies won a decided victory, returning a total of 411 members while the combined opposition secured only 259.

One striking result of the campaign of 1895 was a more complete union of the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists into what amounted to a single party henceforth known as the Unionist. After holding aloof for a decade the Liberal Unionists had finally consented to take office in a Conservative Cabinet. The duke of Devonshire, earlier known as Lord Hartington, and his former ministerial colleague, Joseph Chamberlain, again took seats at the Cabinet table in Downing Street. Another prominent member of the Liberal Unionist group was Lord Lansdowne, who was given the important office of secretary of state for war. The admission of these men to the highest council of the nation added greatly to the strength of the Salisbury government.

In the new Cabinet the prime minister again took the department of foreign affairs, to the great satisfaction of Englishmen, who believed that so long as the foreign relations of the kingdom were guided by Salisbury's firm and skilful hand, the peaceful state of the kingdom would continue without interruption. But scarcely had the new administration been organized before a series of diplomatic problems appeared, every one of which threatened the country with war.

The Venezuela dispute. 1895. The first serious difficulty was an old dispute between England and Venezuela over the boundaries of British Guiana. In 1895 the dispute became quite active and attracted the attention of President Cleveland who

threatened to intervene on the basis of the Monroe Doctrine. Cleveland sent a somewhat belligerent message to Congress, and for a time there was fear of war between England and the United States. But Salisbury was so sure of the essential justice of the English claim that he offered to submit the matter to an American commission for investigation and report. Ultimately it was agreed to submit almost the entire question to arbitration, and a commission appointed for that purpose gave an award in 1899 which in the main upheld the British contention.

The Armenian massacres. 1894-1896. Lord Salisbury also found a dangerous situation to deal with in the Near East, where Turkish soldiers and Kurdish tribesmen were putting the Armenian population to the sword. The massacres had begun in 1894 and continued intermittently for several years. As a power that was pledged to protect Asiatic Turkey, England was naturally interested in the terrible news that came from the Taurus and the Caucasus. But it was a diplomatic principle with the prime minister that no European power should be allowed to interfere singly in the affairs of the Near East; he therefore sought to secure united action on the part of the great powers in behalf of the Armenians, but without success. France and Russia joined England in denouncing the massacres, but Germany and her allies refused to take action, and the atrocities remained unpunished.

The revolution in Crete. 1896. While the Armenian question was still under discussion a revolution broke out in Crete, and the world's attention was soon focused on the eastern Mediterranean. The Cretans, who were Christian subjects of the Turkish sultan, wished to secure a large measure of self-government and, if possible, union with the Greek kingdom. The European powers took some interest in the Cretan situation but the final settlement was largely the work of English diplomats. The Cretans secured autonomy with a Greek prince as governor, and future reunion with Greece was thus made possible (1898).

The scramble for "bases" in China. 1898. While these events were taking place in the Near East, the European diplomats were called upon to deal with a condition in the Far East, which gave the imperialistic statesmen an opportunity that they could not refuse. In 1895 China had suffered defeat at the hands of Japan, but when time came to treat for peace,

Russia, France, and Germany came to the aid of China, and Japan was excluded from the Chinese mainland. In return for this aid China granted these powers valuable railway and mining concessions; and before long Russia was preparing to build a railway through Manchuria, one of the dependencies of the Chinese empire. The murder of two German missionaries gave the German government a pretext to seize a port on the Shantung peninsula, which was formally "leased" to the Germans the following year (1898). About the same time the Chinese government leased Port Arthur and Talien-wan to Russia. France secured a port in the same way, and England took possession of Wei-hai-wei, also as a leasehold. But the English were on the whole less inconsiderate in their Oriental policy than the other European diplomats. Lord Salisbury insisted that all nations should have equal access to the opportunities of Chinese trade; and with the support of the American government he succeeded in maintaining the policy of the "open door."

Joseph Chamberlain: economic imperialism. When Joseph Chamberlain entered the Salisbury ministry he selected the colonial office as his department. Before this time the secretary of state for the colonies had not ranked among the major officials of the Cabinet; it was not long, however, before Chamberlain had made his office one of the most prominent in the government. Chamberlain was still counted among the Radicals and was therefore not above suspicion among his Conservative friends; but on two important subjects he held opinions that appealed strongly to a growing element in the Unionist party: (1) he held that the time had come to abandon free trade and to return to some form of protective tariff; (2) he emphasized the importance and value of the British dominions over the seas.

So long as Great Britain was the only "workshop of the world," her products found markets everywhere; but since the days of Cobden and Peel Germany and the United States had become great manufacturing nations and were competing for the markets of the world. It was therefore becoming increasingly difficult to dispose of English wares. But nearly 400,000,000 persons lived under the British flag outside the British Isles, and Chamberlain argued that England should strive to secure the colonial markets for British products. If England

should decide to lay a tax on imported goods, it would be wise, he believed, to establish a lower rate on products coming to England from the colonies. Such a "preferential tariff" would, he argued, direct the colonial trade to the mother country, and the empire would be bound together more firmly by ties of economic advantage.

"Imperial federation." Chamberlain also held that the empire ought to be made a definite political unit. This he hoped to accomplish by some form of "imperial federation." He dreamed of an imperial Parliament to be made up of representatives from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and perhaps from other important colonies. Though Joseph Chamberlain was the most prominent exponent of this idea, the plan itself did not originate with him. It was a thought that had occupied many minds, though no effort had been made to realize it, largely because the self-governing colonies had not yet shown any enthusiasm for a closer union with the United Kingdom.

Reconquest of the Sudan. Chamberlain further believed in extending the boundaries of the empire wherever it was possible. Accordingly the government resolved to reconquer the Sudan, and General Kitchener was sent up the Nile valley with an army to recover Khartum. This decision was due to various considerations, an important motive being the suspicion that France was extending her territories eastward in the direction of the Upper Nile. The advance was slow, for Kitchener had to build a railway as he went forward, so as to be sure of supplies for the campaign. In September, 1898, he finally reached the vicinity of Khartum and defeated the Khalifa (the successor of the Mahdi) in a battle near Omdurman on the opposite side of the Nile. The defeat was complete and decisive; eleven thousand Sudanese rebels lay dead on the field. The Khalifa escaped but was slain in battle a year later and native control of the Sudan came to an end.

The "Fashoda incident." A few days after the victory at Omdurman Kitchener learned that an armed force under the command of white men had established itself at Fashoda, 400 miles farther to the south on the White Nile. He immediately resumed his march southward and found Fashoda in the possession of a French force which had been sent out two years

earlier from French Congo to seize and hold upper Sudan for the republic. General Kitchener asserted the authority of the Egyptian king; but the French refused to retire, and for several weeks two competing flags waved over the mud flats of the White Nile. The clash at Fashoda caused much uneasiness on both sides of the Channel; but Lord Salisbury was able to convince the French government that the Egyptian claims were still valid, and the French expedition withdrew to the Congo.

Technically General Kitchener held his commission from the Egyptian government, but his forces were composed of English and Egyptian soldiers, and the British government assisted in the expedition to recover Sudan. The flags of England and Egypt were therefore both hoisted over the reconquered strongholds. Officially the Sudan is held jointly by the two countries, but the authority of the khedive on the upper Nile is scarcely more than a pretense. The Sudan is administered by British officials and is properly counted as belonging to the British empire.

The Boers and the Outlanders. The reconquest of the Sudan had been carried through at a relatively slight cost; but within a year England was to learn that imperialistic enterprises are not always profitable. The Boers of South Africa were displeased with the advance of Cecil Rhodes and his trading company into Mashonaland; but the invasion of the Rand by European fortune-hunters gave them even more concern. They made no attempts to make the gold fields attractive to the Outlanders, and hoped to make their stay as short as possible. The Outlanders on their side objected strenuously to the treatment accorded them: they were heavily taxed and were forced to do military service, while the right to become naturalized citizens was practically denied them. As the majority were British subjects they naturally turned to the British government for support. Cecil Rhodes, who was prime minister of Cape Colony, sympathized with the Outlanders, and Joseph Chamberlain, after he had taken charge of the colonial office, watched events at Johannesburg with a rising interest.

In the closing decade of the nineteenth century there were approximately 500,000 Boers (men, women, and children) in South Africa. Half of this population lived under the English flag, chiefly in Cape Colony. Some 80,000 had homes in the

Orange Free State, while the remainder, about 170,000, lived in the Transvaal. The Outlanders lived almost exclusively in Johannesburg or in the immediate neighborhood. They numbered about 50,000 Europeans and approximately an equal number of Kaffirs and imported Asiatics. Of the Europeans two-thirds were from the British kingdom. There is also the additional fact that the mines were largely owned by English investors and that the greater part of the profits found its way into British banks.

The suffrage dispute. It is clear that the Boers could not regard the situation at Johannesburg as anything but a menace. After a few years the Outlanders began to demand the suffrage which the Boers felt they must refuse. For the Europeans were becoming so numerous that they might soon be able to outvote the Boers at the elections; their next step would doubtless be to invite annexation to the British crown, and the Boers would again become subject to a government which they had once fled to escape.

Actuated by these fears the Transvaal government in 1894 enacted a franchise law which made it almost impossible for an Outlander to obtain full citizen rights. Only after he had reached the age of forty years and had resided fourteen years in the republic could he acquire a citizenship of the same quality as that enjoyed by the Dutch Afrikanders. It is likely that many of the Outlanders were adventurers merely, caring nothing for suffrage or citizen rights; but there were others who felt that they ought to have a share in the government of the state in which they lived. They accordingly organized a Transvaal National Union, the avowed purpose of which was to work for the introduction of English ideas of government into the Transvaal. In 1895 the leaders of this movement sought the advice and support of Cecil Rhodes, who was without question the most influential man in South Africa. The Outlanders were not agreed as to whether their aim should be annexation to the British empire or simply a reform of the Transvaal constitution. In the latter alternative Rhodes showed no interest: if any movement were to be undertaken it would have to be under the English flag.

The Jameson raid. It was finally agreed that Rhodes should keep a force of 1500 men at Mafeking near the Transvaal

border "for moral effect." The committee that headed the movement arranged with Dr. Leander Jameson, administrator of Mashonaland, to bring this force to Johannesburg whenever they should request him to do so. Tired of waiting for a signal that did not appear, Jameson, on December 29, crossed the border with a few hundred men and proceeded toward the rebellious city. But the Boers were gathering to meet him, and before he could reach Johannesburg his force was surrounded and forced to surrender.

The Boers prepare for war. The result of the Jameson raid was to produce even greater bitterness throughout South Africa. Jameson and five others were tried in London and given light sentences. The leaders of the movement in Johannesburg, sixty-three in all, were tried at Pretoria and heavily punished. The Boers in Cape Colony forced Cecil Rhodes to resign his office as prime minister; he also found it necessary to surrender his position as manager of the South Africa Company. The Afrikaner Bund, an organization of Boers in Cape Colony, which had worked for conciliation between the races and had given loyal support to Cecil Rhodes, now renounced the alliance with the English and the work for conciliation ceased. The Boers in the Orange Free State were alarmed and sought an alliance with the Transvaal. President Kruger and the Transvaal government had long been purchasing supplies for a war that they felt must come: during the year 1896-1898 military preparations were going forward at a rapid rate. By 1899 the South African Republic had a splendid army of the New Model type; every soldier was a trained horseman, an accurate marksman, and a fanatical enemy of the British.

Sir Alfred Milner in South Africa. Meanwhile Joseph Chamberlain was taking measures to maintain British supremacy in South Africa and to restore the situation that existed before the Jameson raid. He was anxious to do what could be done to relieve the Outlanders, but he was also anxious to restore the earlier friendship between the peoples of South Africa. In 1897 the government decided to send a new high commissioner to the Cape country, and Sir Alfred Milner was selected for the mission. The appointment was not fortunate. Sir Alfred had earlier served under Lord Cromer in Egypt and had proved himself an able, efficient administrator; but his

spirit was that of a proconsul; in a conflict like the one now raging at Johannesburg he could appreciate the viewpoint of the British citizen only.

Early in 1899 the Outlanders presented a statement of their grievances to the high commissioner with a request that it be forwarded to Westminster. They held that while the bulk of the Transvaal revenues came from the mines of the Rand, the money was used chiefly to the advantage of the Boers. They complained of neglect in the matter of education: the schools were inadequate and the language of instruction was Afrikaner Dutch. The government of Johannesburg was inefficient, and the demand for home rule had been refused. But the most important grievance was the fact that the Outlanders had not yet been given the franchise. Sir Alfred Milner, in transmitting this document to the British government, included certain observations of his own which showed clearly his inability to see the whole situation. He spoke of thousands of British subjects kept permanently in the position of "helots;" he characterized the Boer government as inefficient and oppressive; he insisted that the Outlanders' demand for the franchise must be given British support; and finally he assured the Cabinet that the Boers were not likely to resort to war, and that, if they did, it would be an easy task to conquer them.

The Boer War. During the summer months of 1899 various efforts were made to prevent an actual rupture of the peace but to no purpose. Meantime, both parties were actively preparing for war. In October (the early springtime of the southern hemisphere) the Boers were ready to strike. On the 9th President Kruger sent an ultimatum to the British government demanding the withdrawal of British troops from the Transvaal frontier. Three days later the combined forces of the two Boer republics poured across the border into Cape Colony and Natal.

The forces that England had in South Africa were located chiefly in two areas; in northern Natal and in the region about Kimberley. For the war that now began these forces were wholly inadequate; and for several months victory was with the Boers in all the important engagements. The fiercest fighting in the earlier stage of the war was in Natal (in the neighborhood of Ladysmith), where the Dutch farmers shut up a British

army and for a time defeated every effort to raise the siege. British forces were also besieged at Kimberley and at Mafeking, an important station on the Rhodesian railway some two hundred miles farther north.

British preparations. The news from the seat of war was particularly distressing in the second week of December when the British were defeated in three hard-fought battles. But the English spirit was not daunted. The nation was generally agreed that, if England were to maintain her position as a great power, the African war had to be fought to a victorious issue. An army numbering 540,000 men was finally collected in South Africa. Never before had England called so many soldiers into the field. A large part of this great host was contributed by the self-governing colonies, all of which gave loyal support to the efforts of the war office. Lord Roberts of Kandahar, who had proved his abilities in India and Afghanistan, was placed in command. With him, as chief of staff, was Lord Kitchener of Khartum, who had just finished the pacification of the Sudan. The Boer generals, Delarey, DeWet, Cronje, and Botha, were second to none in bravery; but they could not equal Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener in generalship.

The end of Boer independence. During the months of January and February Lord Roberts was collecting a strong force on the Modder River for the relief of Kimberley and an early invasion of the Boer republics. By the middle of February his army was ready and began to move northward. On the approach of General French with a force of British cavalry General Cronje withdrew toward the east and Kimberley was relieved. A fortnight later Cronje was forced to surrender and nearly 5000 Boers laid down their arms. On the same day the news went forth that the Boers had begun to retire from Ladysmith. English arms had been victorious in the east as well as in the west.

Two weeks later Lord Roberts was in Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange River Free State. After having formally annexed the territories of the Free State to the dominions of the British crown, he proceeded toward Johannesburg, and thence to Pretoria, the seat of government in the Transvaal, which he entered early in June. President Kruger fled to the

coast and, taking passage to Europe, began his pathetic but futile journey to the Continental capitals. By the end of August all the Afrikaner forces were apparently broken up. In September the Transvaal was proclaimed a colony of the British empire. But the war was not yet over. For nearly two years longer the Boers under the leadership of DeWet and Botha kept



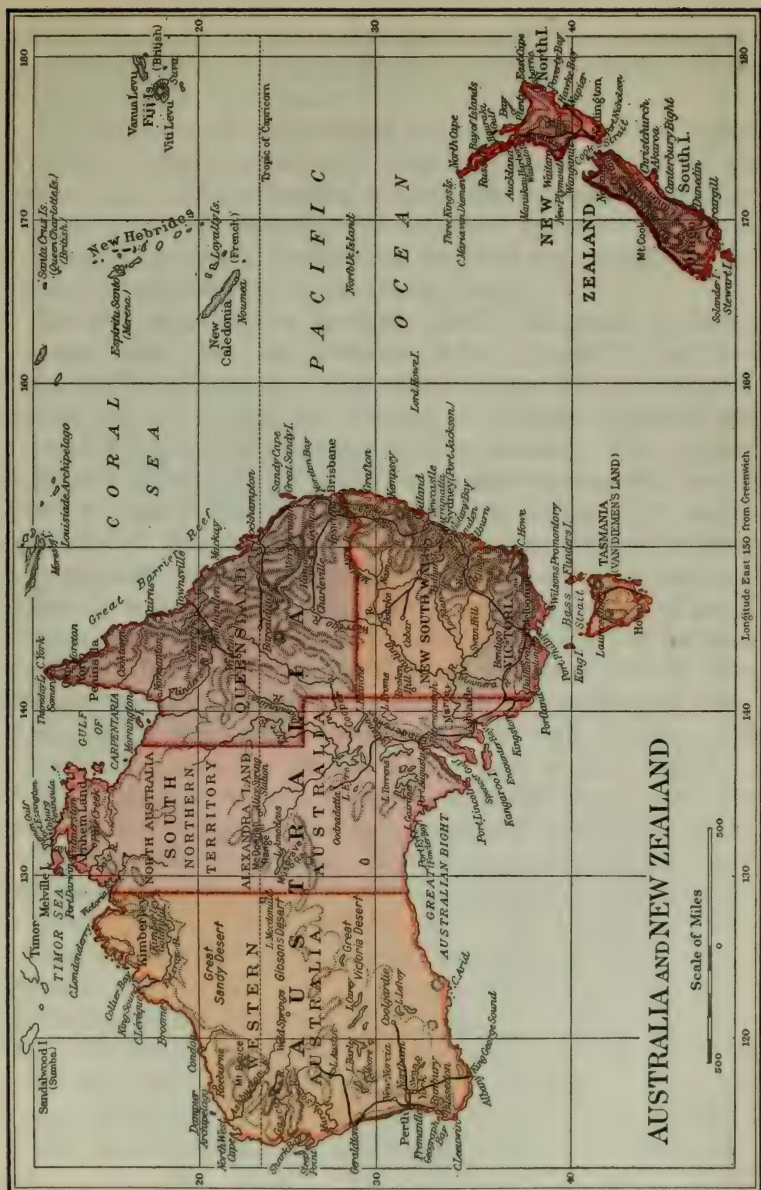
up a desperate guerilla warfare. Lord Kitchener was compelled to organize a long and tedious campaign, which was in the end successful; on May 31, 1902, the Afrikaner chiefs made peace with England and the war ended.

The issues of the war. The Boer war was essentially a con-

flict between two great ambitions, embodied in the purposes of the two great leaders, Chamberlain and Kruger. The English did not go to war to improve the lot of the Outlanders but to uphold the belief that the British authorities had suzerain rights in the South African Republic. Chamberlain felt that at all costs he must maintain British supremacy in South Africa. President Kruger on his side entered the war in the interest of a great idea: to establish a powerful Boer state in South Africa. He realized that his resources were inadequate, but he hoped for the active assistance of the Boers in Cape Colony and the Continental powers in Europe. In this he was disappointed: the German emperor, who had sent him a telegram of congratulations on the failure of the Jameson raid, refused him an audience when he came to Berlin.

The treaty of Vereeniging. May 31, 1902. The terms of the treaty of Vereeniging were on the whole quite generous. The Boers acknowledged themselves to be subjects of the British crown. The British government on its side granted complete amnesty, and agreed to advance a sum of £3,000,000 to help the Boers rebuild and restock their devastated farms. This was, to say the least, a most unusual procedure: history does not record many instances where the victor has helped a fallen foe to rise to his feet.

Australian problems: the Commonwealth. 1901. During the Boer War the second self-governing dominion came into being. To the close of the nineteenth century the Australian colonies, of which there were finally six, remained politically separate and distinct. For a long time there was no real need of union; but, with the spread of settlement and the development of commerce and industry, problems commenced to appear that could not be solved by the action of a single colony. The navigation of rivers that run through more than one colony had to be regulated. Still more important was the regulation of rates and traffic on inter-colonial railways. It was evident that in undertaking to reclaim arid lands by irrigation a colony could not always act alone. It was also felt that on many subjects, such as tariffs, labor disputes, old age pensions, factory control, and alien races, there should be uniform legislation throughout the Southern Continent. The movement for colonial union was constantly gaining strength, and after ten years of negotiation





an act was passed by the British Parliament (1900) creating the Commonwealth of Australia, the act to become effective on the first day of the new century.

The Australian Commonwealth is a federal union like Canada, with the important difference that the states retain all the powers not expressly handed over to the common Parliament. In this respect it resembles the American system. The use of such terms as states, senate, and house of representatives also recalls the constitution of the United States.

The Dominion of New Zealand. 1907. Southeast of Australia and more than one thousand miles distant lie the twin islands of New Zealand. This colony did not join the commonwealth, but in 1907 it was allowed to organize the third self-governing colony, the Dominion of New Zealand. New Zealand is famous throughout the world for its experiments with certain forms of state socialism. The government engages in a variety of activities that are usually left to private business; it owns and operates railways, telegraph and telephone lines, and coal mines; it writes fire insurance and manages a system of postal savings banks; it finds work for the unemployed; it pensions the aged. In New Zealand strikes are forbidden and all labor disputes must be submitted to a court for arbitration and settlement. Since 1893 women have enjoyed the right to vote. The state has acquired the title to a large part of the arable land which it leases to tenants on highly favorable terms. In many respects New Zealand is the most democratic state in the world.

The expansion of Canada. When Canada was organized as a dominion, it did not include all the territories of British North America. To the far northwest lay a vast wilderness which belonged to the Hudson Bay Company and was thought to be valuable for its furs only. In 1869 Canada purchased this territory and the following year a part of it was admitted to the Dominion as the province of Manitoba. British Columbia (organized as a colony in 1858) was admitted in 1871, and Prince Edward Island, an old colony on the Atlantic seaboard, joined the Dominion two years later. The vast plains that stretch from Lake Superior westward toward the Rocky Mountains have been found to be extremely valuable for agricultural purposes, notably for the cultivation of wheat. In recent years emigrants from the United States have gone north by the

thousands to settle in the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. As an offset to this movement, the Canadian government has encouraged immigration from Europe and particularly from the British Isles. The development of western Canada has been made possible by the building of two great railways: the Canadian Pacific, which was carried across the American continent during the eighties, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, which runs farther to the north and is still in the process of construction. Canada now comprises nine provinces and includes nearly all the British possessions on the continent of North America.

The colonial nations. By the close of 1907 three "colonial nations" had thus been organized within the boundaries of the British empire: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Two others have been created since: South Africa was organized as a self-governing dominion in 1910, and in 1922 the Irish Free State was added to the group with a similar status and similar rights. In the management of their internal affairs these dominions are practically independent. They have, however, no recognized offices for the conduct of foreign affairs; until quite recently the foreign policy of the Commonwealth has been directed by the foreign office of the United Kingdom. Whether this arrangement will continue indefinitely may well be doubted; in recent years the Dominion of Canada has begun to put forth a claim to a separate foreign Ministry and a separate diplomatic Service.

The kingdom and the dominions. The relationship of these dominions to the British kingdom is difficult to describe: they are bound to the central monarchy chiefly by strong sentimental and commercial ties and by the fact that all the citizens of the British realms are at the same time subjects of the British king. All efforts looking toward the formation of some form of imperial federation have thus far failed, recent events having served to loosen rather than to strengthen the political bonds within the British Empire.

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE VICTORIAN AGE

The nineteenth century. 1815-1918. The nineteenth century, as the term is used in European history, did not begin with the year 1801, for in that year the dominant fact was still the war with France, a war which was itself a product of eighteenth-century conditions. Not till peace had been restored could Europe take up the task of repairing the shattered wreck of civilization and building the foundations of a larger social life. Nor did the age which had its beginning in 1815 close with the last calendar day of the year 1900. All the vast forces of the nineteenth century — nationalism, imperialism, commercialism, socialism, and militarism — continued their course across the boundary and on into the new century, moving irresistibly forward till they were lost in the hideous chaos of the Great War.

The Victorian Age. But in spite of its tragic outcome the fact remains that the nineteenth century was the most wonderful age in the long history of man. In material progress more was achieved in that century than in all the years that went before. In these achievements the British people had a large share. It was given to Queen Victoria to live through the greater part of this highly favored century and to serve as the symbol of British power during the period of its greatest intensity. It is therefore not inappropriate to speak of the two generations following the queen's accession in 1837 as the Victorian Age.

Progress of the industrial revolution. It is clear that twenty-two years of almost constant warfare could not fail to have a serious effect on the industrial life of the nation; and yet the industrial revolution, which was already running a swift course in 1793, was not wholly stayed. While in some fields there were marked decline and even ruin, in other fields the necessities of war stimulated production and even called forth new industries. For some years after the peace, industrial

progress was slow and halting, but it soon struck a steadier pace. The improvement was due largely to a gradual economic recovery elsewhere in Europe; for until the war-torn nations of the Continent were again able to buy English wares there could be little prosperity in the English mill towns.

The record of this industrial growth may be examined most satisfactorily in the textile trades. In the woolen trade the development, though strong and continuous, was not exceptional; but the cotton industry showed a marvelous growth. In 1815 the United Kingdom imported 82,000,000 pounds of raw cotton. Eighty years later the amount imported and consumed had risen to a total of 1,800,000,000 pounds. This development was made possible by a continuous improvement in the machinery used in spinning and weaving. In 1815 most of the cotton cloth was still woven on hand looms; there were in that year 250,000 hand looms in operation and only 3,000 power looms. Ten years later the 3,000 had become 30,000, and the hand looms were rapidly passing into permanent disuse.

Owing to the fact that the raw materials used in the linen trade require much labor in their preparation for the loom, the linen industry does not show such impressive totals as those that mark the cotton trade. Nevertheless, the weaving of linen cloth has become an important industry, especially in Ireland. In 1850 Ireland produced more linen thread than either England or Scotland, but most of it was used on the looms of Great Britain. That condition was not allowed to remain without remedy. Ireland, which had only 58 power looms in 1851 had more than 34,000 in 1905. In that same year there were 1,060,000 linen spindles in the British Kingdom. Of these 850,000 were operated in Ireland.

Foreign trade. The story of the textile trades is repeated with necessary variations in nearly all the other important industries. During the decade before the Great War the iron industry consumed annually more than 20,000,000 tons of ore, about one-third of which was imported. The increase in British manufactures can readily be traced in the totals of the foreign trade as reported from year to year. In 1826 the value of all British imports and exports was a little more than £88,000,000; in 1900 the totals had risen to £877,000,000. A commerce of such dimensions naturally requires a large merchant marine; and in

this respect the British kingdom has long held the lead: when the Great War broke out one-half of all the tonnage in the world sailed under the British flag.

The steamship and the railway. An important feature of the industrial revolution was the development of new means of communication. The first successful passenger boat propelled by steam was built by Robert Fulton who launched his new invention on the Hudson River in 1807. Eight years later an English steamship began to make regular trips between Glasgow and Liverpool. The first steamship to cross the Atlantic was the *Savannah*, an American vessel which made the journey in 1819. The *Savannah* did not, however, depend wholly on steam; not till 1838 did ocean travel by steam become a real fact. In that year the *Sirius* and the *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic in eighteen and fifteen days respectively. But not till thirty years later did the sail ships begin to yield their supremacy to the steamship. In 1869 the Suez Canal was opened, and, inasmuch as the long journey through the canal and the treacherous waters of the Red Sea cannot conveniently be made by sail ships, steam navigation was soon advanced to the first place.

The history of the railway begins with the efforts of George Stephenson, an English engineer, to construct a successful locomotive. Stephenson ran such an engine in 1814; but "Puffing Billy" was not a complete success. Two years later he succeeded in building an engine that proved able to haul cars laden with coal. In 1825 the locomotive was first used in passenger traffic; but the speed attained, eight miles per hour, did not promise much for the new invention. Success came four years later when Stephenson's "Rocket," in competition with two other locomotives, ran its course at a rate of 29 miles per hour. The following year the first railway line was opened, and since that year the development of railways has been steady and continuous throughout the earth.

Electric motors. A new source of power was found in 1831, when Faraday discovered that electricity could be used to produce rotary motion. But only after forty years of experimentation were the students of electricity able to produce a fairly satisfactory electric motor. The use of electric power in the street-railway service was developed in America in the early eighties. The English were slow to accept the use of

electric power; but in 1891 the trolley began to appear over the English tramways, and the old horse cars were rapidly discarded.

The telegraph and the telephone; the electric light. Meanwhile scientists and inventors were seeking other uses for electricity, and out of their researches came three great inventions: the telegraph, the telephone, and the electric light. Various systems of telegraphy were devised before 1838; but the system perfected in that year by S. F. B. Morse, an American artist, ultimately proved to be the most practical and is still the system most generally used. Forty years later came the telephone, also an American product, though the inventor, Alexander Graham Bell, was a native of Scotland. The electric light, like so many other recent inventions, is the result of experiments in many laboratories; but Thomas A. Edison was the man who first produced a modern incandescent lamp. Though Edison announced his discovery in 1878, the new lamp was scarcely a practical device before 1880. In that year the use of electric lighting began in England with a few lights in the city of London; it was not long before the new form of lighting was in use everywhere.

Gas engines and motor cars. An invention of unusual interest was the internal combustion engine, commonly called the "gas engine," which after nearly a century of experimentation on the part of many inventors began to approach its modern form about 1885. The new engine was built to utilize a new source of power, namely the energy stored in petroleum. It has proved important in many lines, but chiefly because it has made possible the aeroplane, the motor car, and the submarine boat. A motor car using an internal combustion engine was produced in England in 1885; but as the law limited the speed of self-propelled vehicles to four miles an hour, and demanded that "every such vehicle must be preceded by a man carrying a red flag," the new invention was of little immediate value. This unique law was repealed in 1896, and after a few years a new industry developed in the manufacture of motor cars.

Industry and the public health. While it is beyond dispute that the industrial revolution gave the British people a place of supremacy in the commercial world from which the country as a whole derived an immense profit, it is at the same time

equally true that the price paid for this supremacy was great and terrible. The factory system could not flourish without a greater concentration of labor at the industrial centers; and the result was that large areas in northern England and southern Scotland were soon dotted with cities, large and small, where only villages had been before. In 1801 England was still a rural country with the vast majority of its inhabitants still engaged largely in rural pursuits. In 1900 the situation was wholly different: 77 percent of the population were then living in cities, while less than one-fourth remained in the business of agriculture.

Most of the cities had grown up in a planless, haphazard sort of way and all possessed large sections where slum conditions were frightfully evident. Life in the slums was not conducive either to industrial efficiency or to good health. Foul air and insufficient food, combined with economic necessities calling for long hours of wearisome labor on the part of English mothers, could have but one result: a lower physical vitality in each successive generation. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the recognized leader of the Liberal party, stated in 1903 that "about 30 percent of our population is underfed, on the verge of hunger." This would mean that more than 12,000,000 persons in the United Kingdom, supposedly the richest land in the world, were insufficiently fed.

An even more significant result of these same conditions can be read in the official reports on the death rate which all through the nineteenth century was frightfully high, especially among infants. During the closing years of the Victorian period the death rate among infants in England and Wales was 147 per thousand, in the manufacturing towns of Lancashire it was considerably higher, 180 being very near the average rate. But all the weak did not perish, and the numbers of human wrecks with crippled bodies and ineffective intellects grew measurably as the cruel years went past.

Improvement in public health. At the same time it is true that the conditions disclosed in the vital statistics of the last generation, appalling though they are, reveal not a continuing decline in public health but an actual improvement over conditions as they were a generation earlier. For the medical profession had awakened to its great responsibilities toward the

nation as a whole, and had learned to grapple with the physical evils of the time more effectively than ever before. When Queen Victoria began her long reign the physician was still seriously handicapped in a great variety of ways. His training was defective; his drugs were crude; and, what was more important, he had no knowledge of what disease really is. In all these respects there has been enormous progress in the course of the century, particularly during the last two decades. When the Victorian period closed, the real cause of disease was known and the physician was finally in position to fight its ravages more scientifically and more effectively.

Scientific medicine: the germ theory of disease. The history of medicine in the nineteenth century is a record of tremendous achievement in almost every field of that important science. The record begins with a movement looking toward a more thorough training of physicians and apothecaries. Out of this grew a deeper interest in human anatomy and a closer study of the functions of the human organs. This again meant a great advance in the ancient study of physiology, which now took its place among the experimental sciences. The stethoscope (invented in France) came into use in England about 1821 and has proved a wonderful aid in diagnosing pulmonary conditions. The clinical thermometer (an English device) was invented earlier but came into general use somewhat more slowly. Shortly before 1850 two anesthetics were discovered and successfully introduced into the profession of surgery. During the following three decades Louis Pasteur, a French chemist, carried forward a series of marvelous researches which demonstrated the long suspected fact that disease is caused by the activities of minute organisms introduced into the body from the outside. Of almost equal importance were the experiments of Robert Koch, a German "country doctor," who announced in 1876 that these organisms could be grown successfully outside the human body. With this announcement there was born a new science, the great science of bacteriology. The next step was to find means and materials with which to stay the progress of disease germs, and the result was a long series of experiments with serums and antitoxins. Among these the antitoxin used in combating diphtheria is perhaps the best known. This preparation came out of a German laboratory in

1894, and in a few years the percent of mortality in diphtheria cases was reduced from 28.3 to 8.1.

Anesthetics. In this persistent warfare against disease the British scientists of the Victorian age had a large and important share. Two among them, Dr. James Young Simpson and Dr. Joseph Lister, have places of special prominence. It had been known for some time that certain substances possessed anesthetic properties; but it was not till October 18, 1846, that one of these was successfully employed in a surgical operation. On that day (one of the great days in the history of medicine) Dr. William T. Morton, an American dentist, gave a public demonstration of the use of ether, the first anesthetic that proved to have a practical value. A year later Dr. J. Y. Simpson, a Scottish physician who held a professorship in the University of Edinburgh, announced the discovery of a second anesthetic agent, called chloroform. Surgery now lost most of its terrors and the efficiency of the surgical profession was materially promoted, since it was now possible for the operator to proceed with greater deliberation and care.

Surgery: Lord Lister. The application of Pasteur's ideas to surgery was the work of Joseph Lister, an English surgeon, better known as Lord Lister. It was Lister's belief that if microbes could be prevented from entering a wound there could be no infection and the wound would heal in a perfectly natural way. To achieve this result he began using carbolic acid in various forms, believing this to be a very effective and fairly safe germicide. Lister commenced his experiments in the early sixties soon after Pasteur had begun to publish the results of his studies in fermentation. His earlier methods and devices, being wholly tentative and experimental, soon passed out of general use in favor of a more thorough attempt at "surgical cleanliness." But whatever their methods, all later surgeons have followed the essential teachings of the great English master: that disease germs must not be allowed to enter the wound.

Tropical diseases. The universal acceptance of the germ theory of diseases by the medical profession promises to have tremendous consequences for the future development of the British empire, more particularly in its tropical dependencies. For centuries European civilization has sought to strike roots

in tropical soil, but thus far with only moderate success. The forces of European life have been held at bay, not so much by the hostility of alien races, as by the irresistible onslaught of tropical diseases. Yellow fever in the West Indies, malaria in the Asiatic lands, the sleeping sickness in Africa, and other terrible diseases elsewhere have combined to render the white man's existence in tropical countries very doubtful and precarious. Europeans who take up their abode in those regions do so with a perfect understanding that the risk of health and life is great and dangerous.

Preventive medicine. But with the new theories as to the nature and treatment of disease came the conviction that some day it would be possible to prevent, or at least to control, the spread of infection, and a movement was initiated to promote what was called "preventive medicine." In 1897 Dr. Ronald Ross, a physician stationed in India, found conclusive evidence, after a research covering several years, that the malaria parasite is carried by a certain species of mosquito and in no other way. Three years later the American health service in Havana discovered that yellow fever is also carried by the mosquito, though by a different species. When it is remembered that malaria sometimes claims as many as two or three million victims annually in India alone, the importance of these discoveries is readily understood. There has accordingly developed (especially in the British empire) a form of hygiene called tropical medicine, the aim of which is to destroy, so far as possible, the mosquito and other carriers of disease. This is done by draining stagnant pools and otherwise destroying the places where mosquitoes commonly breed. In some parts of the world these efforts have met with signal success. But it is difficult to arouse the natives of tropical countries to the dangers of insect life, and until that can be achieved the warfare against tropical diseases is not likely to be effective.

Chemistry. In the natural and physical sciences there was rapid and even startling development throughout the Victorian age in England as well as on the Continent. In chemistry the progress was particularly evident. Little was done, however, to provide public instruction in this important science before the first half of the century was almost past. A long step in this direction was taken in 1845 when a College of Chemistry was

founded and opened to public study. This institution still exists in the Imperial College of Science and Technology. Among the presidents of this college perhaps the most eminent was Sir Edward Frankland, who is best known for his extended and fruitful research in the interest of a safe and satisfactory water supply. But like so many other scientific men of his time Frankland did not confine his studies to his own chosen field; he was interested in all the related sciences and made important contributions also to the newer science of physics.

Physics. Among the many British scientists who were devoting their energies to the study of physical forces, five hold places in the front rank: Michael Faraday, James Prescott Joule, John Tyndall, James Clark Maxwell, and William Thompson, better known as Lord Kelvin. Faraday began his career as a chemist but was early attracted to the study of physics, where wide fields lay still untilled. He acquired great fame for his contributions to the knowledge of electricity. Joule gave much of his energy to the study of heat and formulated conclusions that led to the discovery of a new physical law, the law of conservation of energy. Tyndall investigated a variety of subjects but is best known as an educator and a popularizer of scientific knowledge. Maxwell was first of all a mathematician and approached his problems from the mathematical viewpoint. Lord Kelvin achieved eminence in various fields, but is famous chiefly as an inventor of physical instruments. Tyndall was Irish by birth. Maxwell and Kelvin were Scotsmen.

Geology. It was only natural that man should be attracted to the study of the planet on which he lives, and investigations into the history and composition of the earth's crust began at an early date. But the conclusions reached and the theories advanced were singularly crude and unscientific; therefore it is doubtful whether one can properly speak of the science of geology before 1830, when Charles Lyell began the publication of his *Principles of Geology*. Lyell was a young Scotsman trained to the law; but the lure of the outside world was too great for the barrister and he finally abandoned his profession to devote his life to science. Before Lyell's time students of geology believed that the surface of the earth had received its present form and appearance as the result of a series of catas-

trophes. Lyell rejected this theory in favor of what is called "uniformitarianism," according to which the geologic changes were due to the steady and constant operation of geologic forces.

Biology. In the history of the biological sciences in England one of the most eminent names is that of Thomas Henry Huxley. Huxley was not a university man and had very little systematic training of the broader sort; but he had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and the flame of genius burned in his mind. By profession he was a surgeon, and at the age of twenty-one he joined the crew of his Majesty's ship the *Rattlesnake* as ship's surgeon. This appointment took him on a cruise into the tropical seas, where the young scientist found unrivalled opportunities to study the strange and manifold forms of marine life. At the age of twenty-five he was admitted to the Royal Society, having already received recognition as a scientist. His scientific career covered a period of forty years, a great period of achievement, honor, and controversy.

Huxley's contribution to science, aside from the new information that he gathered and disseminated, lies in his absolute rejection of *a priori* conclusions, and in his insistence on the method of inductive reasoning based on a large accumulation of facts. His work was, therefore, largely critical in character; but in Huxley's day there was much rubbish to be cleared away in every field of science, and Huxley cleared with a ruthless hand.

Charles Darwin. Fifteen years before Huxley made his famous journey another ship, the *Beagle*, had sailed from Devonport on a surveying expedition into the southern seas, beginning a cruise that continued for nearly five years. There was nothing remarkable about this voyage except the fact that on the official roster of the *Beagle* was the name of Charles Darwin, a young graduate, who accompanied the expedition as naturalist. Darwin had been sent to Cambridge in the hope that he might find a career in the service of the church; but he had no liking for theology and became a geologist instead. When he received his appointment with the *Beagle* he had shown no evidence of genius; but like Huxley on the later voyage he found an opportunity to study and observe the dazzling variety of life on the southern shores, and when he returned (at the age of twenty-seven) the young naturalist brought with him much

of the material that he was to use later in forming the conclusions of his great work on the *Origin of Species*.

After the return of the *Beagle* Darwin was occupied for a series of years with scientific studies of various sorts; it was not before 1854 that he was able to begin the active preparation of his great work. After five years the volume appeared and proved to be the most influential scientific pronouncement of the century. The title of the work describes its contents: "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life." In the course of his discussion of "natural selection" Darwin developed a doctrine that has come to be called the theory of evolution. This doctrine was not new: it had been put forth in tentative fashion by several earlier scientists; and one of Darwin's contemporaries, Alfred Russell Wallace, an eminent naturalist, reached conclusions very similar to those of Darwin in the same years. Wallace's theory came to him while engaged in biological research in the Malay Archipelago. Having prepared a statement of his new hypothesis, he sent it to Darwin who published it at the first opportunity with an outline of his own views and arguments on the same subject, which had reached maturity ten or fifteen years earlier.

Darwin's theory of evolution. Darwin taught that the great kingdom of life is governed by unchanging laws, laws that always have been and still are in active operation. He taught further that life has within itself the possibility of constant development from lower to higher, from simple to complex, forms. Through the operation of this power there has come to be developed an almost infinite variety of forms and species, many of which have long since become extinct. This last fact led him to his third great conclusion: that nature had selected those species for survival that were best adapted to their environment, or were best able to maintain themselves in the struggle for existence. The process he called natural selection. It was in this part of the doctrine that Darwin and Wallace went beyond the conclusions reached by earlier believers in evolution.

These three simple propositions of an unchanging law, an orderly development, and a selection based on fitness and adaptability called forth a complete revolution in scientific

theory. Ancient generalizations were abandoned, and the inner structure of every science had to be rebuilt on a new foundation. The first shock, however, was felt in theology. Fearing that the new doctrine would undermine the entire science of divinity, the theologians flew to arms in opposition to the Darwinian creed. For if the world should accept the doctrine of an evolutionary process in the history of the lower animal life, would not scientists soon insist on applying the same doctrine to the history of man? But such a conclusion they felt would endanger a series of fundamental dogmas based on the story of creation and the fall of man in the garden of Eden.

As Darwin was an invalid the greater part of his mature life, he was unable to bear the brunt of the war with the learned divines. But he was ably and even joyously supported by Huxley and Tyndall, by Lyell and Wallace, and by nearly all the other leaders of the scientific profession. The conflict is not yet over; but it has been discovered on the one hand that Darwinism does not necessarily exclude religious belief and on the other hand that the origin of species has not yet been divested of all its mystery. It is also generally felt that evolution does not, after all, provide the key to the more profound problems of life; and the conflict has consequently lost much of its early bitterness.

History. The emphasis that Darwin and his followers put on orderly progress as the law of life and growth has exerted a profound influence on the study and writing of history. History is the study of what man has done since he first reached a conscious determination to shape and control his surroundings: it is the story of his plans, his expedients, his failures, and his achievements. The theme of the historian is, therefore, nothing less than the doings of all mankind. With the hypothetical antecedents of the human species he has nothing to do. The shadowy beings that hover about the threshold of history are rude and coarse and primitive; but they are men.

Lingard and Grote. During the first half of the nineteenth century the fields of history were being tilled by a series of able writers, three of whom deserve more than a passing mention: John Lingard, George Grote, and Thomas Babington Macaulay. These men all belonged to the historical school of the eighteenth century. They approached their subjects armed

with strong and active prejudices, and they sometimes interpreted the evidence of the sources in the light of their own political or philosophical opinions. Lingard was a Catholic priest whose purpose as a historian was to trace the fortunes of the Roman church throughout the course of English history. Though written from a definitely religious viewpoint, Lingard's *History of England* is, after all, singularly free from religious bias and proves that the scientific standards of the author were high and rigidly held. Grote strove to write his *History of Greece* with due regard for the canons of historical study, as his time understood them. But like the other writers of his generation, Grote had his unfortunate moments, when he forgot his evidence and wrote from the promptings of a stirred imagination. For Grote was a "philosophic radical" who had become interested in Greek democracy, and he wished to reveal the beauties of this democracy to his own countrymen of the early Victorian age. Grote wrote with force and clarity, and some parts of his narrative are still valuable for the study of the ancient Athenian state.

Macaulay and Froude. But what interest the English reading public may have had in Grote or Lingard soon yielded to the compelling charms of a new writer, the great Macaulay. Macaulay's *History of England* began to come from the press in 1848; it was a tremendous success from the very beginning. For no man had ever written an English prose work in a style so striking and at the same time so attractive as that employed in Macaulay's history. The style revealed the essential character of the historian himself: polished, energetic, confident, strong, and sure. In some respects Macaulay was a follower of the famous historian of the eighteenth century, Edward Gibbon: he learned historical writing from Gibbon and appropriated some of the characteristic features of Gibbon's style. But Macaulay strikes a more cheerful note than his great master, for his theme is the triumph of the Whigs in the "Glorious Revolution," a triumph with which the author was in complete sympathy.

The last prominent exponent of the older school of historical writing was James Anthony Froude, whose principal work is a detailed *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*. Froude believed that history is essentially a form of literature and should be composed as one

would compose a drama. For history as a science he did not care. He went to his sources for materials with which to build and to color his drama, not for details that should direct and control the course of his narrative. Frequently his conclusions are reached in the teeth of the evidence. But though his account is sometimes based on erroneous premises, as a literary effort Froude's work is a remarkable achievement, and gives a view of the Tudor period that is always vivid and often correct.

History as a science. Three years after Froude had begun to publish his history, Darwin's *Origin of Species* came from the press and the great controversy was on. The new theory of evolution with its emphasis on continuous and orderly development could not fail to stir up new thoughts in the minds of those who sought to trace the tortuous progress of the human race. History came to be regarded as a vast unity, every fragment of which has its own meaning and its own importance. At the same time the English historians were coming under the influence of the new German school of historical writers, which, while admitting the unity of the subject, insisted on a detailed study of all its various parts. According to this school history is not merely a record of political development but a much wider field involving all the larger activities of the human race.

Stubbs, Green, and Freeman. These ideas were accepted and applied more or less consistently by five later historians of real prominence; William Stubbs, Edward Augustus Freeman, John Richard Green, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, and William E. H. Lecky. All these writers have solid achievements to their credit, but the primacy belongs to Bishop Stubbs. Stubbs understood clearly the demands and the tendencies of modern historical scholarship and was thoroughly trained for historical research. He brought to the preparation of his *Constitutional History of England* a learning so massive and an insight so keen that he seldom erred either in isolated facts or in larger conclusions. Stubbs also rendered valuable service as editor of medieval chronicles and other documents necessary to the study of early English history. In this field his work has not been surpassed.

Green was less learned and less attentive to the limits laid down by his sources, but he was always clear and picturesque in statement, and more clearly than Stubbs he saw the necessity

of treating the history of his country along broad lines. His great contribution to English historical literature is therefore not a mere political history, but a *History of the English People*. Freeman's *History of the Norman Conquest* is a long and laborious effort to gain absolute accuracy and to reproduce what he conceived to be the essential characteristics of the Norman period. But Freeman had certain temperamental defects which prevented him from carrying out his theories successfully, and his keen interest in politics likewise tended to give his writings a somewhat one-sided character.

Lecky and Gardiner. Lecky was born in Ireland and still ranks as the greatest historian that the Irish race has produced. He was deeply interested in the development of ethical ideas and wrote extensively on that subject. His greatest achievement, however, is his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* in which he also deals with events and conditions in his native island. Gardiner devoted almost all his working years to the study of the *Puritan Revolution*. Though not a brilliant writer like some of his contemporaries, he was unusually careful about his facts and showed a remarkable insight into the various movements of the early Stuart period. He continued his research into the Cromwellian period but died before this part of his work had reached completion.

Philosophy: Bentham, Mill, and Spencer. The annals of English philosophy in the nineteenth century have recorded three outstanding names: those of Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer. These men were philosophers in the broader sense of the term; for they were all more interested in the problems of contemporary society than in the usual problems of philosophy. Bentham was keenly concerned with the inequalities of English law; Mill studied politics and political economy; Spencer sought to reconstruct philosophy on the principle that Darwin had applied to biology.

Bentham was born and educated in the eighteenth century and was ready for active work shortly before the outbreak of the French Revolution; but his influence on English thought was not very marked before the Napoleonic wars had come to a close. His ideas were for the time quite radical; he helped to found a radical organ in the *Westminster Review*. Bentham based his conclusions on the principle (not original with him)

of "the greatest good to the greatest number." His philosophic system, so far as he had one, has been rightly termed "utilitarianism." Though Bentham can scarcely rank high as a philosopher, his influence in the field of law and social legislation has been great and enduring.

John Stuart Mill came early under the influence of Bentham and accepted the general features of his system. Like Bentham he was a philosopher in a limited sense only, his chief interest being politics and political economy. In politics he was a liberal of the more advanced type; while the reform bill of 1867 was under discussion he proposed an amendment which would have given the suffrage to women. Perhaps Mill's most interesting contribution to English political thinking is his theory of liberty, based, not on natural right, which he distinctly repudiates, but on the belief that intellectual freedom is needed for the health and vigor of human society.

Herbert Spencer was by profession an engineer but by inclination a student of philosophical problems. He described himself as an "evolutionist," and he seems to have developed a theory of orderly progress some years before Darwin published his *Origin of Species*. But with Darwin's work came what appeared to be an explanation of the vast changes that occurred in the world of life, namely, the new theory of natural selection; Spencer accepted this immediately, at the same time giving the process a more striking term: "the survival of the fittest." It was Spencer's ambition to apply the evolutionary theory to all the great fields of life and existence; and in pursuit of this purpose he wrote and published a great series of works which in his day were regarded as remarkable contributions to the treasuries of human thought. But the task was too great for a single intellect, and the Spencerian theory has not been able to maintain its earlier authority.

Literature: Walter Scott. In the broader field of literature the English mind of the Victorian period reaped a wonderful harvest, greater and more bountiful than that of any other age with the possible exception of the glorious years of Elizabeth. In the year of the Princess Victoria's birth the harvest was indeed rather slight and unpromising. Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth yet had many years to live; but their best work was done. Shelley, Keats, and Byron were busy enriching the

world of poetry with strong and beautiful verse; but their days were already numbered. Keats lived less than two years after Victoria's birth; Shelley perished at sea the next year; Byron followed his friends to the grave two years later.

Though all these men left a deep impress on the thought of the time, the most influential writer of the age was a thrifty Scotsman, who did his best work in prose. In 1814 Walter Scott published the first of his "Waverley Novels" and continued the production at the rate of more than one each year for seventeen years. With the Waverley Novels a new form appeared in literature, — the historical novel. A host of writers in every land have tried to imitate Scott, but it is doubtful whether any one of them has reached the high excellence of the famous romanticist of the Lowlands; for Scott in addition to a bold and fertile imagination had much detailed knowledge of life and manners in the middle ages and followed the facts as closely as the demands of art would permit.

The great Victorian writers. When Victoria ascended the throne as queen of England, five of that wonderful company of writers which was to render her age a glorious one in the history of letters stood ready to greet the youthful sovereign. Carlyle had already found his place as a writer and critic. Tennyson had proved his strength in a series of minor poems which in lyric beauty recalled the verses of Shelley and Keats. Dickens had begun to publish his *Pickwick Papers* and was ready to begin his great series of novels describing the joys and tragedies of everyday life. Disraeli had found a new vein and had already quarried out his first political novel. Elizabeth Barrett (Browning) had written a few strong poems but had not yet acquired a durable fame. As the years passed by new writers came forward to join these, till soon after the middle of the century the company had become a veritable host in numbers and strength.

First came Robert Browning, one of the greatest poets of the age, whose writings combine lyrical strength and profound thinking. Then came Grote with his fervid enthusiasm, Thackeray the great master of satirical writing, John Ruskin, the inspired critic of art and life, and Macaulay, the master of English prose. Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell and Charlotte Brontë began to publish in the same decade, just before the century

had reached its middle years. Charles Kingsley and Matthew Arnold took their places near the front rank about 1850. Charles Reade, George Meredith, and George Eliot claimed a place in the later fifties. Froude was publishing his masterpiece and Darwin was writing his famous work in the same years. Swinburne's melodious verse was first heard in the sixties. Thomas Hardy began to publish about 1870; and with him came Andrew Lang, a young Scotsman of amazing versatility, who was to achieve prominence in many lines.

Writers of the later Victorian period. By 1880 nearly all the great Victorians had passed away or had passed the period of greatest fruitfulness, and a new generation stood ready to take possession of the field. The new group was led by Robert Louis Stevenson, whose earlier tales were published in the decade of the eighties. Stories by Rudyard Kipling, H. Rider Haggard, and A. Conan Doyle appeared in the book stalls a few years later. These four may all be classed as romancers and had consequently something in common. But the eighties also saw the production of literature of a more conventional type: the novels of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the tales and stories of J. M. Barrie, and the earliest plays of A. W. Pinero. Just before the close of the Victorian age two new writers came forward to demand recognition: H. G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw. But these two would scarcely care to be classed as Victorians, holding, as they do, radically different opinions and preaching a different creed.

Literature and social adjustment. It would be futile to attempt in a survey of this sort to discuss the literary art of the nineteenth century or to account for the literary tendencies of the time. For the age was a period of much diversity in thought and purpose and style, some of the major writers having little in common except the audiences which they addressed. Perhaps the Victorians resemble each other most in the liberal spirit that breathes through nearly all their writings. The literary artists of the age sketched their pictures against the background of the industrial revolution, the ruthless progress of which roused their spirits to sympathy and indignation. But the industrial revolution also released and organized a set of new social forces of which the industrial corporation and the labor union may stand as examples. Between the demands of

these newer forces and the traditional arrangements of English society there were constant attempts at adjustment, a process that is reflected from almost every page in the literature of the time. To these demands for social changes most of the Victorian writers responded freely; and in the effort to pry open the gates that still confined British democracy some of them rendered effective assistance. To the close of the century the reform note in English literature is struck clearly and unmistakably, though not always with equal confidence and vigor. The Victorian writers were children of their own time, interested in all its manifold problems and watching intently the grapple of the old with the new.

Poetry and social reform. Scott as a Tory and a romanticist could have little interest in social adjustments; but his contemporaries, Byron and Shelley, were convinced revolutionists. In 1812 Byron addressed the House of Lords in opposition to the demand for stern measures in the case of the Nottingham riots; later in the same year he argued in favor of Catholic emancipation. Before the birth of liberty, wrote Shelley in 1820,

"This divinest universe
Was yet a chaos and a curse."

But Shelley needed much liberty, more than his day could afford.

Tennyson, who loved to write of lords and ladies, never strayed very far from the aristocracy; yet he, too, was singularly responsive to all popular movements. Nearly every stirring in the British soul, from romantic enthusiasm to prosy feminism, found an echo in Tennyson's verse. Having received his strongest impressions in the period of the first reform movement, it is not strange that he should dream (in 1842) of a constantly changing world moving forward to a better and finer day. A year later Mrs. Browning (she was still Miss Barrett) published her vigorous poem, the *Cry of the Children*, which proved a most effective argument in favor of factory reform.

The reform note in English prose. Benjamin Disraeli, though not a very ardent reformer in the House of Commons, was a very genuine one in his novels, especially in *Coningsby*, the burden of which is the unsatisfactory condition of English

politics, and in *Sibyl*, in which he argues for social reform. A far more effective force was Charles Dickens, whose novels are nearly all devoted to the cause of the lowly and the humble in English life. Dickens describes the horrors of the workhouse, the ludicrous methods of the English schools, the endless delays of the courts, and the hopeless existence in the prisons for debt. When it is remembered that "4000 persons were sometimes arrested for debt in a single year," the importance of the debtors' prison is readily understood. Only a dozen years after the publication of *Little Dorrit* imprisonment for debt was abolished.

About 1850 the English reading public began to form the acquaintance of a new poet, Matthew Arnold. Arnold eventually proved to be greater in criticism than in poetry, though he was not without distinction in the art of verse. For the greater part of his active life he served the government as inspector of schools; and his reports in this capacity were a powerful force in the movement for the establishment of a rational system of public education. For Arnold not only drew up reports, but he wrote them with such care and in such attractive English that they were read by men who ordinarily gave little time to such writings. His persistent warning, "one thing is needful, organize your secondary education," was finally heeded, perhaps more thoroughly than Arnold had dared to hope.

The tradition of Charles Dickens was continued by Charles Reade, whose first successful novel was published in 1854. Reade is best remembered for his famous historical novel, the *Cloister and the Hearth*; but most of his stories deal with contemporary English life and were intended as trumpet calls in the cause of reform. What Dickens had done for paupers and debtors, Reade tried to do for the inmates of jails and insane asylums. He also dealt with the methods of trade unions and described the sordid existence of village life. Reade's contemporary, Charles Kingsley, was a clergyman and a Christian Socialist. Though he did not allow his radical opinions to appear in all his novels, Kingsley's whole life was a long sympathetic endeavor to help the poor and the afflicted.

The prophets of protest. Nearly all the Victorian writers accepted the industrial revolution as a necessary movement in the economic development of the nation. Their protest was

not against these revolutionary changes themselves, but against the failure of society to deal promptly and adequately with the new conditions. But those were not wanting who regarded the entire movement as an essentially evil thing. The two great prophets of this belief were Thomas Carlyle and John Ruskin. Carlyle saw in the industrial revolution a monstrous thing, wholly and hopelessly materialistic, the progress of which was crushing out the spiritual instincts of the English people. Ruskin, who was first of all a devotee of art, hated the movement, not because it was evil, but because it was responsible for so much ugliness in English life. Where once there were beauty and picturesque surroundings, the English captains of industry had built ugly factories and had created ugly tenements where impoverished factory hands lived a life that at least was not beautiful. But neither Carlyle nor Ruskin won much distinction as social reformers. Their voices were drowned in the hum and roar of machinery, and their pleas for a return to a simpler life received no serious hearing.

Among the minor prophets of Ruskin's faith the primacy must be given to William Morris, whose range of interest included the entire domain of art. Poet, painter, and architect, Morris lived his life in the pursuit of beauty. His influence was extensive, not only among his fellow-craftsmen, but on the public at large. Like Ruskin, Morris regarded English society as singularly unbeautiful, but he hoped that Socialism might become the force that would some day release English life from the spell of ugliness. But Socialism proved too rigid and too formal for the poet's gentle, imaginative, and somewhat anarchistic mind; after a few years of zealous adherence he lost all interest in the Socialistic propaganda.

The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Early in his career as an artist Morris came under the influence of a young group of painters who were commonly known as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. This brotherhood was formed about 1848 by a small company of artists, seven or eight in number, who had reached an understanding as to what they regarded as the fundamental needs of English art. The impulse that led to the forming of the society came from John Everett Millais, who is usually ranked as the foremost English painter of his own time; but the real leader of the brotherhood was Dante Gabriel Ros-

setti, who, like Morris, was a poet as well as a painter. These young men felt that art in England had become too completely overlaid with conventions, that it was no longer truthful, and that it did not represent life as it is. These conventions having begun to appear in the days of the great Raphael, the brotherhood assumed the name Pre-Raphaelite. They held that artists should disregard conventional treatment and should paint what they saw. Their watchword was "sincerity," and in the agreement to be sincere they were a unit; otherwise each went his own artistic way. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was in its day immensely influential, and its watchword became the keynote of British art.

The genesis of the Oxford movement. In the earlier years of the Victorian age a terrific conflict was raging in the English church, a controversy which eventually culminated in a notable secession from the Anglican ranks toward the standards of Roman Catholicism. The so-called Oxford movement began to show signs of life in 1830, but did not take actual form before the summer of 1833. Its main sources were three: (1) a profound dissatisfaction with the dormant state of religion in the established churches, shared especially by those who adhered to the Evangelical party; (2) a growing enthusiasm for the medieval past, a fervor that fed on the novels of Sir Walter Scott, the great series of which had just been completed; (3) a haunting fear that the movement in the direction of Liberal reform might eventually prove to be a danger to the rights of the church.

It was this feeling of fear that precipitated the movement. In 1827 the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed and the dissenters admitted to full citizen rights. The following year Catholics were admitted to the House of Commons and consequently to an equal share with Protestants in legislation affecting the interests of the Anglican church. In 1832 the franchise was extended to new classes, some of which had no vital interest in maintaining the establishment. The new régime had shown its tendency in an act abolishing thirteen bishoprics in the Episcopal church in Ireland. In the words of Froude, "the Whigs in those days were to young Oxford apostles the forerunners of Antichrist;" and the English clergy rallied to the support of the establishment.

The principles of the movement. The leaders of the movement did not stop with a general demonstration of loyalty. Having meditated long on the difficult state of the church, they had come to feel the importance of certain doctrines which they deemed necessary to the life of Anglicanism. The English church, they held, should not be regarded as a child of the Reformation but as an ecclesiastical body with a continuous history leading back through the centuries to the days of the Apostles. This connection they found in what has been called "Apostolic succession." By this they meant that all the bishops ordained in England had been consecrated by properly ordained predecessors in a series leading back to Apostolic times. Some of the leaders also wished to emphasize the doctrine of tradition, which meant to them that a certain authority adhered to the teachings of the earlier leaders in the church. The doctrine of the Apostolic succession was received with considerable favor; but the companion doctrine, that the Scriptures are not the only source of religious truth but may be supplemented by the teachings of a long tradition, met defiant opposition in all the various Anglican camps.

Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, a professor of Hebrew at Oxford and a man of vast and exact learning, was the intellectual leader of the party; but its greatest individual force was John Henry Newman, an English priest with a somewhat mystical temperament and a strong love for the historic treasures of the church. The movement found an organ for its propaganda in a series of pamphlets prepared by the more prominent leaders under the common title of *Oxford Tracts* or *Tracts for the Times*. The first of these appeared in 1833 and others followed at intervals till the series came to an abrupt close early in 1841 with the famous "No. 90."

The secession to Rome. In this tract Newman argued that the distance from Oxford to Rome was not so great as was generally supposed. He believed that English churchmen, while loyally accepting the Thirty-nine Articles, should find little difficulty in also accepting the dogmas of the Catholic church as these were understood in 1841. The tract created an immediate sensation; the new party broke into fragments. For Newman and his followers there was nothing to do but to retreat to the positions held ten years earlier, or to go forward

towards Catholicism. Some of them chose the latter alternative. In 1845 Newman was received into the communion of the Roman Catholic church. With him went about sixty clergymen, and a number of others followed in the course of time. Among the laity, however, there seems to have been no serious defection. Pusey remained faithful to the established church and continued as the leader of the high church forces.

Parties and tendencies in the Anglican church. The Oxford movement had important results for the inner life of the Anglican church. Before 1833 the leading tendencies were still the high church and the Evangelical, neither of which showed any excessive zeal for the duties of the vineyard. The former high churchmen were characterized as "high and dry;" while the Evangelicals are said to have been "great on platforms and profuse of eloquence at tea-meetings." But the controversy of the thirties changed all this and produced a type of clergymen who regarded their duties and their office in a more serious light. The movement further served to intensify the feeling between the high and low church partisans, between those who emphasized the importance of the sacraments and the ritual and those who did not. But it also led to the formation of a new camp within the church, the so-called Broad Church movement, which counted among its leaders the great schoolmaster Thomas Arnold. The broad churchmen were indifferent to the conflict over the ritual; their chief desire was to change the organization of the church so as to allow the members of the various dissenting denominations to enter the establishment without surrendering their distinctive beliefs and practices.

The older Free Churches. While these tendencies were developing within the established church, important movements were going forward in the Free Churches. Of the many dissenting sects only a few enjoyed a vigorous existence. The Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, and the Quakers have had a continuous history since the Puritan Revolution. Unitarianism, though an ancient movement, did not take definite form in the British Isles before the eighteenth century. The Unitarian churches have never been numerous, but the intellectual quality of their membership is relatively high. Much the same may be said of the Quakers, whose membership has in recent years shown a definite decline in numbers. At the

same time their influence in English society (due perhaps to the abandonment of early peculiarities in dress and speech and to a more friendly attitude toward the various forms of art) has measurably increased.

During the course of the century two tendencies have appeared prominently in the history of the Free Churches: a tendency toward a closer union among the congregations of Independent origin and a demand for a more democratic form of church administration among those that grew out of the Wesleyan movement. In response to the former demand the Congregational churches after two centuries of experience with the theory of local independency forsook to some extent the principles of the Scrooby congregation and organized a closer fellowship called the Congregational Union of England and Wales. Toward the close of the Victorian period the leading groups among the Baptist organizations were united into a single Baptist Union, which now includes nearly all the Baptist churches of the British Isles. In the eighteenth century English Presbyterianism, so promising in the Stuart period, gradually disintegrated, its churches becoming either Congregational or Unitarian. The Presbyterian churches of England of the present time are largely Scottish in origin, organized by Scotsmen settled in England and directed by ministers educated in Scottish schools. In 1876 the various Presbyterian groups were organized into a Presbyterian Church of England. Presbyterianism is strong in London and in some of the northern counties; elsewhere it has only a slight following.

Methodism. The Methodist church began to take on the character of a denomination in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Under the leadership of Jabez Bunting, a preacher of great power who succeeded to the highest place of influence a few years after Wesley's death, Methodism grew steadily in strength. John Wesley had little faith in democracy and had left his church movement in clerical control. Bunting believed that the laity should have a share in the government of the denomination; but little was accomplished in this respect before 1877 when it was agreed to reorganize the Wesleyan conference as a body made up in equal numbers of ministers and laymen.

The reluctance of the clerical element to allow lay participation in the control of the church led to the formation of

several Methodist bodies outside the regular denomination, the most important of which is the Primitive Methodist church. The leaders of the new connection were men of notable zeal and fervor, and Primitive Methodism spread rapidly, especially among the poorer classes which the missionaries of the new movement regarded as their peculiar charge.

The Salvation Army. During the sixties a kindred movement was initiated by William Booth, an unattached Methodist preacher with a strong interest in the fortunes of the poor. In 1865 Booth commenced preaching in the slums of London with signal success. Out of his work grew the Salvation Army, a movement with a military organization, the essential features of which were adopted in 1880. The Salvation Army has not been content with the conquest of a limited area but has sent its soldiery forth into almost every part of the Christian world.

The conflict in the Scottish church. While these movements were agitating the churches in England, a violent battle was being fought in Scotland which led to the formation of a new religious body. Though the state church in Scotland is Presbyterian, all forms of Presbyterianism are not included within the establishment. An age-long grievance of the Scottish congregations was that they were not wholly free to select their own pastors. The support of the minister in most of the churches was drawn (as in the Anglican church) principally from old endowments given to support the pastor's office, in return for which the donor, and his heirs after him, enjoyed the right to nominate the new minister whenever a vacancy should occur. This was called patronage. Usually the nominee, if reasonably competent, would be given the position. There had long been a vigorous objection to this practice, and in 1843 the conflict reached a crisis. More than a third of the Presbyterian ministry, led by the famous philosopher and theologian Thomas Chalmers, seceded from the establishment and organized the Free Church of Scotland. Patronage was abolished in 1874, but the schism was not healed. The Free Church maintained an independent existence till 1900, when it united with another Presbyterian body, the United Presbyterian Church, to form the United Free Church. A small group of congregations located chiefly in the Highlands refused to enter the union and have continued the organization of the original Free Church.

The new trade unionism. A movement of tremendous significance, political as well as economic, was a protracted agitation in the ranks of labor, which eventually massed a majority of the industrial workers, skilled as well as unskilled, under the standards of trade unionism. During the second half of the century the trade union membership was increasing yearly at a rapid rate. A trade union congress held in 1874 claimed to represent more than a million members. But in spite of this strength little was accomplished in the matter of hours and wages. Dissatisfied with the leadership of the older men, a younger element began to agitate (about 1886) in favor of a "new unionism." The newer unionists placed the emphasis on labor as a class rather than on the separate trades. They preached loyalty not only to the individual unions but to the union movement as a whole. At the same time they taught that the state should by legislation and otherwise seek to promote the welfare of the industrial workers. After a few years these teachings were generally accepted throughout the ranks of organized labor. Without discarding the older methods, the leaders of unionism began to depend more and more on political action to promote the cause of the workers.

Socialism. The appearance of this new spirit in unionism was due in part to the spread of a new economic doctrine, that of Socialism. Socialistic ideas have arisen at various times and in many places; but the system that is now called Socialism originated with a group of thinkers on the Continent among whom Karl Marx, a German journalist, was the most notable. After the revolution of 1848 Marx was expelled from Germany and found refuge in England. Here he wrote his famous book on "Capitalism," which has since been accepted as the creed and the text book of the Socialistic movement.

Socialism began to take form in England in 1881 when the followers of Marx organized a Social Democratic Federation. Among the earlier members of this body was William Morris who for a brief period gave most of his energies to the new cause. During the same decade the Fabian Society was founded by a group of Socialists who were more interested in propaganda than in politics. Among the members of this society were G. Bernard Shaw, the Irish critic and dramatist, and Sidney Webb, a lawyer and pamphleteer, who is still one of the mainstays of

the Socialist movement in Britain. In the early nineties an Independent Labor party was founded which very soon came to be reckoned as the political expression of the Socialistic sentiment in the kingdom.

Feminism. Toward the close of her reign the queen was somewhat disturbed by a movement among the women of the kingdom, an agitation that is sometimes called feminism. The purpose of the feminist leaders was to secure the repeal of all laws discriminating against women. Their greatest anxiety was to secure the ballot, inasmuch as the right to vote, aside from the power that the ballot carries with it, is regarded as the highest symbol of citizenship. But there were other rights that were almost equally dear. Among these were the right to an education not conventionally feminine, the right to work for a university degree, the right to hold and to dispose of property even when married, and the right to practice the learned professions.

It is scarcely possible to give a definite date to the origin of feminism, but its course began to run with some strength in the closing years of the sixties. The agitation was helped immensely by the fact that women all through the century had achieved eminence in literature, in philanthropic endeavor, and in various other fields. In 1817 Elizabeth Gurney Fry, a Quaker "minister" who had always been profoundly sympathetic toward the weak and the unfortunate, commenced her visits to Newgate prison out of which grew a powerful movement for prison reform. A few years later Harriet Martineau, a woman with a vigorous and thoughtful, though somewhat restless, mind, began her long career as a writer and agitator in the cause of social reform. The work of Florence Nightingale, "the lady with the lamp," has been referred to elsewhere. In literature George Eliot and Mrs. Humphry Ward displayed a power that won almost immediate recognition.

Progress of the feminist movement. The chronology of successful feminism begins with 1848 when Queen's College, London, was founded for the higher education of women. In 1870 Anna Jemima Clough founded Newnham College in Cambridge, and ten years later London University began the practice of granting degrees to women. At present there are several important women's colleges in Great Britain, and nearly all

the universities have opened their classrooms to women students. The first woman physician in the kingdom was Elizabeth Blackwell, who had received her medical education in the United States and who was registered in England in 1859. Mrs. Elizabeth Anderson who had studied privately was, after much discouraging effort, finally licensed by the Society of Apothecaries in 1865. During the next few years women stormed the strongholds of medical education and in 1876 Parliament passed an act "enabling" all medical schools to give their degrees to women.

An important move in the direction of a greater economic freedom was the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 by which these women were protected in their own earnings and in such property as might come to them by inheritance. The agitation for woman suffrage began to show real strength in 1867 when the various societies organized to promote the cause were formed into a National Union. In the same year John Stuart Mill began to urge the enfranchisement of women in the House of Commons. Fifty years were to pass before the agitation should become wholly successful: but under the stress of war masculine reluctance gave way and in 1918 the British women were given the ballot.

The jubilees of 1887 and 1897. In 1887 the kingdom and the empire joined with Queen Victoria in a magnificent celebration of her fiftieth anniversary as queen of Great Britain and Ireland. Ten years later an even more splendid pageant passed through the streets of London in commemoration of her sixtieth anniversary. In these celebrations all the world came forward to give assistance, for the aged queen at Windsor was everywhere held in high regard. At the same time Great Britain paused to contemplate its own greatness and found that it was wonderful and good.

The close of the Victorian age. The Victorian day was closing in a splendid sunset; but the future looked ominous. The empire showed greater loyalty than ever before, though in the distance one could hear the rumble of the Boer War. War of another sort was raging in the markets of the world where competition seemed to grow keener with every passing year. The English economists pondered uneasily on the fact that the total value of British exports was not keeping pace with the value

of the imports. England was greater than ever before, but her poverty was also greater.

The queen was aging rapidly. After the year of her second jubilee she was no longer a real force in the government. Apparently she realized that a new day was dawning, a day that could not please her. Her own age was already past. The great Victorians had nearly all of them gone to their final reward. Tennyson, the chief glory of the Victorian literature, whose tender and hopeful verses in his great poem *In Memoriam* had comforted the widowed queen in the year of her bereavement, had crossed the bar in 1892. As the century closed English readers were turning to the virile, though somewhat cynical, poems of Rudyard Kipling, whose writings the queen could neither appreciate nor understand. Whig as she was in her ideas of property, it was impossible for her to enjoy the Socialistic writings of Shaw and Wells. In her last days she was profoundly saddened by the tragedies of the South African War. On January 22, 1901, she took leave of earthly things, and her son Edward ruled in her stead.

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE FOURTH REFORM MOVEMENT

Industrial problems of the Victorian age. When the Reformed Parliament in 1863 began to enact its great series of social and industrial reforms, England was still the workshop of the world. Every year her output of manufactured products increased in amount and value; every year her foreign commerce showed greater totals. Where there was so much work to be done, there should be no difficulty, it would seem, to secure employment. There was, however, a tendency among factory owners to employ cheap labor; for a long time much of the lighter work was done by children, and women were sometimes found engaged in tasks that were suited rather to the strength of men. The hours were long and the employer showed little interest in the welfare of the laborer. In those days it was believed that, if the conditions under which men and women labored were improved, all would be well. With shorter hours, with the elimination of child labor, and with proper restrictions on the labor of women, able-bodied men would surely find suitable work, and with regular employment would come prosperity and contentment.

The problem of unemployment. Yet, when the nineteenth century came to its close, England was greatly disturbed by the presence of hundreds of thousands of men who were temporarily or almost permanently out of work. For this there were several reasons. In the century that closed with 1911, the population of Great Britain had increased more than three-fold; at the same time the demand for labor did not show a corresponding increase. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century various other countries, notably Germany and the United States had developed strongly along industrial lines and were now competing with the British merchants in the markets of the world. Consequently there was no longer the demand for English wares that there had been some years





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earlier; nor is it likely that English industry will ever regain the place that it once held in the commerce of the world.

There was, therefore, a large and growing host of men and women who were unable to find a definite place in the field of organized industry and were consequently forced to seek a precarious income as "casual" laborers. It is clear that an unskilled workman who is not regularly employed can make no adequate provision for the future; and to some extent this is true of the working classes generally. The rise in wages does not always keep pace with the increase in the cost of living. Elderly workmen are frequently without employment and without income. Illness often deprives a laborer of his income for a time, and an accident may render him permanently unable to work at the trade that he is best prepared to follow. These and other causes had brought millions to the verge of actual want. Charitable men and women were doing much to relieve the distress, and organizations like the Salvation Army were working faithfully in the more impoverished sections of the larger cities. But thinking men of all parties had begun to feel that there could be no improvement before the entire nation was willing to bring systematic relief.

The "khaki election." 1900. While the Boer War was still in progress the Unionist government had dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. For several months the Boer commandos had suffered defeats in every important encounter; their states had been overrun by the English and annexed to the empire; and Englishmen felt sure that the war was practically over. In the "khaki election" that followed (October, 1900) patriotic British voters rallied about the candidates who were favorable to the government, and the Unionists were returned to the House of Commons in overwhelming majority; out of a total membership of 670 they elected 402.

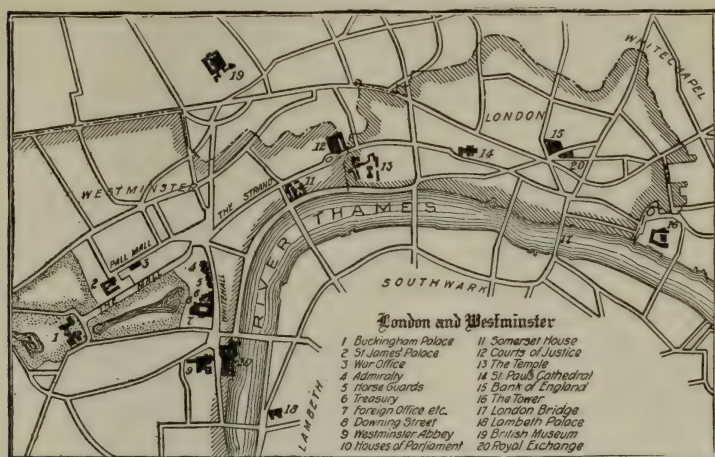
Division in the Unionist party. Joseph Chamberlain, who had risen to great influence in the Unionist party, sympathized actively with the cause of social reform; but most of the leaders of his party were more anxious to safeguard the rights of property than to vote funds for the relief of the poor. Arthur James Balfour, who succeeded Lord Salisbury as prime minister in 1902, made a feeble move in the direction of reform with three bills that were planned to relieve the distress. One of

these failed outright and the third was amended to such an extent as to become practically valueless (1905).

Imperialists and "Little Englanders." Nor could much be hoped from the Liberal party. For a decade following the failure of the second Home Rule Bill Gladstone's great following was thoroughly demoralized. The Liberals were not wholly in agreement as to Irish home rule; but the Boer war had proved a source of even greater discord. The radicals were bitterly opposed to what some of them termed "Mr. Chamberlain's War." The leaders among these "Little Englanders," as the Unionists termed them, were John Morley and David Lloyd George, a brilliant lawyer and debater who rose to great prominence in the government a few years later. On the other hand there was an important group of "Liberal Imperialists," who believed in the extension of British influence and territory and loyally supported the government in the prosecution of the war in South Africa. Among the leaders of this faction H. H. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey were still prominent. There was, however, no member of either house who seemed able to harmonize these factions and give the Liberal party effective leadership. In 1899 Sir William Harcourt resigned his duties as political guide of the Liberal forces, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was chosen to succeed him; but the new leader was not possessed of striking abilities and for a time his party refused to take him seriously.

The decline of Toryism. In 1895 the country was in a Tory mood, in the next two or three years it developed an imperialistic mood; and it seemed as if Unionism was given an indefinite tenure of office. But after 1900 these moods were less in evidence; at any rate the drift of public sentiment seemed to be strongly in the direction of more Liberal policies. For this change in sentiment there were various causes. For one thing the leaders in the Unionist government were old men or young aristocrats, lords and relatives of lords, men who were satisfied with the world and could see no justification in the complaints of the masses. Among those who held high office or ranked among the controlling party leaders were the prime minister, Lord Salisbury, his two sons, Lord Cranborne and Hugh Cecil, and his nephew, A. J. Balfour. The opposition frequently spoke of the government as the "Hotel Cecil, Limited."

There was, moreover, a growing dissatisfaction with the barren character of the domestic policy of the Conservative ministry. For twenty years (1886-1905) no great measure for social improvement had found a place in the statute books. The



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efforts of the Tories to deal with new situations were half-hearted and ineffective and were frequently defeated within the party itself.

The Education Act of 1902. In 1902 the Unionists alienated a powerful element in English political life by the passage of a new Education Act. In many respects the new law was an improvement over the older system; but like the earlier it recognized the voluntary church schools to the extent of giving them aid from the local taxes. This provision gave great offence to the Nonconformists, who did not relish the thought of having to contribute money to the support of Anglican or Roman Catholic institutions. Thousands of Nonconformists refused to pay their local taxes, and the rates in these cases had to be collected by action of the courts.

The conduct of the Boer War. After the "khaki election" there further developed a general dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war. It was charged, and with some justice, that there had been gross inefficiency and incompetency in the war department. So intense did the feeling become against Lord

Lansdowne that it was found expedient to transfer him from the war department to the foreign office. A year later (1901) the fire of criticism was suddenly turned upon Lord Kitchener's policy of pacification in South Africa. It had been discovered that supposedly non-combatant farmers were giving assistance to the Dutch guerilla bands, and Lord Kitchener promptly ordered that the homesteads of such farmers should be burned. But this destruction rendered many women and children homeless, and to save them the English had to gather them into great "concentration camps." In spite of honest efforts to maintain sanitary conditions, the death rate in these camps soon rose to a frightfully high figure. In 1901 reliable reports from the concentration areas north of the Orange River began to reach England, and enthusiasm for imperialistic ventures cooled perceptibly.

Chamberlain's tariff policy. The great opportunity came to the Liberals in May, 1903, when Joseph Chamberlain returned from the Cape country where he had spent the preceding South African summer months. In an address delivered to his constituents in Birmingham he advocated the organization of the empire into an economic unit bound together by a system of preferential tariffs. In the discussion that followed he proposed that England should surrender her policy of free trade and frankly adopt the expedient of a protective tariff. Such a policy, he held, would in a measure exclude foreign merchants from British colonial markets; at the same time it would secure British markets for British wares, stimulate production, remove the dangers of unemployment, and provide the exchequer with funds that might be used for the purpose of social improvement.

New political alignments. With a view to devoting all his energies to his campaign for "tariff reform," Chamberlain, later in the year, withdrew from the Cabinet. About the same time five other members, all free traders, also resigned their ministerial offices. The Cecil family organized a vigorous opposition to Chamberlain inside the Unionist party; and Winston Churchill, a son of Lord Randolph Churchill, even left the Conservatives and took a seat on the Liberal side of the house. At the same time the warring fragments of Gladstone's great party were getting ready to bury their differences. The Liberal chiefs agreed to forget the Boer War, to ignore, so far as pos-

sible, the Irish question, to stand as a unit in defense of free trade, and to make a fight for social reform along the lines of the Newcastle program. The leadership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was accepted by both factions and the Unionists were attacked with vigor both in and out of Parliament.

Resignation of the Balfour ministry. As nearly all the by-elections (special elections to fill vacancies in Parliament) were now going against the Unionists, and as he could no longer depend on all the Conservative members to vote for government measures, Balfour began to realize that neither the Cabinet nor the House of Commons correctly represented the prevailing state of the public mind. Reluctant to call new elections in the divided state of his party, the prime minister continued with a mild program of social legislation; but his plans broke down and in December, 1905, he and his Cabinet resigned.

The Campbell-Bannerman ministry. 1905-1908. King Edward immediately summoned Campbell-Bannerman to take office as prime minister. A few days later the new Cabinet list was made public: with the single exception of Lord Rosebery, all the Liberal chiefs had accepted appointments. Asquith was chancellor of the exchequer. Sir Edward Grey was at the foreign office, and R. B. Haldane (who had achieved some fame as a student of philosophy) was in the war department. John Morley was secretary of state for India. Herbert Gladstone was in the home office, and David Lloyd George was president of the board of trade. With some changes the cabinet that Campbell-Bannerman organized in December, 1905, continued in charge of the administration till May, 1915, when it was succeeded by a coalition ministry.

The Liberal victory of 1906. A general election was held in January, 1906, in which the Liberals won a sweeping victory. Since 1832 no political party had returned to Parliament with so great a majority. Out of 670 members the Unionists elected only 157. The Irish Home Rulers counted 83. But when Parliament met a new party made its appearance in the House of Commons: a Labor party which had elected 29 members and could count on the active support of 22 other labor members who preferred to be classed as Liberals.

The labor unions in politics. The new party was an organization of labor unions for political action. From the days of

Chartism the unions had been relatively harmless bodies down to 1889, when the workingmen won several important strikes. The most important of these was the great dock strike, which seriously tied up the shipping of London. The strike was led by John Burns, a strong and resourceful labor leader who later became a member of Parliament and a Cabinet minister. After the successes of 1889 the unions grew more aggressive and also more tolerant of Socialistic teachings. In 1892 four labor members took seats in the House of Commons among them the redoubtable John Burns. The following year the English Socialists organized an "Independent Labor Party" (the I. L. P.) "with the object of securing the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange." In the next election, however, nearly all its candidates were beaten.

The Taff Vale decision. 1901. These new developments in the labor movement naturally led to a decided reaction among the employing classes. It was agreed in many quarters that labor organizations were in reality corporations which might be held responsible for damages to property caused by strikes. In August, 1900, the employés of the Taff Vale Railway, a line of some importance in southeastern Wales, called a strike, the outcome of which proved of far-reaching importance in British politics. For later in the same year the injured corporation brought suit against the unions concerned for damages. The case finally reached the House of Lords on appeal and in 1901 the law lords announced a decision that the labor unions were corporations and as such could be held responsible as the Taff Vale Railway Company had contended. Two years later the railway unions paid the Taff Vale Company £23,000 in costs and damages.

The new Labor party. The Taff Vale decision caused much uneasiness among the unions. They could still call strikes, but a strike, even if successful, might endanger their funds. Even before the strike had been called in the valley of the Taff, some of the labor leaders had come to believe that more could be accomplished through political action than by industrial warfare. Early in 1900 the Independent Labor party entered into an alliance with the Socialists and certain trade-union elements with a view to securing legislation favorable to organized labor. Out of this alliance developed a new Labor party which, though

not wholly committed to the creed of Socialism, looked with favor on the legislative program of the Socialistic groups. In September, 1905, a trade union congress declared for municipal trading and banking, for nationalization of mines, railways, and canals, for free trade, for free education through all of its various stages, and for old age pensions. On this platform the Labor party fought its first real campaign (1906), contesting fifty Parliamentary seats. It has since extended its organization throughout the greater part of the kingdom and has developed considerable strength, especially in mining and manufacturing centers.

The Trades Disputes Bill and the Workingmen's Compensation Act. 1906. One of the earliest measures to be accepted by the new Parliament was a Trades Disputes Bill, which was intended to legalize "peaceful picketing" and to secure labor unions against suits for damages in cases of strikes. As the Unionists a few months earlier had tried to pass a similar measure, the bill did not meet with much opposition in the lower house, but the lords accepted it with evident distaste (1906).

Parliament also passed several bills of great importance to the working classes in general: among these a Workingmen's Compensation Act had first place on the calendar. It frequently happens in mines, factories, and other industrial plants that workers meet with accidents which result in serious injuries, in dangerous diseases, and even in death. The Workingmen's Compensation Act makes the employer liable to render compensation in such cases to the injured worker or to his family. This measure had also had a place on Balfour's unfortunate reform program, and met with little opposition.

Haldane's army reforms. The chief interest in the Parliamentary session of 1907 centered in a plan to reorganize the army, proposed by the secretary of state for war. Haldane's plan aimed at the formation of a volunteer force of sufficient strength and training to repel any attempt to invade the British Isles. He proposed to combine the various volunteer organizations in the kingdom into a single unified "territorial force." The proposal met strong opposition from the members of a new National Service League who believed that conscription alone could provide an adequate force even for defensive purposes.

The Haldane scheme was adopted, and the territorials proved an important branch of the military service in 1914.

The Asquith ministry. 1908-1916. Early in 1908 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman resigned his position as prime minister and withdrew from public life. His successor was H. H. Asquith, the chancellor of the exchequer. This led to certain changes in the Cabinet, the most important being the promotion of David Lloyd George to the exchequer. Winston Churchill succeeded Lloyd George as president of the board of trade.

The Old Age Pension Law. 1908. The most notable achievement of the political year 1908 was the enactment of an Old Age Pension Law. The bill provided that a pension should be paid to all persons above the age of seventy, whose "yearly means as calculated under this act do not exceed thirty-one pounds, ten shillings" (about \$153). Half a million men and women were in this way made eligible to pensions. The amount paid varies from one shilling to five shillings per week according to the income of the recipient. The Unionists criticized the measure very freely but only a few voted against it. The House of Lords attempted to amend the bill in certain important particulars but finally accepted it without changes.

Other social legislation. During the same years (1906-1908) Parliament passed several other bills looking toward the betterment of social conditions. A Provision of Meals Act authorized the local school authorities to provide meals for hungry school children attending the elementary schools. This bill originated in the Labor party but received cordial support from the government (1906). Two years later the ministry through the home office presented a bill "to consolidate and amend the law relating to the protection of children and young persons, reformatory and industrial schools, and juvenile offenders" and other matters affecting the environment of neglected and dependent children (1908).

In the hope of reducing unemployment Winston Churchill came forward with a Labor Exchange Bill which was accepted quite cheerfully by all parties. This Act authorized the Board of Trade to establish labor exchanges in any part of the kingdom and even to advance money "by way of loan toward meeting expenses of work people traveling to places where employment has been found for them through a labor exchange." The

authority was taken seriously and the Board soon had more than 200 such exchanges in operation. A companion measure, the Trade Board Act, sought to remove the worst evils of sweatshop labor by establishing local trade boards with authority to fix minimum wages in certain specified trades and to enforce the demand for sanitary conditions in the shops. A House and Town Planning Act, largely the work of John Burns, enabled the local authorities to remove unsightly and unsanitary buildings and to replace them with structures built according to modern demands and ideas. The purpose of the housing provisions of the bill was to secure better homes for the working classes. It was reported in 1901 that one-half of the population of Glasgow (about 400,000) lived in one or two rooms. In many of the other industrial centers the housing situation was equally serious. The government also succeeded in securing the acceptance of a Development Bill authorizing the treasury to assist local administrative bodies with loans and even with grants for the development of agriculture, rural industry, and forestry, and for the improvement of roads, harbors, fisheries, inland waterways, and other important public works. These four measures were all enacted in 1909.

Failure of the Education Bills. Though the legislative activity of these four years had in a measure redeemed the campaign pledges of the Liberal chiefs, the program of the party was by no means exhausted. Several of the more important proposals had failed to reach the statute books, having been rejected by the House of Lords, where at least four-fifths of the membership belonged to the Unionist party. The first real clash between the two houses came when the government tried to amend the Education Act of 1902. In the election of 1906 about 200 Nonconformists were returned to the House of Commons as Liberals; and they all demanded such a modification of the education law as should relieve them of paying taxes to support Anglican schools. The government responded with a bill providing for continued financial support for the voluntary denominational schools, but providing further that they were to be used as public schools only five days in the week; on Saturday and Sunday they were to be at the disposal of their managers for religious instruction; but this instruction was not to be supported by public funds or given by the teachers

regularly employed by the public school authorities. The House of Lords refused to accept the bill (1906). Twice at later dates the government returned to the problem but without success.

Failure of the Plural Voting Bill. Another important measure that the Lords threw out was the Plural Voting Bill. As late as 1918 an English voter might cast a ballot in every Parliamentary district where he had property interests. The fact that all districts did not vote on the same day, the election extending over nearly two weeks, made it possible for wealthy men to vote in several constituencies; it is said that in 1911 there were men who voted seventeen times. As most of the wealthy men were Unionists, that party benefited most from plural voting.

Failure of the Licensing Bill. In 1908 the Cabinet turned its attention to the matter of intemperance. A licensing bill was passed by the House of Commons the purpose of which was to reduce the number of dramshops in the kingdom. It was proposed to abolish 30,000 of these, but to make the process a gradual one extending over fourteen years. The owners of the licenses that might be called in were to receive a certain amount of compensation, to be provided by the liquor trade itself. Both of the great parties were pledged to the principle of this reform; but when the bill reached the House of Lords it met opposition and was rejected.

The budget of 1909. The disagreement between the two houses threatened to become serious in 1909, when Lloyd George presented the budget of that year. A budget is a careful estimate of the probable expenses of the government for the year to come, accompanied by a plan of taxation which the chancellor of the exchequer believes will yield sufficient revenues to meet these expenses. Lloyd George proposed to make use of all the older forms of taxation, such as the income tax, the inheritance tax, and the customary duties on liquor and tobacco; but he also proposed to employ expedients that were new to British finance. Large incomes (more than £5,000) were not only to pay the regular income tax but also an additional tax called a super-tax. There was further to be a heavy tax (50 percent) on the value of all licenses held by the liquor trade. But what interested the nation most was Lloyd George's plan for taxing the land: he proposed to confiscate a part of the "unearned

increment." In many places land had risen greatly in value through no effort of owner or tenant but because important improvements had been made on neighboring properties; this increase is called the unearned increment. The proposition was that the state should have a valuation made of all the land in the kingdom, and whenever any lot, farm, or estate should pass to a new tenant on the expiration of a lease, or to a new owner by sale or inheritance, the state should take one-fifth of the increase in value since the last valuation or since the last payment of the tax, except in the case of small holdings and agricultural lands which were to be exempt. The Budget also provided for a tax on undeveloped land above the value of £50 per acre.

These provisions had a double purpose: to produce revenue and to strike a blow at the English land monopoly. The bulk of the land in Great Britain is still owned by a few thousand aristocratic families. In addition to valuable lands elsewhere the duke of Westminster owns 600 acres in London. The duke of Sutherland is credited with more than 1,000,000 acres. It is therefore not strange that the ducal families and other great landholding interests should oppose the new proposals with all the strength and with all the influence at their command.

The demand for a referendum on the budget. The debate on the measure in the House of Commons began in April and closed in November, when it was passed by a large majority. The Lords, encouraged by the show of opposition in and out of Parliament, decided to refuse their assent. It has long been held in England that the Commons control in the matter of taxation; but the Unionists, now led in the upper house by Lord Lansdowne, professed to believe that the Lloyd George budget was something more than a money bill. The Lords, however, did not dare to reject the bill outright, but resolved that it should not pass before it had been referred to the people at a general election. Only 75 peers (of about 620) voted to pass the bill.

The first election of 1910: issues and results. The prime minister accepted the challenge, dismissed Parliament, and called new elections for January, 1910. In the campaign that followed the voters had four great issues before them. (1) Most prominent was the question whether the lords should be allowed to

interfere in the matter of money bills. (2) The electors were also asked to approve or disapprove the new budget. (3) As an alternative the Unionists proposed a protective tariff, which, they argued, would revive industry, bring employment to the workingmen, and provide money for old age pensions, agricultural development, and other important undertakings. (4) There was also much discussion as to whether the Liberal policy of social reform should be continued. A fifth issue was the question of Irish home rule, but this was not made prominent.

The result of the election was a disappointment to both parties: neither was given a majority. The Liberals elected 274 members and the Unionists 272. Ireland returned 82 Home Rulers and the Labor party increased its membership to 41. It became evident that no party could remain long in power without the support of the Irish members. An understanding was reached among the three groups that opposed the Unionists, and for some years Asquith was the chief of a political alliance rather than a party. In his management of this alliance he displayed remarkable abilities as a political leader. But the election had settled the dispute over the budget; the lords submitted and the bill became a law.

Plans for reform of the House of Lords. The experience of the Asquith Parliament had convinced a large part of the nation that the House of Lords now represented, not the kingdom as a whole, but a party and a class. In the days of the Gladstone-Rosebery government when the lords were "filling the cup" by rejecting Liberal measures, the argument was that the Gladstonians, not having a clear majority in the popular house, could not pretend to represent the national will. But now for four years a Liberal government had commanded nearly two-thirds of all the votes in the house; nevertheless, the Lords continued in the old way. There arose, therefore, an insistent demand for legislation that would "curb" the power of the Lords. The feeling that the upper house ought to be representative of all classes, creeds, parties and interests was shared by Unionists as well as Liberals; but as to plans and methods of reconstruction there was hopeless disagreement.

The Asquith ministry decided to begin by reducing the power of the upper chamber and prepared a bill covering three chief points. (1) The House of Lords was to be deprived of all

power over money bills. (2) The Lords were to be allowed to delay legislation by rejecting a bill twice; but a bill passed by the House of Commons in three successive sessions was to become a law if the Commons insisted, no matter what action might be taken in the upper house. (3) The maximum life of Parliament was to be reduced from seven to five years. The last provision grew out of a feeling that if the House of Commons were to be the controlling body in Parliament the electorate ought to be consulted at more frequent intervals.

Before the debate on the Asquith proposals had fairly begun, King Edward died (May 6, 1910) and was succeeded by his



THE ELECTION OF 1906



THE ELECTION OF JANUARY, 1910

The strength of the Liberal and Unionist parties before and after the first election of 1910. The blackened portions indicate the districts carried by the Unionists.

Courtesy of *Review of Reviews*.

son, George V. The events connected with the succession and the feeling that the new king ought not to be plunged immediately into a controversy over the constitution naturally delayed action and the discussion in Parliament was not resumed before the following November. During the summer and autumn months a private conference of eight members, four representing each of the two leading parties, had sought to frame a plan that should satisfy all members, but without success. The House of Lords now presented a plan for which Lord Lansdowne was the sponsor. Lord Lansdowne proposed that when the houses disagreed the question at issue should be settled in joint session;

or, if the subject was one of unusual importance, it should be referred to the people for decision. The Liberals could not accept the proposal for a joint session in which they would be outvoted in every case by more than 500 Unionist peers, and the prime minister dissolved Parliament.

The second election of 1910. In the election that followed (December, 1910) the campaign was fought on the single issue of "curbing the lords." When the returns had all been received, it was found that the two contending parties had been returned to the House of Commons with almost the same membership that they had held since the election earlier in the same year. Having failed in their appeal to the country the Lords reluctantly allowed the Asquith bill to become a law, though not before the prime minister had informed the Unionist leaders that the king would be asked, if it should be found necessary, to create a sufficient number of Liberal peers to produce a majority for the measure.

National insurance. The government now proceeded with an elaborate scheme for the insurance of workingmen against unemployment caused by sickness or accident. It was proposed to create a large insurance fund, nearly half of which was to be contributed by the workingmen and the remainder by the employers and the government. Insurance against sickness was to be compulsory for all workingmen whose yearly income was less than \$800. Others with higher incomes were permitted to share in the plan if they wished. In certain trades insurance was to be compulsory without reference to income. The Unionists did not take kindly to the insurance bill but offered little active opposition. There was at first much criticism of the plan among workingmen, some of whom did not relish the idea of having to contribute to the insurance fund. But the representatives of labor were almost a unit in support of the measure, and the bill passed by an overwhelming vote.

The movement for social betterment. The movement for social betterment through compensation, pensions, and insurance was not new in England. Since 1897 the kingdom had had a law granting compensation to laborers who might be injured in certain forms of employment; but this law had proved of little value; the first important act of this sort was the Compensation Act of 1906. Nor was the movement specifically

English. Thirty years earlier (1883-1885) the German empire had begun to experiment with national insurance against accident and illness; old-age insurance came a few years later. Since then the example of Germany has been widely followed in Europe; but in no country has the principle of state insurance been applied more extensively than in Great Britain. According to the German plan the funds for pensions and benefits were to be contributed almost wholly by the employers and the workingmen; while in England the state contributes all the money for old age pensions and a considerable part of the fund for insurance against sickness and invalidity.

The payment of members of Parliament. To secure the support of the Labor membership in Parliament Asquith and his associates had to promise, in addition to social legislation like the National Insurance Act, a bill for the payment of the members of the lower house. Originally the men sent to the House of Commons were paid by the counties or boroughs that they represented; but during the Stuart period so many capable men seemed willing to serve in Parliament without remuneration that the practice of paying wages or salaries gradually died out. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the practice was in a measure revived, inasmuch as many of the less wealthy representatives received regular stipends from the campaign funds of the parties to which they belonged. The Irish Nationalist members were supported largely by the contributions of Irish Americans. The Laborites were paid out of the funds of the trade unions. Finally one Osborne, a railway employé in London, brought suit against a labor union to prevent it from using its funds for political purposes. The case was ultimately carried to the House of Lords, where the law lords sustained Osborne's contention. This was a severe blow to the Labor Party, as its members could not serve in Parliament without financial aid in some form. To break the force of the Osborne judgment, Parliament passed a bill for the payment of members, the salary being fixed at £400 per year (1911).

Disestablishment of the Anglican church in Wales. After the passage of the Parliament Act, the government laid three important measures before Parliament: one to give home rule to Ireland; a second to disestablish the Anglican church in Wales; a third to abolish plural voting. The first bill to pass

under the provisions of the Parliament Act was the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. The case of Wales was in many ways parallel to that of Ireland half a century earlier: in both countries the Anglicans were a minority only, but the non-Anglicans were forced to support the established church as if they were associated with it as members or adherents. There was this difference, however: the Welshmen are not Catholics but Nonconformist Protestants and until quite recently (1920) there was no separate Welsh Episcopal church. Ecclesiastically Wales had for centuries been a part of the province of Canterbury; the attack on the church in Wales was, therefore, regarded as an attack on the church of England. Lloyd George, as a Welshman and a Nonconformist, was keenly interested in the subject of disestablishment. By the terms of the proposed law the four Welsh bishops were to lose their seats in the House of Lords; the Anglican church in Wales and Monmouthshire was no longer to draw support from the state or to be dependent on the government; the church was also to forfeit some of its old endowments, which the Liberals held had been given to the Welsh people rather than to the church, and which they proposed to use to promote education and for other public purposes. In May, 1914, the bill for Welsh Disestablishment, after having twice been rejected by the House of Lords, passed the House of Commons for the third time, and in September it received the royal sanction. However, as the European War was then on, it was thought best not to insist on its immediate enforcement, and an act was passed suspending its application for one year. Later the period of suspension was extended to the end of the war and the formal conclusion of peace.

The third Home Rule Bill. A week after the passage of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill the second measure in this series passed the Commons for the third time and was sent again to the upper house. It had long been evident that the Liberal party would sometime be forced to deal with the problem of a separate government for Ireland. For a decade after the downfall of Parnell there was strife and confusion in Irish Home Rule politics; but in 1900 the Parnellites and the Anti-Parnellites made peace and reunited as Irish Nationalists under the capable leadership of John Redmond. The opportunity of the Home Rulers came in 1910, when the Liberals failed to get an

absolute majority of the membership in the House of Commons. Asquith was now at the mercy of Redmond and his followers; without the aid of the Irish party he was unable to go on with the Liberal program of social legislation. It was therefore agreed that in return for the Irish support the Cabinet should force the enactment of a law giving home rule to Ireland.

The Government of Ireland Bill, which began its long journey through Parliament in 1912, provided for an Irish Parliament composed of a senate appointed by the government and a lower house elected by the people. This Parliament was to be entrusted with a limited field of legislation covering affairs that were wholly Irish. In the limitations imposed on the new legislature the bill followed the lines of the earlier home rule proposals; matters of wider importance, such as military and naval affairs, peace and war, diplomacy, and the commercial arrangements of the kingdom, were reserved to the Parliament at Westminster in which Ireland was to have a representation of 42 members with power to vote on imperial questions only. The Dublin Parliament was also forbidden to establish or give favor to any separate form of religion or religious worship.

The opposition of Ulster. The announcement that Ireland was to be given home rule was not favorably received by the Protestants of Ulster. Under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, an Irish member of Parliament representing Dublin University, they prepared to resist, at the same time expressing their desire to remain direct subjects of the English king. A covenant was drawn up and signed by thousands of Ulstermen, the signers pledging themselves to refuse submission to the new government. An army of volunteers numbering approximately 80,000 was organized and drilled by former officers of the English army. In 1914 the Irish Home Rulers, on the active suggestion of Sir Roger Casement, an Ulster Protestant with strong nationalistic sympathies, in their turn began to arm and drill, and for a time it looked as if the passage of the Home Rule Bill would be the signal for civil war.

The historic province of Ulster comprises nine counties of which the northeastern four are inhabited chiefly by descendants of the Scottish and English immigrants who settled the Ulster plantation in the days of James I. Four-fifths of the population of the province live in these counties, which, moreover, are over-

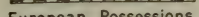
whelmingly Protestant. Two other counties are almost evenly divided between the two religions, though the Catholics seem to be somewhat more numerous than the Protestants. The remaining three are strongly Catholic. Asquith was willing to exclude the four Protestant counties from the restored Ireland for a period of six years, but this did not wholly satisfy the Ulstermen: some demanded that all the six counties that were wholly or in large part Protestant should be excluded, while others wished to exclude the entire province. European troubles, however, forestalled the threatened uprising, though in this case, too, it was thought wiser to suspend the enforcement of the act (which received the royal assent in September, 1914) till after the peace of Europe should be formally reestablished.

The colonial policy of the Asquith ministry. While the officials of the home office, the exchequer, the board of trade, and the other departments concerned with domestic affairs were busy working out the details of the Newcastle program, the two secretaries of state (one for India and one for the colonies) who are charged with the supervision of administrative affairs in Greater Britain were applying a similar policy in this larger and wider field. During the last few months of its career the Balfour ministry had taken steps to establish representative government in the Boer colonies; but the new Liberal Cabinet soon determined to go farther and to grant the Boers a large measure of self-government. Accordingly, in 1906, responsible governments were set up in the Transvaal Colony, and two years later the Orange River Colony was granted similar rights. In 1908 a movement headed by Dr. Leander Jameson and looking toward the unification of all the South African colonies began to take form. The following year the British Parliament accepted with slight changes a constitution drawn up at Durban by a committee of delegates representing Boers as well as British immigrants; and a few months later the Union of South Africa took its place among the self-governing dominions of the British Commonwealth.

The Union of South Africa. 1910. This Union, which was formally organized in 1910, is composed of four provinces: Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange River Colony, and Transvaal Colony. It is not a federation but rather a single unified state organized somewhat on the lines of the United Kingdom, the



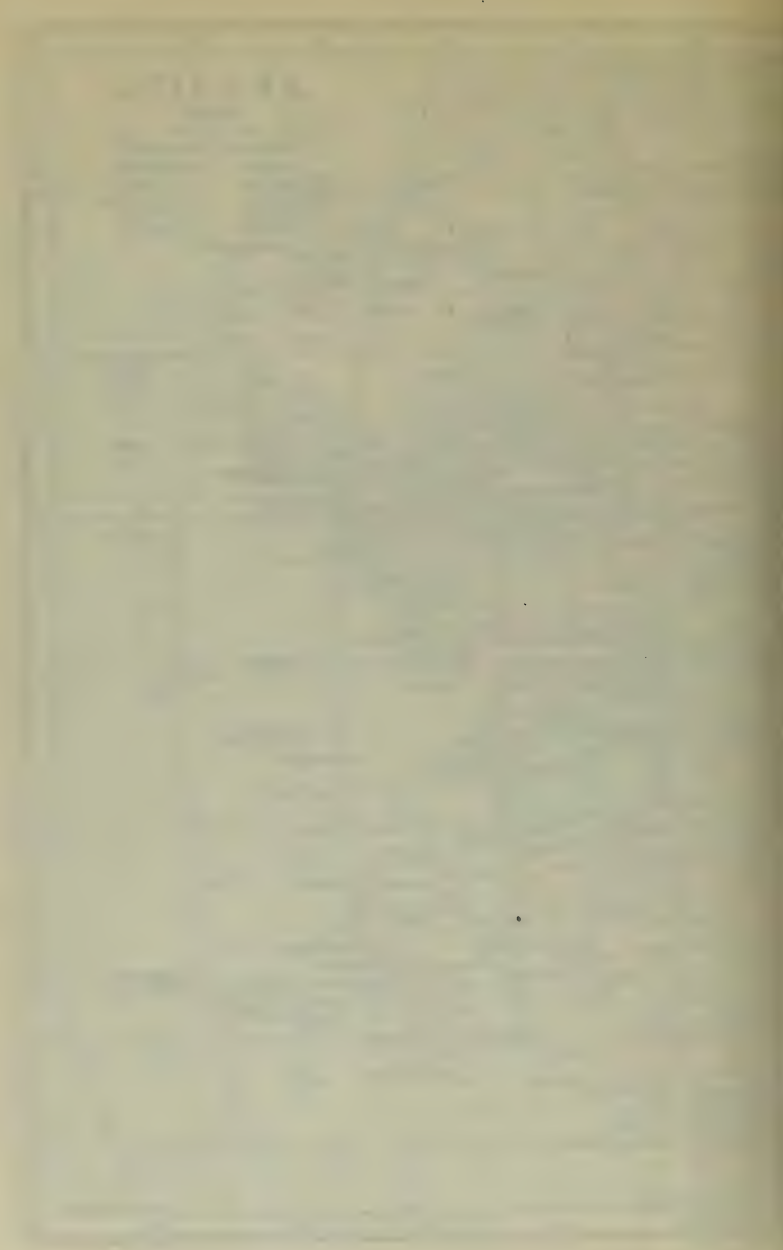
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European Possessions

<input type="checkbox"/> German	<input type="checkbox"/> British
<input type="checkbox"/> French	<input type="checkbox"/> Portuguese
<input type="checkbox"/> Spanish	<input type="checkbox"/> Italian
<input type="checkbox"/> Not under European control	<input type="checkbox"/> Belgian





four provinces existing chiefly for convenience in carrying out the laws and decrees of the central government. The Union has a Parliament which meets in Cape Town and an executive government with its offices in Pretoria. The chief executive is a governor-general appointed by the crown; but the actual chief is the prime minister of the Union. Lord Gladstone, the oldest son of the great premier, was sent out to South Africa as the first governor-general. His prime minister was General Louis Botha, one of the heroes of the Boer war, who guided the new state with a firm hand until his death nine years later.

In the South African Union the two languages, Afrikander Dutch and English, have been placed on an equal footing. The Dutch element in the population seems, however, to be the more aggressive and is likely to become the controlling force. Owing to the apparent ascendancy of the Boers, Rhodesia has thus far refused to join the Union.

Economic development of British Africa. England has large plans for the economic development of her African possessions. One of the most important projects is a railway, the Cape to Cairo line, which is to be built from Alexandria to Cape Town; a large part of this has already been constructed. Under the sure protection of the British flag, the missionary, the engineer, and the physician are gradually transforming life in the Dark Continent. The resources of the country have been brought to light. Mines have been opened. Plantations have been laid out. The telegraph and the telephone have been introduced. Roads and bridges have been built. Arid lands have been irrigated. Schools and churches have been founded and built. The slave traffic has been outlawed. The business of introducing the forms of civilized life into the Dark Continent is a task beset with immense difficulties; but in southern Africa a fairly successful beginning has been made.

British India and the "independent" states. The problems with which the colonial nations have had to deal have arisen chiefly from the influx of Europeans in large numbers into regions either wholly unoccupied or occupied by races in a low state of civilization. In the Indian empire the English have met a series of wholly different problems. India is a densely populated country with a civilization ranging from the highest form to deep savagery. Furthermore, it is a country which, because

of climatic conditions, can never have a large permanent European population. In India, therefore, the supreme question is to what extent the controlling imperial government can afford to grant self-government to the native races.

The greater part of India has now been annexed to the British crown. A number of so-called independent states still remain, but their independence is quite nominal. Their foreign relations are largely controlled by the viceroy of India, and the viceroy also determines the size of the army that each state may support. At each of these native courts the government of British India maintains a resident whose functions, though chiefly advisory, are quite important in the administration of the state. It is the policy of the British government to annex no more Indian territory but to maintain friendly governments in the various native principalities. This policy, however, has not always been followed on the frontier. In 1879 the Disraeli ministry extended British authority over the wilderness of Beluchistan in order to control the lower approaches to India on the northwest. Toward the east the British flag was planted in Burma in Salisbury's first administration (1885). Such action was at the time believed to be necessary because of Burmese hostility toward British interests. It was also suspected that the king of Burma was on the point of entering into treaty relations with the French, who were endeavoring to find compensation in Indo-China for what they had lost in Egypt.

The administration of the Indian empire. India in the days of the Asquith ministry was still an absolute monarchy governed by a host of officials whose authority was derived directly or indirectly from the central government, which since 1911 has been located in Delhi. The officials in the localities were nearly all drawn from the native races; but the higher positions were in every case reserved for Europeans. The central administration was entrusted to the viceroy assisted by two councils, an executive council and a legislative council. The former was composed of a small number of department heads and corresponded roughly to a European cabinet. The legislative council was an advisory body made up largely of administrative officials. The viceroy had no great discretionary power, being controlled by a cabinet minister in England, the secretary of state for India. This official again could act only on the advice

of a board of experts, the India Council, which was earlier composed of Europeans only, and was held responsible to the British Parliament which alone has ultimate authority in Indian affairs.

The National Congress and the All-Moslem League. It is clear that such a situation could not be acceptable to the educated classes in India and must have been particularly trying to those who had had actual contact with western civilization. Recent years have therefore seen a persistent agitation among the natives of India for an independent and self-governing Indian empire. In 1886 a National Congress representing the various divisions of the Hindu element was formed and has maintained a regular existence since that year. The British authorities hoped that the Congress might serve as an unofficial advisory body to the central government, but this hope proved to have no foundation. On the contrary the National Congress developed into an opposition party with a program looking toward an early termination of European control. In 1906 the Mohammedan element organized an All-Moslem League with a program similar to that of the Hindu agitators. The British government was therefore facing a strong opposition which threatened to force the reorganization of the Indian empire.

John Morley's reform program. In the opening years of the new century the "unrest" in the great peninsula took on a more violent form, especially in the Bengalese territories. Riots were common; British wares were systematically boycotted; European officials lived in constant fear of assassination. This was the situation when the Liberal party returned to power in 1905. It was expected that the new secretary of state for India, John Morley, whose opinions were of the radical type, would develop new methods for dealing with the disturbances in Hindustan; but in the end his policies proved more moderate than many had feared. Morley decided that it would be inexpedient to make any radical changes in the forms of the Indian constitution; he believed that more could be accomplished by making a larger use of native talent in the Indian civil service. In 1907 two natives of India, a Hindu and a Mohammedan, were admitted to membership in the India council at Westminster. Two years later a Hindu barrister took a seat in the executive council at the viceroy's court. That same year, 1909, the new policy was given legal sanction by the passage of the India

Councils Act, and since then a considerable number of natives have found places in the various administrative organs of the Indian empire. The Morley reforms did not, however, prove wholly satisfactory to the leaders of the Hindu peoples, and the agitation for a larger measure of self-government continued with steadily increasing force.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR

Rivalry between England and Germany. One of the most important factors in the development of European politics during the closing decades of the nineteenth century was the rise and growth of a somewhat unfriendly rivalry between the British kingdom and the German empire. With the coming of the new century this rivalry developed into a feeling of positive hostility, which, though evident on both sides of the North Sea, found its most marked expression in the attitude of certain influential groups and classes in Germany. Among the many causes that led to the outbreak of war in 1914 this feeling must be regarded as one of the more important. The great World War began as a conflict between two powerful alliances; its immediate cause was an issue in which the British empire had only a feeble interest; nevertheless, as the struggle developed it became increasingly evident that the chief antagonists were England and Germany.

The new German empire. 1871. The new German empire was founded during the closing days of the Franco-Prussian war. On January 18, 1871, the princes of Germany assembled in Versailles and gave the king of Prussia the new title of German Emperor. This gathering in the famous Hall of Mirrors was the culmination of a long-continued nationalistic agitation looking toward the unification of all the German states into a single imperial unity. This purpose was not wholly realized: William I was not called to rule over the entire German population, though the new Fatherland did comprise the larger part, approximately four-fifths, of what might properly be called German territory. The Hapsburg provinces of the Austrian monarchy alone remained outside the new German state.

The unification of Germany was the work of Prussian statesmanship supported by a strong and efficient army. The foundations of the new monarchy were laid in three short but decisive wars: first a German attack on Denmark; next a duel between

Prussia and Austria; finally a war between Prussia and France. The people of the British Isles watched these conflicts with keen interest, but for the most part they maintained an attitude of consistent neutrality. The Palmerston ministry did, indeed, show a sympathetic interest in the fate of the Danish monarchy; but no effort was made to translate this interest into military action.

The attitude of the English in 1870. When the Prussians goaded the French to war in 1870, they felt that they could still count on a neutral attitude across the Channel. Gladstone, who had never believed in a "vigorous" foreign policy, was planning an extensive program of domestic reform from which he and his party did not care to be diverted by foreign entanglements. The attitude of the sovereign was well known throughout the European courts. Whatever sentiment favorable to the French empire the English people may have cherished in the earlier weeks of that war was thoroughly dissipated by a clever move on the part of the Prussian government. Almost immediately after the war had begun the Prussian chancery published the draft of a proposed treaty according to which Prussia agreed to allow the French a free hand in Belgium. Napoleon III protested in vain that the agreement had been suggested by the Prussian government and had never been signed, for the seeds of suspicion had been sown. The British people had long held to the doctrine that no strong power must be allowed to entrench itself on Belgian soil, and the Liberal policy of non-intervention soon had the approval of all classes in the kingdom.

The League of the three Caesars. 1872. More than anyone else Otto von Bismarck, the man of "blood and iron," was responsible for the form that the new state happened to take. Now that the empire had been finally established, Bismarck's great concern was for its preservation. In the war with Prussia and her allies France had lost two provinces, Alsace and Lorraine; and Bismarck felt quite sure that some day the new French republic would seek to exact a full measure of revenge. The Iron Chancellor saw to it that the German army was not allowed to deteriorate; but he also hoped to strengthen the position of Germany by cultivating the friendship of neighboring states. Accordingly he approached the rulers of Russia and Austria, with the result that the German kaiser, the Austrian

emperor, and the Russian tsar entered into some sort of a covenant for common defense. For several years the "league of the three Caesars" dominated the politics of Europe; but it lacked the stability of a common purpose and was soon wrecked on the half-hidden rocks underlying the problems of southeastern Europe.

Rivalry in the Balkans. With the exception of the kingdom of Greece the countries of the Balkan peninsula were, though in varying degrees, still subject to the sultan at Constantinople. But signs were not wanting that the Ottoman government was about to lose its control of the Christian peoples north and south of the Balkan Mountains. Since the population of the peninsula is largely Slavic in race and language, and since the fate of Constantinople has always had a special international importance, Russia naturally watched the impending dissolution of European Turkey with growing interest. But Turkish affairs were also watched with keen interest in Vienna, and Bismarck seems on some occasion to have suggested that Austria might, perhaps, find compensation in the Balkans for losses that she had suffered in northeastern Italy a few years before.

The congress of Berlin. There was, however, another government that was also interested in the fate of the Near East. Two years after the league of the three Caesars had been formed Benjamin Disraeli succeeded Gladstone as prime minister of her Majesty's government. Disraeli not only loved to seek adventure in foreign policy, he was honestly convinced that the Ottoman empire was necessary to the peace of Europe, and that it consequently ought to be preserved in all its integrity. While the Russo-Turkish War was still in progress, the British government assumed a threatening attitude toward the Russian power; and at the congress of Berlin Disraeli was able to save a considerable part of European Turkey to the sultan. Nevertheless, the outcome was that Turkey was materially reduced in area. Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro were henceforth to be regarded as sovereign states. Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia (Bulgarian states both of them) were allowed extensive autonomy, though not an independent status. The northwestern part of the Ottoman empire, the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, though remaining as before under the technical sovereignty of the sultan, were handed over to Austria to be

"administered" and governed. The kingdom of Greece was allowed a slight extension to the north.

In the congress of Berlin a half-hearted effort was made to apply the principle of nationality to the Balkan situation, but the negotiators were careful not to allow national considerations to interfere with the interests of the greater powers. Only a fragment of the Serbian stock was included in the new Serbian kingdom, and Rumania also was representative of a part only of the Rumanian race. The greater part of the Greek population still remained outside the Greek kingdom. Bulgaria was divided into three fragments, one of which was left wholly under Turkish control. There was consequently great dissatisfaction among the Balkan peoples with the new territorial arrangements, all desiring a further extension of their boundaries. The Balkan problem had not been solved; if anything, the difficulties of the turbulent peninsula had been made even more acute.

An important outcome of the new arrangements was that a continuation of the league of the three Caesars became impossible. Russia had incurred great expense in blood and treasure but had received only slight territorial compensation; while Austria had acquired the control of two important provinces "without firing a shot." At the congress Bismarck had been forced to choose between his Russian and his Austrian ally; ultimately he threw his influence into the balance on the Austrian side. Tsar Alexander was much displeased, and a new grouping of the European powers became inevitable.

The Dual and the Triple Alliance. The understanding between Germany and Austria was maintained, however, and the following year these two states entered into a formal defensive alliance. On the side of Germany this was mainly a precaution against an attack from France, though it is true that in 1879 German relations with the tsar were anything but cordial. Austria sought the alliance chiefly through fear of her neighbor to the east. Three years later the king of Italy joined the two emperors, and thus was formed the Triple Alliance, which for nearly a generation proved to be the most significant force in European diplomacy.

The adherence of Italy to the German combination was somewhat surprising in view of the traditional enmity between

Austrians and Italians. The step was taken probably, not because of any fear on the part of the Roman government, but because Italy had been displeased with French activities in northern Africa. At the congress of Berlin Bismarck and Salisbury had suggested to the French envoys that their country might find a suitable field for colonial activities in Tunis. Tunis lies just across the Mediterranean from the island of Sicily and less than one hundred miles distant. It is the territory of ancient Carthage, which Rome conquered and annexed in the earlier stages of Roman expansion beyond the seas. With the French in Tunis the Italians felt that the ambitions of their country on African soil had been defeated.

Russia in isolation. The formation of the Triple Alliance left Great Britain, France, and Russia, each pursuing its own policy in what Salisbury described as "splendid isolation." The French now found it convenient to cultivate the friendship of the Muscovite bear, though without signal success. A secret revolutionary group known as the Nihilists was terrorizing Russian officialdom during the eighties, its purpose being to destroy the Russian government. The weapons used were the pistol, the dagger, the bomb, and the poison bottle. In 1881 they took the life of Tsar Alexander II. It was believed in Russia that Nihilism drew its inspiration from French republicanism; consequently the new tsar did not respond favorably to the advances of the French government.

Russia was also displeased with England. The tsar could not forget how his diplomats had been outgeneraled by Disraeli and Salisbury in the conferences at Berlin. He soon discovered that Russian prestige among the Balkan peoples was waning. The affairs of the peninsula continued in almost constant turmoil, and the tsar suspected that this condition was largely due to intrigues plotted or planned in Vienna or Berlin. It was well known that Austria had ambitions to extend her control to Saloniki, an important port on the Aegean Sea, on the shores of which Austrian merchants were carrying on an extensive trade. Disgusted with the trend of events among her neighbors to the south, Russia transferred her interest to central Asia and began to stir up trouble for her ancient rivals, the English, in that part of the world. The armies of Muscovy soon completed the conquest of Turkestan and threatened to occupy Afghanistan

through which ran the ancient routes of invasion into northern India.

Fear of the Russian "bear." During this decade (the eighties) Great Britain had no allies and did not seem anxious to form any close friendships. The Liberal party under the leadership of Gladstone still had its chief interest in domestic problems: particularly was its attention centered on the proposed government of Ireland. As before, Gladstone showed only a perfunctory interest in foreign affairs. But all English parties feared Russia, "the bear that walks like a man." Not only might the Russian armies, pouring their columns through the passes of Afghanistan, endanger the valley of the Indus river; some day a Russian fleet might force its way through the Dardanelles, enter the Aegean Sea, and threaten the security of the Suez canal.

Salisbury and the Triple Alliance. After Gladstone's failure to secure the passage of the First Home Rule bill, the queen sent for Lord Salisbury and gave the administration of the empire into his charge. With the change in ministry came a distinct revival of interest in the business of the foreign office. During the six years of the second Salisbury administration England felt a growing friendship for the German Empire, due in part, no doubt, to dynastic connections, for the German crown prince, Frederick (who ruled as emperor for three months in 1888), was married to the oldest daughter of Queen Victoria. In conversation with the Italian government the English ministry even sought a closer agreement with the Triple Alliance; but nothing came of this attempt, and British interests soon began to move into other fields.

Commercial rivalry: "made in Germany." During the closing decade of the nineteenth century England and Germany were rapidly drifting apart. A somewhat unfriendly feeling had arisen, having its origin in commercial rivalry. Since the days of Cobden and Peel Great Britain had continued the policy of free trade, and the new German state in the first few years of its existence had followed the same theory. But during the seventies a new school of economic thought had risen in Germany which regarded the current English doctrine of trade as rank heresy. Germany had extensive resources in coal and iron; a large and rapidly growing population could provide an

abundance of cheap labor; there seemed, therefore, to be no reason why the Fatherland, which had already risen to a high place in European politics, should not also take a prominent place in the world of industry and commerce. In 1879 Bismarck was converted to the new belief, and in order to stimulate domestic manufactures and to keep the German markets for German traders, he induced the imperial legislature to enact a system of protective tariffs. The results were wholly according to expectations: great industrial centers developed, notably in Saxony and the Rhine country. This growth was naturally followed by a great activity in ship-building and by a steady increase in the totals of foreign commerce which almost trebled in forty years.

Since England remained a free trade country the English markets were open to German merchants on the same terms as to English traders; while in the German ports the English merchants found the new tariff a serious obstacle to successful business. This situation proved irritating to the mercantile classes in England, and Parliament was induced to enact a measure providing that all German wares offered for sale in the British kingdom should be clearly marked "made in Germany." But the sight of these three words produced an even greater irritation. In spite of laws and agitation the Germans succeeded in getting an important share of the British trade in England as well as in other countries, though not so large a share as the Prussian economists had believed or hoped.

The colonial ambitions of Germany. There had also developed a fear in England that Germany might have designs on certain highly coveted parts of the British empire. The Iron Chancellor had no interest in imperial expansion: his ambition was to fortify the position that the new Teutonic state had already attained among the powers of Europe. Many influential Germans were convinced, however, that the Fatherland was entitled to a share of the supposedly rich lands in Asia and Africa. They argued that without a continuous supply of raw materials, such as cotton, silk, wool, rubber, copper, precious metals, and woods, German industry could not possibly flourish beyond certain narrow limits. They also pointed out that the population of the empire had far outgrown the agricultural resources

of the country, and indicated colonial expansion as the only remedy against the threatening future of unemployment.

It will be recalled that in the years of the "scramble for Africa" Germany secured nearly 800,000 square miles of territory lying in four great areas: Togoland, Kamerun, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa. But the Prussian imperialists were not satisfied. Three of these colonies were located in the tropics, and, though valuable for commercial exploitation, were not suited to settlement by Europeans. Southwest Africa has a temperate climate; but the rainfall is light in that part of the world, and the soil is not fertile. As an outlet for a surplus population none of these possessions was very promising. Moreover, the Germans were keenly disappointed to find that in two of these colonial regions the natural commercial outlets were already in the hands of the British. The failure of German diplomacy to secure these harbors has been referred to elsewhere; the British flag did not come down either at Zanzibar or at Walfisch Bay.

The Bagdad railway scheme. About 1900 a new colonial venture was suggested to the German imperialists, one that looked highly promising: this was a plan to utilize in modern fashion the ancient Persian road and trade route from the Aegean Sea to the Persian Gulf. The project called for a railway from the Bosphorus eastward through Asia Minor and southeastward down the Mesopotamian plain to Bagdad and the shore of the gulf beyond. Ostensibly this railway was to serve as a great artery in the commercial development of the Near East, and to this purpose there could be no objection. But aside from this feature the plan suggested certain larger possibilities which proved of interest to all the leading governments of Europe and particularly to the men entrusted with the administration of the British empire.

1. East of the Persian Gulf lies one-half of the world's entire population. The European trade of this vast region, which, since the opening of the Suez Canal, has been carried chiefly in English ships through this waterway, would in part at least be diverted to the proposed railway route, inasmuch as this would be shorter and could be covered in less time.

2. An important branch of the Bagdad system was to run south through Syria into the neighborhood of the isthmus of

Suez. In a war with Germany this line might prove a real menace to British interests in the Orient as it would endanger the English possession of the Suez Canal. If the Germans should seize the isthmus, they would control both of the two short routes to the Asiatic East, the Bagdad railway and the Suez Canal.

3. The Syrian branch of the new railway might easily be connected with the northern terminus of the Cape-to-Cairo railway which the English were actively planning and building. It might be a real advantage to be able to travel by rail from Cape Town to Hamburg, but to the English mind the advantage seemed to rest chiefly with the Germans.

4. It was also feared that somewhere on the Persian Gulf at the terminal of the proposed railway the Germans might locate and build up a naval station of sufficient strength to threaten seriously the age-long supremacy of the British in India, which is only four days' sailing distance from the head of the Persian Gulf. India has long been the most important single unit among the British possessions over the seas; it is the richest and most populous dependency in the world; and the English were naturally not disposed to allow their interests in southern Asia to be placed in jeopardy without a stroke in their defense.

The British in the Persian Gulf. The only available terminal for the new railway was Koweit, an old Arabian town with a fairly adequate harbor on the southwestern shore of the Persian Gulf. It was therefore a bitter disappointment to the Prussian capitalists to learn that even before the Bagdad project had been formally launched, the sheik of Koweit had placed his territories under the protection of the British flag. The English had not come into these regions as recent interlopers; for three hundred years the British navy had helped to police the gulf and had given the traders who operated in Persian waters such security as they had been permitted to enjoy. The English flag was in the great gulf even before the Ottoman crescent came to assert a rival claim. Nevertheless, it was not until 1899 that the British decided to seek a foothold on the neighboring mainland.

The new German navy. Meanwhile the imperial government at Berlin had suffered a change that did not augur well for the peace and quiet of Europe. Though Prince Bismarck was often

brutal and inconsiderate in speech and methods, he was cautious and conservative in action; and while he still remained at the helm, the English statesmen found it relatively easy to maintain cordial relations with Germany. But in 1890 the aged chancellor was dismissed from his exalted office, and the new kaiser, William II, took the reigns of government into his own hands. Emperor William loved to indulge in warlike speeches; and it soon became evident that he was at one with certain influential elements which intended to make Germany the first military and naval power in the world. The German empire could already boast the finest, the most thoroughly drilled and equipped army in the world; it had now become the ambition of some of her statesmen to build a powerful German navy as well. In 1897 Admiral Tirpitz, an efficient officer in the German admiralty, was placed in charge of naval affairs. His policy was to develop a navy so strong that no other power would care to attack it. In this policy Admiral Tirpitz had the support of a powerful organization, the 'German Navy League,' which was financed in part by the Krupps and in a few years could count a membership of several hundred thousand.

The two-power standard. It had long been the policy of the British kingdom to maintain only a small standing army but to keep afloat a navy as large and as efficient as those of any other two countries; this was known as the two-power standard. The nature and make-up of the British dominion necessitates a policy of naval superiority: nine-tenths of the subjects of Britain live outside the boundaries of Europe, most of them thousands of miles away. To maintain communication with her dependencies over the sea and to provide for their support and adequate defense, Great Britain feels the need of a powerful navy.

The danger in the North Sea. About 1901 the English people awoke to the danger of a new situation on the shores of the North Sea. The Boer War, now in its closing stage, had revealed the difficulties of imperial defense; it had also revealed the fact that England could not count on the friendship of a single important power. The isolation that had looked so "splendid" a dozen years before did not look attractive just then, since an unfriendly rival across the narrow seas was developing a wonderful naval establishment; for the British people had suddenly discovered that they had no fleet in British waters

with which to meet the new battleships of the German admiralty riding at anchor only two hundred miles away.

There were, therefore, during the decade prior to the Great War, two important problems before the British naval authorities: to maintain the two-power standard and to assemble an adequate fleet in the North Sea. The government approached the solution of these problems by forming an alliance with Japan, according to the terms of which this Asiatic power should take over the protection of British interests in the north Pacific. In this way the admiralty was able to release a number of ships from duty in distant seas and bringing them home could assign them to British waters.

John Fisher's Dreadnought. 1906. Another significant step was the appointment of Sir John Fisher to an important office in the navy department. Sir John at once proceeded to rebuild and reorganize the British navy, beginning the process by consigning 180 vessels to the official junk heap. But Fisher's activities were not all destructive: his most important work was to direct the building of a new battleship, one that was to be larger, swifter, and equipped with heavier guns than any other battleship afloat. This was the famous *Dreadnought*, which was completed for active service in 1906.

The launching of the *Dreadnought* created a sensation in the naval world. The other maritime powers realized at once that they, too, must have ships of the new dreadnought type. Incidentally Fisher's achievement was an important factor in maintaining the peace of Europe during the following eight years; at least it discouraged a militaristic party in Germany which had shown some eagerness for a trial of strength. Ten years earlier the Germans had cut a canal across Slesvig connecting the North and the Baltic Sea, primarily to facilitate naval movements and to provide a refuge for warships and merchantmen in times of serious danger. Now it was discovered that the Kiel Canal was too narrow to accommodate battleships of the dreadnought class. The German government at once proceeded to enlarge the waterway, and on July 1, 1914, the work was completed. The sequel may be regarded as a coincidence merely; but a month later the kaiser called out his armies and the peace of Europe was at an end.

The Franco-Russian alliance. Toward the close of the

eighties the Muscovite statesmen had apparently overcome their aversion for the French republic, at least to the extent of borrowing money from the French bankers; in 1888 the tsar's financial agents negotiated several important loans in Paris. Three years later Russia came to a more cordial understanding with France in order, it is believed, to secure her European frontiers while she was extending her territories in Turkestan and Manchuria. In 1895, or thereabouts, this *entente* was transformed into a Dual Alliance. The terms of the new agreement were not revealed, but like the Triple Alliance the Dual Alliance is believed to have been of a defensive character only.

New wars and new "understandings." Soon after the formation of this new alliance the peace of the world was disturbed by a continual series of wars or warlike movements: the Cuban War, the Boer War, the Boxer rebellion in China, and finally the great Russo-Japanese War. Of these England fought one: the war with the Boers. The attitude of the kaiser and the German government before and during this war intensified English feeling against Germany and her associates of the Triple Alliance and determined the British foreign office to seek the friendship of other important powers. The alliance with Japan has been noted above. More significant were the understandings with France (1904) and Russia (1907) which were made the basis of a new association of European powers called the *Triple Entente*.

The Entente Cordiale. 1904. There was no feeling of hostility between England and France in 1904; at the same time their relations were not entirely cordial, and in certain distant parts of the world they were rivals. In 1898 their forces had come near to collision at Fashoda on the upper Nile, and the news of Major Marchand's retreat to the Congo was not relished by the French populace. But Delcassé, the French minister of foreign affairs, saw distinctly that, with the German enemy gaining yearly in strength and effectiveness, his country could not afford to continue on unfriendly terms with its powerful neighbor across the Channel. Negotiations were opened with the British foreign office which resulted in a settlement and understanding usually known as the *Entente Cordiale*. France surrendered what claims she still believed that she had in Egypt, while England in return promised not to interfere with the

French activities in Morocco. Several other disputes in the colonial field were taken up and settled to the satisfaction of both parties. But the agreement covered colonial questions only; it was not an alliance concerned with possible troubles in Europe.

The Anglo-Russian entente. 1907. In 1907 the British government to the surprise of all Europe came to a similar "cordial understanding" with Russia. The outcome of the Russo-Japanese war had impressed the statesmen of Europe with the fact that the Muscovite empire as a military force had certain evident weaknesses and that the Russian bear had been credited with more strength than he actually possessed. With the passing of the fear of Russia it became possible for the English government to enter into an agreement with the tsar as to the limits in Asia within which the contracting parties were to confine their operations. Among the arrangements of 1907 was the division of Persia into "spheres of influence," a Russian sphere in the north and an English sphere in the south and east. The English foreign office was doubtless moved to enter into this transaction in part from a belief that the tsar was planning to annex all of Persia, and in part from a fear that the German menace, which was creeping forward along the Bagdad route, might continue its progress eastward along the northern shore of the Persian Gulf.

These diplomatic achievements must be credited in considerable part to the leaders of the Unionist party, chiefly, perhaps, to Lord Lansdowne, who was foreign secretary in 1904. In 1905 the Liberals came into power; but the new foreign minister, Sir Edward Grey, continued the foreign policy of the Balfour ministry. The Germans professed to regard the understandings reached by Lansdowne and Grey, not as an effort to maintain the balance of power in Europe or to secure the interests of Great Britain in Asia and Africa, but as a diplomatic offensive, a policy of "encirclement," directed against the Teutonic peoples to defeat their proper ambitions and to strangle their economic development. In its ultimate effect the new English policy may be regarded as a policy of encirclement; but the English government looked toward defensive measures only. Lord Lansdowne was never a jingo and had a lively sense of honor in diplomatic affairs. Sir Edward Grey was

also of a peaceful disposition and strove to establish friendly relations with as many European governments as possible. He succeeded in negotiating important agreements with Spain and Italy respecting English interests in the Mediterranean. Early in 1914 Sir Edward even helped to draw up a treaty removing the chief occasions for friction with the German empire.

A strong peace sentiment in England. In these efforts Sir Edward had the support of English sentiment which during the decade preceding the World War was overwhelmingly for peace. The Liberal party had never been much affected by jingoism, and the Unionists had come out of the Boer War in a very much chastened mood. A powerful argument against military adventure was a threatened increase of taxation; for the Asquith ministry was pledged to a great series of social reforms, every one of which would inevitably prove a serious burden to the national exchequer. In 1907 the English government suggested that the subject of a reduction of armaments should be discussed at the second Hague conference; the kaiser replied that in that case he would have nothing to do with the conference. The following year King Edward visited Berlin and proposed to his imperial kinsman that England and Germany cease their competition in the building of war ships; but the kaiser refused to agree to such an arrangement. The king returned to the subject in 1909; Lord Haldane was sent to Berlin on a similar mission in 1912; in 1913 Winston Churchill, who at the time presided over the admiralty, suggested that the two countries should declare a "naval holiday," both agreeing to build no more ships for a year at least. But these efforts led to no tangible results, and the two governments continued to build and equip more ships and larger ships.

A naval ratio of sixteen to ten. Time came, however, when those responsible for the welfare of the German empire seemed less disposed to provoke the hostility of England. Naval competition with the island kingdom seemed a hopeless endeavor, and Admiral Tirpitz, who was now Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, finally concluded that Germany need not be disturbed if England should build no more than sixteen war ships to her own ten. Von Bethmann-Hollweg, a timid and cautious man of rather limited abilities, who had come into the chancellor's

office, also concluded to work for better relations with the British kingdom. Accordingly, in 1912, he selected, as German ambassador to the English court, Karl Max, Prince Lichnowsky, a Prussian nobleman who had achieved some success in the diplomatic service, and who was known to favor an understanding with England and Russia. When he arrived at Westminster the new envoy found Sir Edward Grey anxious to accomplish the same purpose, and the two men proceeded to seek a basis for a new "cordial understanding."

A proposed Anglo-German entente. 1913. Since von Tirpitz had accepted the naval ratio of ten to sixteen there remained only two matters that called for serious consideration: the Bagdad railway and Germany's demand for greater colonial possessions. On both these points the negotiators appear to have reached satisfactory conclusions. (1) Sir Edward agreed that Germany might extend the Bagdad railway to Basra, a point about seventy miles above the Persian Gulf; from Basra to the gulf the road was to be built and controlled by the English. This left almost the whole of the great river valley to the Prussian capitalists and engineers. In return Lichnowsky agreed that Germany should recognize the rights of earlier English investments in that region. (2) Portugal still had important colonial possessions in Africa which the German imperialists coveted. Though the Portuguese had held these for four centuries they had done very little to develop them, and it was believed that they might find it expedient to sell them. Sir Edward Grey could not dispose of these colonies, but he agreed that, in case Portugal should wish to sell them to Germany or should ask the Germans to assist in developing them, the British government would offer no objections. Treaties embodying these agreements were drafted but were never signed, probably because of the German demand that they be kept secret, to which Sir Edward would not consent.

Morocco and Tripoli. 1911. Meanwhile, a spirit of profound discontent had descended upon the ruling classes in Germany. The Fatherland, which the passing generation had ranked as the first power in Europe, suddenly found its ambitions and purposes foiled and balked at every turn. In 1911 the kaiser had sought to check French progress in Morocco; but the English government stood loyally on the side of France, and his

Imperial Majesty received only a small part of French Congo for his pains. Later in the same year the Italians invaded Tripoli, a country that the sultan claimed was tributary to the Ottoman empire. The Bagdad scheme and the proposed development of Asiatic Turkey had forged strong bonds of interest and friendship between the governments at Constantinople and Berlin; naturally the Germans were not pleased to see a member of the Triple Alliance invading the territory of a Turkish dependency; it was thought prudent, however, not to intervene, and Italy kept her African conquests.

Wars in the Balkans. 1912-1913. The war for Tripoli was followed by the First Balkan War, in which the Turks were disastrously defeated by the Balkan league. In the Second Balkan War Bulgaria, for whom the Teutonic powers had hoped a victory, was defeated by her recent allies, the Greeks and the Serbs, assisted by the Rumanians and the Turks. As a result of these two wars the Turkish frontier was moved 400 miles from the Austrian border; the Serbs had planted their flag in the route leading south to the Aegean Sea; while the Greeks were holding the coveted port of Saloniki. Rumania, though ruled by a prince of the Hohenzollern dynasty, was cultivating the friendship of the Triple Entente, and there was great danger that the Berlin-Bagdad railway in its European section would have to pass through a broad belt of unfriendly territory in Serbia or in Rumania. From the viewpoint of Berlin the outlook was not promising.

Military rivalry on the Continent. 1913-1914. True to the teachings of Prussian history, the war lords of Berlin resolved to strengthen the position of Germany by increasing the size of the army. By the military law of 1913 the peace strength of the German military establishment was increased from 723,000 to 870,000. In other respects, too, the army was made stronger and more efficient. One of the first results of this legislation was a panic in the neighboring capitals. In the face of vigorous opposition on the part of the Socialists, France voted to strengthen her army by lengthening the term of service. Belgium followed the example of her more powerful neighbors and determined to exact universal military service. Russia like France lengthened the period of training and service. Sweden passed through a period of violent agitation for a more thorough

military preparedness. Stirred by the sting of recent defeats, the rulers of Turkey determined to introduce modern methods and modern discipline into the national army; early the following year a Prussian general, Liman von Sanders, accompanied by a large staff of competent drill-masters, arrived in Constantinople to assist in the task of reshaping the Turkish army. In England Lord Roberts had for some time directed a movement for a larger standing army, but to no purpose: England refused to make any changes in her traditional policy of maintaining a strong navy and a small army.

The assassinations at Serajevo. June 28, 1914. In 1909, while Turkey was suffering from civil disorder, Austria had cast aside the pretense of administering Bosnia and Herzegovina as Turkish dependencies and had formally annexed them to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This act was keenly resented by Serbia, for the two provinces had a large Serbian population which the Serbian people hoped would some day come under their own flag. In June, 1914, Francis Ferdinand, archduke and heir apparent to the crowns of Austro-Hungary, visited Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia; and while he and his consort were driving through the streets of the city, both were assassinated. The assassins, two young students, were subjects of Austria, though not loyal subjects, for they held membership in a secret society devoted to the cause of a greater Serbia. The Austrian authorities therefore professed to believe that they were active agents of the Serbian government. The news of the murder filled all Europe with apprehension, and the fear was general that the crime would lead to a new war in the Balkans which might ultimately involve other parts of Europe.

Militaristic agitation. For it seems clear that in the spring of 1914 there were strong militaristic groups or parties in nearly all the greater Continental capitals, some of which looked confidently and almost eagerly forward to the renewal of war in Europe. Nowhere was this feeling expressed with greater emphasis than in Berlin. The Prussian military caste seemed to regard war not only as inevitable but as wholly desirable. But if war is to be justified there must always be an adequate cause or at least a colorable pretext, and now the pretext had been conveniently provided in the murder of Francis Ferdinand. Two days after the tragedy the Kiel Canal was completed. The

recent increase in the armies of France, Belgium, and Russia had not yet proved very fruitful. In France there was violent opposition to the new military law. Russian industry was threatened with paralysis owing to strikes and other labor troubles. In Ireland 80,000 Ulstermen had taken up arms against 80,000 Irish volunteers to prevent the extension of home rule to northern Ireland. The omens were favorable. The time had come for Germany to strike.

The Austrian appeal to Berlin. Nevertheless it seems evident that the German kaiser and his more prominent ministers did not yet contemplate war as an immediate possibility. The impulse that provoked the outburst four weeks later came from Vienna. A week after the murder of the archduke the Austrian government forwarded to Berlin a memorandum describing the dangers that the Hapsburg monarchy would have to face and deal with, if the Pan-Serbian agitation were allowed to continue unchecked. This memorandum was drawn up by Count Berchtold, the Austrian foreign minister, a man of no striking diplomatic abilities, and was accompanied by a personal letter of the same tenor from the Emperor Francis Joseph to Kaiser William II. On July 5th these communications were considered by the kaiser in conference with the imperial chancellor and the acting foreign minister. The following day von Bethmann-Hollweg transmitted the conclusions of this conference to the Austrian government. The substance of the report may be summed up in three sentences. (1) The German government promised to support Austria in any form of action that she might decide to take against Serbia. (2) It was the opinion of the kaiser and the chancellor that action should be taken without delay. (3) It was further suggested that it might be advisable for the time being to keep Rumania and Italy in ignorance as to what action was contemplated.

Count Berchtold's Serbian policy. On July 7 von Bethmann-Hollweg's communication was considered at a ministerial council in Vienna. On the necessity of moving swiftly against the troublesome Serbs all those present were agreed; but as to the character and extent of the punishment to be meted out there was some difference of opinion. Count Berchtold urged a thorough policy, a course of action that would render Serbia harmless for the future and put a quietus on Pan-Serbian agita-

tion. A diplomatic victory, he argued, would be insufficient; the only remedy was war. In this he had the support of the entire ministry except Count Stephen Tisza, the Hungarian prime minister, who favored a less drastic policy but whose objections were successfully overcome at a conference a week later.

The Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. July 23. Confident that Germany would not fail to support her ally, Berchtold had begun to prepare his famous ultimatum to Serbia. On July 13 the substance of the Austrian demands was communicated to the German government. In the absence of the kaiser who had left on the 7th for his annual cruise along the Norwegian coast, it fell to von Bethmann-Hollweg to decide the issue of peace or war in the Balkans. He realized fully that Serbia had no choice but to refuse the demands of the ultimatum; but having learned that the powers of the *Entente* were bringing pressure to bear on Serbia and urging her to yield to the utmost, the chancellor decided to leave Austria with unfettered hands.

The text of the ultimatum was laid before Francis Joseph and his chief ministers on July 14 and received the approval of all. However, as the president of France was on the point of departing for the Russian capital to visit his ally the tsar, it was thought best to hold the ultimatum ten days longer or until July 25. It was actually sent two days earlier. The change in Berchtold's plans were caused by a growing uneasiness in Berlin: von Bethmann-Hollweg had apparently come to fear that a war in the Balkans might involve nations elsewhere, and he shrank from the responsibility for a general European war. Berchtold was also disturbed by the attitude of Italy. Somehow the Austrian plans had come to the knowledge of the Roman government, and the representatives of Italy in Petrograd and Bucharest were actively seeking a formula that would satisfy Austria and at the same time secure peace in the Balkans.

The Austrian ultimatum of July 23 called on Serbia to suppress all anti-Austrian propaganda within her borders, to dismiss all teachers, officers, and officials who had been guilty of such propagandist activities, and to suppress all societies organized to promote the Pan-Serbian agitation. It further demanded a judicial investigation into the plot to murder the

archduke and that Austrian officials be permitted to have a part in this investigation. The Serbian government was allowed forty-eight hours to prepare and present a reply. The reply was delivered within the specified time. Serbia agreed to all the demands but one: the Serbian constitution, it was argued, would not allow an alien government to partake in any judicial investigation. If Austria should question the validity of this reservation, Serbia was willing to refer the matter to the Hague tribunal for final decision. No sovereign state could go farther than Serbia offered to go on July 25, 1914: but Count Berchtold declared the reply to be insufficient, and on the same day the Austrian envoy at Belgrade closed the embassy and returned to his own country.

Uneasiness in Berlin. Meanwhile the uneasiness noted in Berlin a few days earlier was developing into a real fear. The kaiser returned from his cruise on July 26 and was surprised to learn that nothing had been heard from Vienna as to the nature of the Serbian reply. The following day he was given to understand that in a war between Russia and Austria England would probably remain neutral, but that if other powers should become involved, she might be forced to participate. It was clear at once that the British attitude probably meant war between Germany and Great Britain, for the kaiser felt that he was irrevocably committed to the following two propositions: he had promised to support Austria in any course that she might choose to pursue in dealing with Serbia; and he had repeatedly asserted that, if Russia should mobilize against Austria, Germany would have no choice but to declare war.

A message was rushed to Vienna requesting a telegraphic report on the Serbian reply. The desired information came the following day (July 28) and brought great relief to the frightened statesmen of Berlin. The kaiser, believing that all real danger was now past, began to consider how he could best mediate the quarrel between the Serbs and the Austrians. In the capacity of mediator, he assured his chancellor, he should be very careful not to offend the sensitive dignity of his ally and he threw out the suggestion that the Austrian army might be allowed the satisfaction of occupying Belgrade and the adjoining territories, though for a brief period only.

Plans for mobilization in Russia. In the evening the kaiser

sent a message to the tsar assuring him that the German government would do all in its power to prevent a rupture between Russia and Austria. On the receipt of this assurance the tsar immediately sent orders by telephone to his secretary of war and to the chief of the general staff instructing them to discontinue all preparations for a general mobilization; but these officials calmly ignored the order and the preparations were continued.

Austria and Serbia at war. July 28. While the kaiser was writing to his chancellor on the prospect of mediation Berchtold was in conference with Francis Joseph discussing the draft of a declaration of war against Serbia. To overcome the scruples of the aged monarch he had recourse to a decidedly doubtful expedient: he had introduced into the document the charge that Serbian troops had raided Austrian territory, having attacked an Austrian force at Temes Kubin. But in the copy of the declaration that was delivered to the Serbian government in the afternoon of the same day there was no reference to Temes Kubin, because, as Berchtold later explained, the report of the raid had not been "confirmed."

The efforts of the English foreign office to prevent a European war. During the last week of July the English foreign office kept in almost constant touch with all the leading governments of Europe in a persistent effort to prevent the outbreak of war. On July 24 Sir Edward Grey suggested that England, France, Italy, and Germany should attempt to mediate jointly in the dispute that had arisen between Austria and her two Slavic neighbors. Officially the government at Berlin refused to entertain this proposal, maintaining stoutly that the Fatherland could not interfere in a quarrel that concerned Austria and her adversaries only. Unofficially, however, the German statesmen were willing to grant that Austria ought to accept as satisfactory the diplomatic victory implied in the humble attitude of the Serbian government.

On July 29 Grey modified his earlier proposal by accepting the kaiser's suggestion that Austria might be allowed temporarily to occupy Belgrade and the surrounding country. The kaiser immediately instructed his representative in Vienna to urge the Austrian government to accept this solution of the difficulty. Berchtold's reply came two days later (July 31).

The delay appears to have been a part of his plan to force a war upon Serbia. In his reply he was careful not to accept the Grey proposal, but he did declare himself willing to discuss or entertain it.

Mobilization and war. July 31–August 1. Meanwhile the military machinery had been set in motion in nearly all the important capitals of the Continent. Early in the morning of July 31 the Russian authorities ordered a general mobilization of the military forces of the empire. Austria seems to have mobilized at about the same time of the same day. War could now scarcely be avoided, for the avalanche had begun to move. In the afternoon the German government sent forth two ultimatums: one to Russia, warning the tsar that the order for mobilization must be countermanded within twelve hours; another to France, inquiring whether France would remain neutral in a war between Russia and Germany. The time allowed for replies to these communications expired the following day, August 1, and the Great War began.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR. 1914-1916

The nations involved in the Great War. The great World War began in the afternoon of August 1, 1914, when the German government followed up its ultimatum to Russia with a formal declaration of war. As France was allied to Russia, at least for defensive purposes, it was clear that an attack on the Russian empire necessarily would involve the French republic. On August 2 the kaiser's government made a demand on Belgium for permission to pass through that country in a projected invasion of France. The Belgian government refused and appealed to Great Britain for help. Two days later the British Cabinet replied with a declaration of war on Germany. Thus the three nations of the Triple Entente all found themselves at war with the two Central Powers, Germany and Austria. Associated with the powers of the Entente, or, as they are usually called, the Allies, were the Belgians, who were resisting the German invaders, and the Serbs and the Montenegrins, who were fighting the Austrians on the banks of the Danube. On August 23 Japan joined the Allies and attacked the German colony at Kiau-chau, which the Germans had secured in 1897. After a siege of ten weeks the garrison surrendered and the Japanese came into the possession of the port and the fortress. In the autumn Turkey joined the Teutonic powers; this was an event of real importance, for the Turk immediately closed the Dardanelles and thus cut off southern Russia from all communication with the western powers.

As the war progressed Italy, Rumania, Portugal, and Greece ranged themselves on the side of the Allies, while Bulgaria cast her lot with the Teutonic empires. In April, 1917, the United States became involved in the conflict, and in the following months several other important governments, following the example of the American Congress, joined in the war on the





German empire. When the struggle closed no fewer than twenty-eight governments found themselves at war with the Central Powers.

Why Great Britain entered the war. Germany met her first defeat when the British government decided to intervene in behalf of Belgium. Though it may be argued that the "understanding" with France and Russia involved a certain moral obligation, there was no treaty pledging the English people to support those countries in the event of war. The case of Belgium was wholly different. The plight of Belgium appealed to all classes and to all interests. With Belgium as a vassal state to Germany the whole European balance would be destroyed. The German empire, already the greatest military power on the Continent, would soon be the ranking power in political and economic respects as well. Those who believed that the greatness of Great Britain was worth fighting for could not calmly think of ancient Flanders in German control. There were others in England who cared nothing for these things, but who felt that their country had a duty toward Belgium, which it could not honorably ignore. In 1839 the powers of Europe had agreed "to respect the neutrality of Belgium;" the first signature on the document embodying this agreement was that of Palmerston, and that signature the British nation would have to honor. For two days the Cabinet discussed the Belgian plea, hoping that the kaiser would withdraw his demand; but when news came on August 4 that German soldiers already stood on neutral soil, a decision was quickly reached. Three of the king's ministers refused to join in an ultimatum to Berlin on the subject of Belgian neutrality and resigned their portfolios. One was the aged Lord Morley; another was the pacifist labor leader John Burns. The following day the prime minister announced officially that Great Britain was at war.

"Just for a scrap of paper." The Germans had expected a wholly different decision. When the English ambassador called on von Bethmann-Hollweg a few hours after the British ultimatum had arrived in Berlin, he "found the Chancellor very agitated." His words were not wisely chosen: "just for a word — 'neutrality,' a word which in war time had been so often disregarded — just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing

better than to be friends with her." His plans were ruined and his policies destroyed.

The British Commonwealth. 1914. Though there was for some time no common agency directing the military operations of the allied nations, the place of leadership was by common consent assigned to the British empire. In 1914 the British Commonwealth comprised the United Kingdom, the four self-governing colonies — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa — the empire of India, and a large number of plantations and dependencies of less importance. The British flag waved over one-fourth of all the land area of the earth, and one-fourth of the inhabitants of the earth were in some manner subject to the British government. It was the belief of the German publicists that this strange congeries of peoples and races could not survive a great war; that at least some of the dependent peoples, the Boers, the Hindus, the Egyptians, perhaps also the Irish, would rebel at the first opportunity and assert their independence. This hope did not materialize. There were indeed riots and uprisings at various points in the British realms, but on the whole the colonial population remained loyal and contributed largely to the final victory. Canadians and South Africans fought in Flanders. Australians and New Zealanders battled with Turks and Bulgarians on the Balkan peninsula. Boers and Britons attacked and reduced the German colonies in Africa. East Indians won notable victories in Mesopotamia and the Holy Land. It is estimated that the overseas dominions and dependencies contributed more than 2,000,000 men to the armies of the British sovereign.

The British battle line. For the English battle line was the longest in all history and required large armies and large navies. From the coast of Iceland it could be traced through the northern ocean and the camps of the British Isles across the Channel and into the trench lines of Belgium and northern France. The line reappeared in northern Italy, at Saloniki, at Suez, and in Mesopotamia. In the closing year of the war there were British forces on the coast of the Caspian Sea, in the wilds of Turkestan, and in eastern Siberia. The Union Jack was also advancing at various points in Africa, and throughout the war the British navy was hunting the enemy on all the seas.

The German plan of campaign. As soon as war was declared seven German armies counting perhaps 1,200,000 men, the greatest host with the most elaborate equipment collected against an enemy since history began to record invasions, was set in motion, not eastward against Russia, but westward against France. The plan of campaign was simple and looked very promising. Because of her vast areas and her defective system of transportation, Russia would be slow in mobilizing, while France with her great network of railways converging on Paris would have her forces collected and equipped in a comparatively brief time. The general staff had therefore decided to make a swift dash in the direction of Paris, force France to her knees, and return eastward to settle with Russia. It was confidently believed among the German people that in six weeks the campaign against France would be completed; it was also believed that only after six weeks could the Russian army become a serious menace.

Inasmuch as the French frontier on the side facing Germany was strongly fortified, the German general staff understood clearly that a swift march into the heart of France could not be carried forward successfully by a direct movement through Lorraine. There was also the further consideration that the gap between Luxemburg and the Vosges was scarcely wide enough for the deployment of an army so immense as the one that the kaiser had just called to the colors. It was therefore determined to make the invasion through the Belgian plain and across the Belgian-French frontier where there were no serious obstructions to delay the armies. An even more important consideration for the Germans was the belief (which proved correct) that the French would mass their forces in the Lorraine country opposite the German frontier, thus leaving the capital almost unprotected on the side looking toward the Belgian boundary. An invasion from the northeast would, therefore, not only endanger Paris, but would also throw the French military plans into confusion and place the French army in serious jeopardy.

The invasion of Belgium. Prussia had joined in the treaty neutralizing Belgium, but now that it seemed advantageous to do so, the German war lords proceeded with all deliberation to break its provisions. On August 3 their armies appeared be-

fore Liège; three days later they entered the city. On August 4 the German chancellor made his famous report to the *Reichstag*, justifying the invasion on the plea of military necessity. "The wrong — I speak openly — the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained." Brussels fell in the third week of the war. Antwerp surrendered early in October, the Belgian army retreated into the extreme southwest and across the boundary into northern France.

The British army in Belgium; the retreat to the Marne. Before the close of August the Germans had come into possession of almost the whole of Belgium; but they had lost two or three weeks in the effort. France had found time to mobilize, and the English had been able to transport all their available forces across the Channel. The English army was not large, about 75,000 men, but it was highly trained and contained many regiments that had seen actual service in colonial warfare. Sir John French, a capable cavalry leader who had served effectively in the Boer War, was placed in command. Among his lieutenants were Douglas Haig, who later succeeded to the chief command, Julian Byng, Hubert Gough, and Edmund Allenby, who commanded the cavalry division. General French took a position in the neighborhood of Mons in southern Belgium, a few miles from the French frontier. This was at the extreme left of a long French line running southeastwardly along the frontier to the Vosges Mountains. It was a relatively thin line, for the French mobilization was not yet complete.

On August 23 the British forces came in touch with a vastly superior German army and was forced to retreat. The French were also falling back and the chances looked bright for a German victory. The retreat from Mons was a harrowing experience — five days of fighting almost without rest, five nights of marching almost without sleep — but the bulk of the army was saved. For nearly two weeks the Allies continued to yield ground to the enemy. So great was the danger that early in September the French government was transferred to Bordeaux, and Paris began to prepare for a siege.

The battles of the Marne. September 6-10, 1914. About the same time (September 3) it was discovered that the German right, which thus far had been advancing in the general direc-

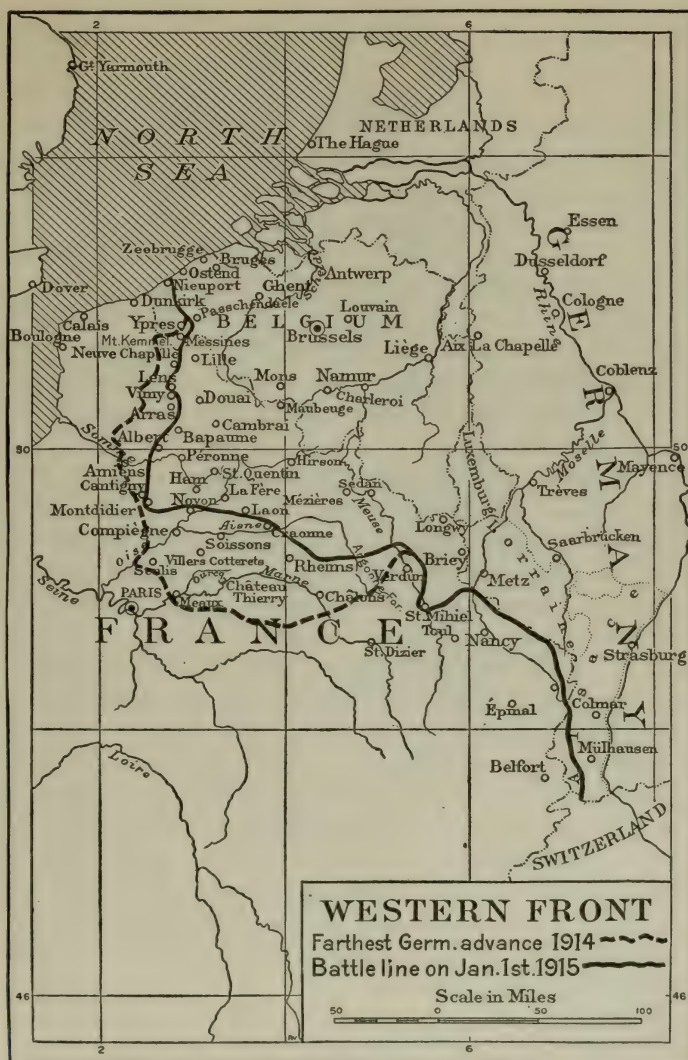
tion of Paris, had turned southeastward, evidently with the intention to crush the French armies before proceeding to invest the French capital. Meantime General Joffre was rearranging his forces a few miles south of the Marne River, and on September 6 he was ready to take the offensive. On that day the two opposing armies, each more than a million strong, stood facing each other along a line more than 150 miles in length extending eastward from the outer defenses of Paris to the fortresses of Verdun. Along this entire front the battle surged back and forth for nearly a week (September 6-10). Soon after the fighting had begun General von Kluck, who commanded the extreme right of the invading army, made two important discoveries: he found that the English were still able to fight and that he had to reckon with a new French army stationed a dozen miles northeast of Paris. This force was commanded by General Maunoury and might prove a serious menace to the German flank. To deal effectively with Maunoury, General von Kluck had to withdraw most of his forces to the north bank of the Marne, leaving only a small force to hold in check the British army which was slowly advancing from the Grand Morin. With hostile forces in front and on his flank von Kluck's position was becoming exceedingly difficult; elsewhere, too, on the long battle field the invading forces were threatened with defeat. The German high command thought it expedient, therefore, to order a general retreat. Von Kluck began to retire northward in the afternoon of September 9. That same afternoon a flank attack by General Foch compelled the retreat of the German forces commanded by General von Buelow; and during the following night the entire right wing of the German army joined in the movement. The retreat continued till the enemy was safely entrenched behind the Aisne River, thirty miles to the north.

The battle of the Aisne and "the race for the sea." The victory of the Allies in the valley of the Marne was the most important single event in the earlier stage of the war. It shattered the hope of the German people for an early termination of the war and completely disarranged the plans of the military authorities in Berlin. The tide of battle, however, did not ebb: its course now flowed northward with long-continued and hard-fought battles along the Aisne and on the muddy

plains of Flanders until the bloody current stopped on the shore of the narrow seas. This "race for the sea" was in its outcome almost as important as the check of the Germans at the Marne. On the German side the objective was the possession of Calais and the neighboring French ports, Dunkirk and Boulogne. With these in their control the Germans would be in position to carry on an effective submarine warfare in the English Channel and in this way to make communication between Great Britain and France exceedingly hazardous, if not impossible.

The first battle of Ypres. October-November. After the capture of Antwerp (October 9) the Germans began to push their lines westward in the direction of Calais. They were held in check, however, by the Belgian army until French and English reinforcements could reach the new battlefield from the valley of the Aisne. During the first two weeks of October the entire British army was transferred to Belgium. The fighting in Flanders was particularly violent in the neighborhood of Ypres, where a force of British and Canadian troops held at bay a much more powerful German army for nearly a month. By the middle of November the German drive in Flanders had died down; the attempt to isolate France had failed, for the Channel ports had not been taken.

The Western Front. Meanwhile the contending armies had begun digging, constructing, and fortifying a series of trenches and other defensive positions stretching in a long line across the hills and valleys of northeastern France from the North Sea to the frontier of Switzerland five hundred miles distant. To the war of movement there succeeded the so-called "war of position." The modern long-range repeating rifle and quick-firing fieldpiece could literally wipe out troops in the old close order formation. To survive, men had to spread out and take refuge under ground. Formations were thinned out till finally the soldiers who would once have been formed for battle within the area of a city block were spread out for miles behind the front line. Deep trenches and deeper dugouts were dug everywhere to protect them against rifle and artillery fire. Opposing trenches were sometimes a mile apart, sometimes so close that hand grenades could be tossed from one into the other. During many months actual fighting was limited to local attacks

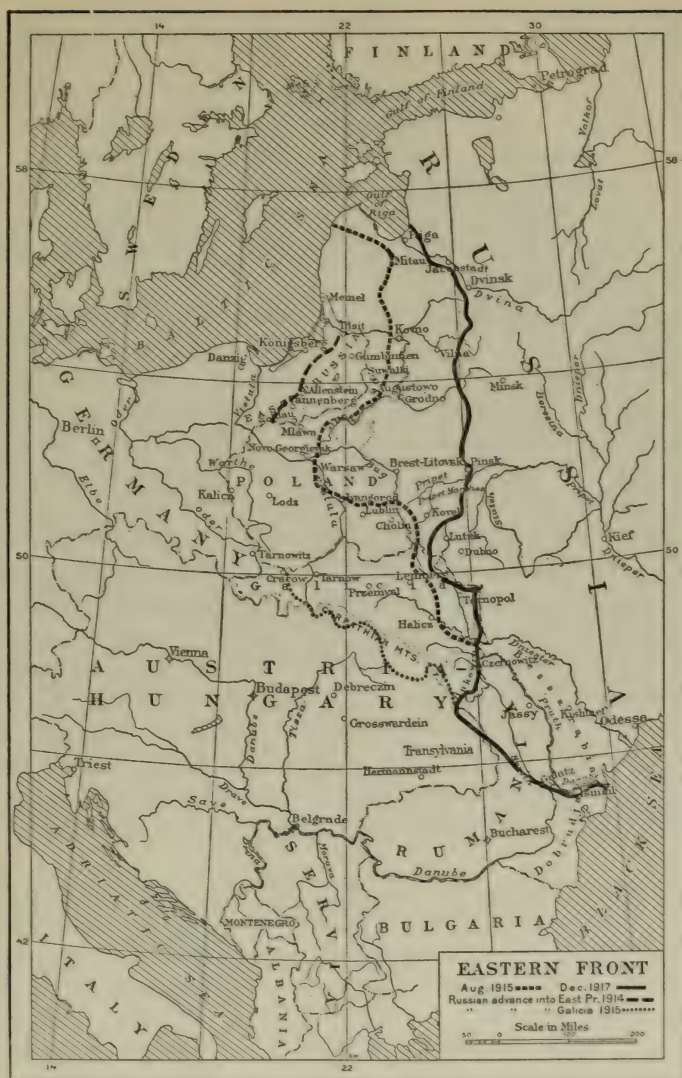


or raids designed to capture prisoners, to seize an enemy front line trench, or at most to gain a few hundred yards of ground at an important spot. Amidst mud and water, or in bitter winter cold, huddled underground in the midst of a maze of trenches, dugouts, and barbed-wire entanglements, the contending armies faced each other for four full years.

The Russian invasion of East Prussia. The German strategists were soon to find that their plans were doomed to failure in the east as well as in the west. Their belief that Russian mobilization would proceed at a rate too leisurely to become an early menace proved to be wholly erroneous. Two weeks after the outbreak of the war two large Russian armies stood ready on the western border for an early advance into East Prussia. About August 17 one of these crossed the frontier and began moving westward with Königsberg as the objective point. A few days later the second and larger army crossed the border somewhat farther to the south and proceeded forward in the general direction of Allenstein. This army was under the command of General Samsonov, who had served acceptably in the Russo-Japanese War.

The battle of the Masurian Lakes. August 26-31. The German general staff now called to its aid Paul von Hindenburg, a retired general, who was known to have intimate knowledge of the geography of East Prussia. South and southeast of Königsberg the country is low and swampy and is dotted with shallow lakes, the Masurian Lakes, which the kaiser once planned to drain in the interest of agriculture, but which on Hindenburg's advice were allowed to remain undisturbed as a part of the system of Prussian defense. On August 26 Hindenburg struck the invader and in a series of battles (called by the Germans the battle of Tannenberg) drove the enemy into the marshes and the lakes where resistance became impossible. When the fighting ceased five days later, nearly 90,000 Russians had been made prisoners and Samsonov's army had in large part been destroyed. Samsonov fell on the battle field. Later in the season the Russians made another attempt to invade Prussia but without success.

The war in Galicia and Poland: Przemyśl. On the Austrian frontier the forces of the tsar were more fortunate. Toward the close of August an Austrian army invaded Poland but was defeated and driven back to Galicia. The Russians, following up their success, now crossed the border and advanced on Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, which they entered on September 3. The Austrians retired to the great fortress of Przemyśl, to which the Russians now laid formal siege (September 23).



Early in October Field Marshal von Hindenburg appeared in Galicia as commander-in-chief of all the Teutonic forces on the eastern front with nearly a million men under his control. Hindenburg succeeded in forcing the Russians out of Galicia, but in a subsequent advance on Warsaw he failed. The

Russians soon returned to Galicia and resumed the siege of Przemyśl. In November a vast army of Germans and Austrians under the command of General August von Mackensen had begun a terrific drive into western Poland. But the Russians refused to be diverted from their operations in Galicia, and Przemyśl was forced to surrender (March 22, 1915). The loss of this stronghold was a severe blow to the Austrian cause; it was reported that a garrison of 120,000 men laid down their arms as prisoners of war.

The war on the high seas; the submarine. When England entered the war the control of the seas passed at once to the navies of the Allies. As soon as the news of the outbreak of war reached them, the German and Austrian sea captains sought friendly harbors where their ships were promptly interned. This was not true of all, however, for some of the German ships remained on the sea and began to make war on British commerce. On November 1 a fleet of German men-of-war surprised a somewhat weaker English fleet off the Chilean coast and defeated it, sinking two cruisers and damaging two others. A month later (December 8) the Germans were in turn surprised near the Falkland Islands and all their ships, four in number, were shattered and sunk. Three German raiders, the *Königsberg*, the *Emden*, and the *Dresden*, remained at large for some time still, and inflicted serious damage on English commerce; but they, too, were finally caught, the *Emden* and the *Königsberg* in November, and the *Dresden* the following March.

The main German fleet was kept in close concealment in the Baltic and North Sea ports, the German admiralty putting its energies chiefly into submarine warfare, which from the very beginning proved terribly destructive to the commerce of the Allies, more especially to that of Great Britain. The submarines would steal forth from the German ports, or from carefully prepared bases on the Belgian coast, and raid the shipping in English waters or wherever the British flag might chance to appear.

A "long-distance" blockade. The traditional policy of the English government has been to maintain a small but highly trained army and a large and powerful fleet to be used largely in offensive warfare. In 1914, however, conditions were such

that this policy had to be abandoned. On the advice of Lord Kitchener the government proceeded to raise and equip an immense army, which finally came to number several million men. In the meantime the British admiralty proceeded to place the German empire in a state of blockade. It was hoped that by depriving the enemy of access to the ocean the Germans might be starved into an early surrender. The methods employed in this blockade were unique in the history of naval warfare, though somewhat similar methods had been employed during the years of the Continental system. Instead of sending war ships to the German coast to close the enemy's ports, the British admiralty stationed its men-of-war along the great sea routes leading toward northwestern Europe; and all ships destined for Baltic or North Sea ports, whether belligerent or neutral, were forced to enter British harbors and submit to a careful and thorough search. If any contraband goods were found, or goods which there was reason to fear would ultimately find their way into Germany, these were confiscated or purchased for British use. The favorite field for such operations was the route past the Orkney Islands; and Kirkwall, the chief port of these islands, became the most important station of the blockading fleet. This new form of "long-distance" blockade was officially announced on March 1, 1915, the older methods having been found ineffective. The Germans and some of the neutrals held that the newer methods were in violation of international law. To this the British replied that the Germans, having themselves repeatedly violated international law, could claim no protection from its provisions.

Failure of the Austrian campaign in Serbia. Inasmuch as the war originated in the failure of the Austrian government to get what Count Berchtold and his associates regarded as proper satisfaction from Serbia for the murder of the Austrian heir-apparent, it was to be expected that a prompt effort would be made to conquer the Serbian kingdom. About two weeks after the war had been formally declared, the invasion of Serbian territory was begun; but the first attempt was unsuccessful: in the battle of the Jadar (August 20) the Austrians suffered a disastrous defeat and were forced to withdraw. In September they returned to the task and after two months of fighting took the city of Belgrade. But the Serbian forces

rallied and soon reëntered their capital city. By the close of the year the Austrians had been forced to surrender all their conquests in Serbia and to retire from Serbian soil.

Turkey enters the war. November, 1914. In November, 1914, Turkey was definitely drawn into the war as an ally of the Central Powers. The Turks were not well prepared to take an active part in the great conflict; still, the extension of the military area to the Near East was a matter of grave concern, especially to the Russians and the English. Russia was the traditional enemy of the Turks, and the temptation to try conclusions with the northern neighbor was one that the Young Turk leaders were unable to resist. A generation earlier the sultan's government had looked to England for friendship and even for protection; but with the extension of British authority into Egypt, a kingdom which was tributary to the Ottoman empire, the Turks had lost faith in British diplomacy and had accepted the friendship of the German kaiser. There was also the fact that the king of England in the course of the nineteenth century had become the sovereign lord of a vast Mohammedan population and had, in a sense, deprived the sultan of his traditional position as the most powerful ruler in the Moslem world. The Turkish rulers believed in 1914 that by a successful participation in the war the Ottoman empire might be restored in part to its ancient position among the devotees of Islam; it was also hoped in Constantinople that it might be possible to expel the English from Egypt and Suez.

The war in the Turkish empire was fought along four separate fronts. (1) The Turks and the Russians came in contact in the Caucasus mountains soon after the Ottoman government had come openly into the war. (2) The first signs of actual hostility on the Turkish side was a movement against Suez; but serious warfare in that region did not begin till early in the following year (1915). (3) In November, 1914, a British force appeared at the head of the Persian Gulf and began the invasion of Mesopotamia. (4) In February of the following year a British fleet began an attack in the Dardanelles with a view to reducing the fortifications on the peninsula of Gallipoli and advancing to Constantinople. In the operations in the Near East the English government depended chiefly on the use of

troops provided by the British dependencies in the eastern hemisphere. The invasion of Mesopotamia was planned and organized by the government of India. In the attack on Gallipoli the forces utilized were largely from Australia and New Zealand.

The war in Africa. Soon after the Turks had allied themselves with the Teutonic powers, the spiritual head of the Moslem faith (who resides in Constantinople) proclaimed a "holy war" and called on the faithful everywhere to rise against the infidel oppressors, but to no purpose. India with her millions of Mohammedans remained loyal to her Christian emperor, sending both men and money to the aid of her rulers. Equally futile were the efforts of Germany to stir up a hostile interest in other parts of the British realms. In South Africa the Boer generals, Maritz and De Wet, raised the standard of revolt; but General Botha, the prime minister of the South African Union, refused to countenance the movement. He sent an army against the rebels and in a few months the uprising had passed into history.

The government of South Africa now resumed an offensive movement which had been initiated in September and sent General Botha to invade and conquer German Southwest Africa. This territory was difficult of access and the German garrisons were strongly entrenched; but on July 9, 1915, they surrendered, and German rule in South Africa ceased. It had ceased nearly a year earlier in Togoland which the French and the British had taken in August, 1914. There remained Kamerun and German East Africa, in both of which the soldiers of the Fatherland offered stubborn resistance. In Kamerun French and British forces fought an arduous campaign, but the entire colony was finally conquered in February, 1916. In that same month General Smuts, one of Botha's chief lieutenants, landed at Mombasa to take charge of the campaign in German East Africa which was going slowly forward. Smuts drove the Germans out of the colony; but the kaiser's East African forces kept the German flag flying beyond the frontier till November, 1918, when they finally surrendered.

"Frightfulness" at sea: the Lusitania. May 7, 1915. As the months passed the German people began to feel more and more keenly the effect of the British blockade and the fear of

slow starvation became increasingly real. The authorities realized the need of preparing a counter-stroke. Early in the new year the kaiser's government announced its purpose to consider the waters surrounding the British Isles as a "war zone" within which every ship, belligerent or neutral, should be regarded as lawful prey. The war zone decree went into effect on February 18, 1915, and was carried out with terrible effectiveness from the very start. On May 7, a submarine sank the *Lusitania*, one of the largest passenger liners afloat, as it was passing along the coast of southern Ireland. The *Lusitania* carried a cargo made up in part of ammunition; but it also carried more than a thousand passengers, many of whom were women and children. In all 1195 lives were lost: 114 Americans were among the dead. The deed shocked civilization and brought the American people face to face with the possibilities of war; but peaceful relations were maintained on the promise of the German government that the submarine captains would not be permitted to sink any vessel carrying passengers or merchandise without first visiting the same, searching the cargo for contraband wares, and providing for the safety of the passengers and the crew in case the search should reveal good and proper reason for sinking the ship.

A more intense blockade. The British replied to the new Berlin decree with orders to strengthen and intensify the blockade at every point. All forms of trade with Germany were now practically outlawed, especially did the English try to prevent all shipments of food to German ports. The neutral governments, whose citizens were drawing great profits as middlemen in the trade with Germany, protested against the new orders, but without avail; and so long as the Germans insisted on maintaining their policy of frightfulness at sea, no neutral power cared to do more than make a formal protest (1915-1916).

Gains and losses. 1914. When the campaigns of 1914 closed, neither group of belligerents could point to any decided advantage. On the western front the Germans were holding nearly all of Belgium and a considerable area in northeastern France; but their forces had been checked at the Marne, they had failed in their efforts to seize the Channel ports, and their plans and hopes for an early and successful termination of the war had

failed. On the eastern front Hindenburg had defeated the Russians in the battle of the Masurian Lakes and had driven the invader from Prussian soil. Mackensen's great drive during the closing weeks of the year had netted the Germans a large part of Russian Poland. On the other hand the Germans had been keenly disappointed in the military prowess of their Austrian allies: Austria had been defeated in nearly all the more important engagements both on the Serbian and on the Polish front.

In addition to the satisfaction of having checked the progress of the German armies in northeastern France, in Flanders, and in western Russia, the Allies had the satisfaction of having seized and retained a considerable area of enemy territory in Galicia and a small part of southwestern Alsace. Moreover they had conquered nearly all the colonial possessions of Germany and had swept the German fleet from the ocean. Thus far, too, the operations of England against the Turks had been moderately successful.

The plans of the Allies. 1915. It was now generally believed in the councils of the Allies that the Germans had put forth all their available strength and that the armies of the Central Powers were consequently no longer in position to undertake any extensive offensive operations. There was, therefore, some reason to hope that the war might be brought to an end by the close of the new year. Complete victory, it was thought, might be achieved by a series of simultaneous offensives on four fronts: in the west, in Poland, in the region of the Dardanelles, and at the head of the Adriatic Sea. The plans for the last of these offensives could be carried out only in case Italy should enter the war on the side of the Allies. Technically the Italian kingdom was still associated with the Teutonic empires in the Triple Alliance; but this alliance was a defensive arrangement only, and the Italian government had no obligations to assist Germany in an attack on France. For some time the alliance had been losing in favor among the Italian people; and it was generally believed that the Roman government would repudiate the agreement as soon as a convenient opportunity should appear.

Westerners and Easterners. Of the four projected offensives the first to be launched was the one directed against the Turkish

strongholds on the shores of the Dardanelles. As the war progressed the military authorities in England came to be grouped into two parties, sometimes called the Westerners and the Easterners. The former group believed that the war would be fought to a conclusion in France and Flanders and that the first duty of the nation was to strengthen its forces on the western front. The Easterners held that, so long as trench warfare remained the chief reliance of the contending armies, there could be little progress for either side in the west. Their plan was to transfer the field of active operations to the Near East and to force the opening of the straits leading into the Black Sea. If this could be accomplished, several important results were sure to follow: relief could be given to the Russians who were in dire need of munitions and other supplies: Bulgaria would probably find it advisable to join the enemies of Germany; the Turks would be forced to withdraw from the war; Austria would soon be overwhelmed by a combined attack from Russia and the Balkans.

The failure at Gallipoli. Winston Churchill, the first lord of the British admiralty, was a firm believer in the feasibility of an offensive movement in the Near East and urged an expedition to the Dardanelles. His arguments prevailed, and in February, 1915, a strong fleet of English and French men-of-war was collected at the entrance to the strait. No time was lost in beginning the bombardment of the Turkish fortifications lining the lower course of the waterway, but the guns made very little impression on these positions. A month later the fleet attempted to force its way up the strait but was compelled to retire with serious loss. Toward the close of April an Allied expeditionary force, made up largely of colonials from Australia, New Zealand, India, and French Africa, was landed on the western shore of the Gallipoli peninsula. Throughout the summer there was almost continuous fighting at Gallipoli, for the Turks were strongly entrenched on the higher ground along the ridge of the peninsula. The British being unable to dislodge them, the venture toward the close of the year was finally given up. What remained of the Allied forces was in large part transferred to Saloniki on Greek soil, where the Allies had assembled a considerable force in anticipation of important events in the Balkans. Though the venture at Gallipoli at one

time came very near succeeding, it proved in the end to be one of the most conspicuous failures of the war. It cost five battleships and more than 100,000 men.

"Unredeemed Italy." In their plans to induce the Italians to enter the war the statesmen of the Allied powers were more successful. On the shores of the Adriatic Sea, in what was still Austrian territory, there are numerous communities, especially in the urban centers, where the Italian race is strongly represented, and where the Italian language is generally spoken. Some of these are relics of Venetian power on the Dalmatian coast, while others have an Italian history reaching back to ancient times. The most important are the ports of Trieste and Fiume at the head of the Adriatic, and the city of Trent with the surrounding territory in southern Tyrol. Trieste was the chief seaport of the Austrian lands and a commercial center of great importance. Fiume, located farther to the south, held a corresponding position in the Hungarian part of the dual monarchy. Trent is a city of less economic importance, though of strategic significance and of some interest for its historical memories. These two regions, the Trentino and Istria (the country about Trieste) formed the so-called "Unredeemed Italy," for the redemption of which the more aggressive Italian nationalists had long displayed a most intense eagerness.

Italy joins the Allies. May, 1915. During the first winter of the war, Italy, though officially neutral, showed signs of a growing restlessness. The Teutonic powers offered to cede certain parts of these unredeemed territories, but Austria felt that she could not afford to surrender Trieste. In April, 1915, the government of Italy entered into a secret agreement with the Allied powers, according to which, as the price of a declaration of war against Austria, the Italian kingdom was to receive, at the conclusion of the war, not only the coveted lands of the Trentino and at the head of the Adriatic, but also a considerable strip of the Dalmatian coast and further compensation on Turkish soil. Early in May the king of Italy denounced the Triple Alliance, and by the close of the month he was at war with the Austrians. The campaign in the Tyrolese mountains proved costly and arduous. The advance was exceedingly slow, and soon the situation on this front, too, began to resemble a deadlock.

In August the king of Italy declared war on the Turks, but no serious military operations developed from this move. Later in the year when the Central Powers were carrying the war into the Balkans, the Italians landed an army of 30,000 men on the Albanian coast. But the presence of this force did not seriously affect the course of events elsewhere in the Balkan peninsula. The Italians did, however, remain in some strength at the port of Avlona, just across from the southeastern extremity of Italy, a point of some strategic importance which they had seized in the previous December, while their country was still at peace with Turkey and Austria.

The German offensive in Poland. July, 1915. The plans for a great Russian offensive on the eastern front in the summer of 1915 did not materialize; for the Germans had also come to believe that the war might be terminated by a successful attack on the Russian front. The German high command accordingly decided to begin operations in Poland and thus to anticipate the expected invasion of Prussia. An army of more than a million men was collected for a third gigantic invasion of Poland. General von Hindenburg, the victor of Tannenberg, was given the supreme command; associated with him was General von Mackensen who had shown great skill and energy in the campaign against the Russians in the early winter of the previous year. Mackensen's first duty was to force the enemy out of Galicia, and then, turning northwards, to operate with the main army in a movement on Warsaw. The offensive began in the last week of June and continued for three months. Warsaw fell early in August. Vilna was taken in September. The Russian armies were under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas, a member of the imperial family who proved to be a general of no mean ability. Again and again the Russians strove to halt the advancing enemy; but they were poorly equipped and Hindenburg's artillery tore their ranks into shreds. From the beginning the Russians were forced to an almost continuous retreat.

The battles for Poland were fought along a front of more than seven hundred miles and it is estimated that five or six million men were engaged in this conflict. Throughout the summer Hindenburg's great drive held the attention of the entire world, and when it finally came to a pause the greater part of Russian Poland was in German hands.

Bulgaria enters the war. October, 1915. The downfall of Russia seemed almost complete. To the Allied governments the situation looked grave, almost desperate; and it became even more so in October when the tsar of Bulgaria threw off the mask of "armed neutrality," ranged his armies on the side of the Central Powers, and declared war on Serbia. His professed purpose was to regain certain territories that Bulgaria had lost to Serbia in the Second Balkan War. An earlier demand on the Serbian government to restore these lands had been promptly refused; Turkey, on the other hand, yielding to pressure from her Teutonic allies, proved more tractable, and made a small territorial concession to Bulgarian pride.

Disaster in Serbia and Montenegro. In the first week of October an Austro-German army, 300,000 strong, under the command of General von Mackensen, began crossing the Danube and soon was camped on Serbian soil. About the same time a Bulgarian force entered Serbia from the east. The little kingdom was doomed. Belgrade fell on October 9, and Nish, the temporary seat of government, was seized by the enemy four weeks later. The Serbian army retreated into the mountains and the larger part of it ultimately found its way through Albania to the great camp of the Allies at Saloniki. From Serbia Mackensen led his forces westward into Montenegro. After a campaign of two weeks the Montenegrin army gave up the struggle, fled to the south, and in their turn found refuge behind the trenches of Saloniki.

The Armenian massacres. 1915. As the autumn months of 1915 were wearing away the world was horrified to learn of a crime which in extent and cruelty has scarcely a parallel in modern history. During the summer of that year while the Russians were in retreat before the German colossus and the English were at bay on the shores of Gallipoli, the Turkish authorities decided to solve an ancient problem in the hills of western Asia by a wholesale extermination of the Armenian population in certain parts of Asiatic Turkey. The work seems to have begun in southern Asia Minor but was soon extended to the homelands of the race. The Armenians (who adhere to the Christian religion) were given the choice of conversion to Islam, exile, or death. It is estimated that out of a total of 1,500,000 about one-third were slaughtered or otherwise de-

stroyed, and that a like number found refuge outside Turkey, chiefly on Russian soil.

The war in Asiatic Turkey. After a summer of horrors came a winter of famine, exposure, and renewed persecution which further reduced the strength and the numbers of the stricken race. In addition to all this Armenia was fated to suffer the devastation of war. After the disastrous retreat of his armies in the summer the Grand Duke Nicholas was relieved of his duties on the Polish front and was sent to take command in the Caucasus, where desultory warfare had been in progress for some time. With the opening of winter the Russian army entered Turkish Armenia with the important city of Erzerum as its objective point. Early in February, 1916, the Russians began to invest Erzerum and a week later the Turks abandoned the fortifications. From Erzerum the forces of the Grand Duke proceeded in various directions and succeeded in taking several important Turkish strongholds among which was the port of Trebizond on the Black Sea.

The war on the western front. In France and Belgium there was much fighting all through the year both in the form of minor engagements and sustained offensives on a larger scale; but no operation of a decisive character was undertaken and carried forward to successful completion on the western front in 1915. In March and April Sir John French made an effort to gain the important city of Lille; but though his forces made some progress into the enemy's territory, the offensive failed in its main objective. In May General Foch, hoping to drive the Germans out of Arras, struck hard at their lines in that neighborhood; this attack, too, must be rated a failure.

Gas warfare. On the German side the only important undertaking on this front was a counter-offensive launched late in April against the British in and about Ypres in western Belgium. In this attack the Germans tried a new weapon, the use of which had hitherto been forbidden by the laws of civilized warfare, namely poison in the form of gas. Taking advantage of a favorable wind they sent a great cloud of deadly chlorine gas, which no man could breathe and survive, against the forces opposing them. The first surprise gained them a signal success; but almost at once, as a defense, gas masks were devised containing chemical filters to keep the poison fumes from the

mouth and nose. Before long all the combatants were vying with each other in the discovery of new and deadlier poison gases, and new ways to direct it at their opponents either in clouds or from shells, and in devising gas masks more and more elaborate and efficient to protect their own soldiers. To disciplined troops gas lost its old horror and became merely a weapon no more dreaded than bullet, shell, or grenade. The battle of Ypres continued for about a month and finally closed, as happened so frequently on this front, with some gains for the attacking forces but with failure to break the opposing lines.

The problem of munitions. The reason why the Allies failed to strike effectively in the spring and summer of 1915 was the fact that there was an insufficiency of munitions behind the French and British trenches. The energy of the British government had to be transferred in great measure from the trench lines to the factories; for a time the interest of the war office and the related departments centered about the manufacture of aeroplanes, machine guns, shells, and gas masks. In September it was believed that the supply of munitions was adequate for a somewhat sustained offensive. Toward the close of the month the Allied forces began to move forward into the German lines. The French struck near Rheims; the British advanced against Arras. In its earlier phase the movement was quite successful; but the Germans were still superior in the matter of munitions, and early in October the offensive broke down. The losses were painful to contemplate. The German authorities reported that in the September offensive alone the Allies suffered nearly 200,000 casualties, while their own were only about 40,000. These figures are doubtless exaggerated; but it is quite clear that the Allies sustained far greater losses than the Germans.

Gains and losses. 1915. The results of the campaigns of 1915 were, on the whole, favorable to the Central Powers. Italy had, indeed, entered the war on the side of the Allies, and all was not well with Germany's friend in the Near East; but otherwise the outcome of the year's activities could not fail to give real satisfaction to observers in Berlin. The German armies had marched to victory on a vast front extending from the Baltic to the Rumanian frontier; they had crushed Serbia and Montenegro, thus bringing nearly all of the Balkan peninsula under German influence or German control. The gains

that the French and the English had been able to make on the western front seemed slight and unimportant when compared to the conquered territory now held by the Germans and their allies in Poland and in the Balkans. And yet, in its larger purpose the great offensive on the eastern front had failed: Russia was not yet crushed; the war was not yet ended.

The German offensive at Verdun. 1916. But the Russian armies were believed to be so thoroughly demoralized that they might for a time, at least, be safely left out of account. The German high command now reverted to the earlier plan of dictating peace on French soil. But before this could be achieved they must prove to the French people that their strongest defenses were vulnerable and that they "could not hope for a military victory." The German general staff accordingly decided to open the campaign of 1916 with a furious drive on the historic city of Verdun. The point of attack was chosen partly because the fortresses of Verdun, situated on high ground only twenty miles distant from the German frontier, were a constant menace to the German line of communications, and partly because, being open to attack on two sides, they afforded an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the effectiveness of the German artillery. That the fall of the great stronghold might add luster and popularity to the Prussian dynasty, the German crown prince was placed in nominal charge of the operations.

Late in January the Germans began to deliver attacks at various points along the front, and for a month the French were kept in doubt as to what the plans of the enemy really were. But on February 21 the crown prince struck at the defenses of Verdun and with some success. For nearly a week the advantage was with the enemy; but from that time on French resistance proved more effective. The Germans continued their attack for several months with some gains, though not with such striking progress as at first. After the middle of April the advantage was now with one side now with the other till the close of June when the French had made good their promise that "they shall not pass."

The Austrian advance in the Trentino. May-June, 1916. It was a part of the German plan that the offensive in the west was to be accompanied by a powerful drive against the Italians

in western Austria. Accordingly the Austrians prepared an army of 400,000 men and launched a terrific attack on the Italian lines in the Trentino. As this part of the Italian front was not strongly held, the Austrians had valid reasons to hope that the line could be broken and a highway opened southward into the Venetian plain. If the movement had developed according to plan, the great Italian army operating against Trieste would have been isolated and forced to surrender. The attack began in May and continued for about a month. Taken by surprise, the Italians yielded their positions and retreated in great confusion. But General Cadorna, the Italian commander-in-chief, was able to reform his lines and the Austrian offensive was soon definitely checked.

The Sinn Fein movement in Ireland. The German military authorities also hoped to derive substantial assistance from a nationalistic movement that was being actively promoted in Ireland. It will be recalled that one of the leading spirits in the enlistment and organization of the Irish volunteers in the spring of 1914 was Sir Roger Casement, whose ideal was an independent Irish republic. When war broke out the volunteer movement disintegrated, and Sir Roger fled, first to the United States and later to Germany. There remained, however, several revolutionary groups on the island, the most important of which was Sinn Fein ("ourselves alone"), an organization composed largely of intellectuals and professional men who made no pretense of loyalty to the British crown. Intensely pro-Irish, the leaders of Sinn Fein dreamed of an Irish republic, a state that should be independent of England in all the essential fields of national life. For the English language they wished to substitute the Gaelic idiom which was still spoken to some extent in the greater part of western Ireland. The age-long economic dependence of their country on the larger island they hoped to break through a revival of Irish industry and a general boycott of English goods: "burn everything English except English coal." In the spring of 1916 Sinn Fein may have counted as many as 15,000 members, only a minority of whom were zealous for the cause of immediate revolution. The organization had, however, provided itself with arms and munitions and carried on an open agitation among the Irish people, who were not unanimous in support of the war and

did not take kindly to the continuous activity of the recruiting offices.

The Easter rebellion in Ireland. April, 1916. On Good Friday eve a German ship approached the Irish coast in an effort to land a cargo of munitions. It was convoyed by a submarine which carried Sir Roger Casement as a passenger. Sir Roger was landed safely but soon fell into the hands of the British authorities. His appearance in Ireland was part of a plan for an uprising in the Easter season. On Monday, April 24, the Sinn Feiners seized several of the public buildings and other important places in Dublin. But the government forces were near at hand, and after several days of fighting the insurgents, realizing their inability to carry through their plans, gave up the enterprise and surrendered (Saturday, April 29).

The leaders of Sinn Fein had proclaimed an Irish republic with Padraic H. Pearse as provisional president. Pearse was a young Irish teacher of English descent but inspired with love and enthusiasm for everything that belonged to the land of his birth. After the uprising had been put down, Pearse with fourteen other leaders was tried by court-martial and executed. Somewhat later Sir Roger Casement was tried for treason and sent to the scaffold. There were related uprisings in other parts of Ireland, but these were of no immediate consequence. With the failure of the enterprise in Dublin the movement collapsed.

The surrender at Kut-el-Amara. April 29. The news of the revolt in Dublin was followed in a few days by disquieting reports from Mesopotamia. The Anglo-Indian forces that had landed on the shores of the Persian Gulf in November, 1914, had not been content with remaining idle in camp, but had slowly and cautiously carried the Union Jack forward up the scorching valley of Shat-el-Arab. A year later, when the British lines had approached to within eighteen miles of Bagdad, the Turks were encountered in superior force and the British were compelled to retreat to Kut-el-Amara, a point on the Tigris River, about one hundred miles below Bagdad. Here they were besieged by the Turks, and, the other British forces in the valley being unable to reënforce or supply them, surrender became inevitable. On April 29, General Townsend and his army of 8,000 men laid down their arms. The British, how-

ever, continued to hold the lower part of the ancient Babylonian valley. In the campaign of the following winter Kut-el-Amara was retaken by the British under General Maude and a month later the Union Jack was hoisted over the walls of Bagdad (March 11, 1917).

The battle of Jutland. May 31, 1916. In the afternoon of May 31, 1916, the only great naval battle of the entire war was fought off the northwestern coast of Jutland. The German fleet was apparently cruising northward along the Danish coast and some distance out into the North Sea, when the advance squadron suddenly encountered a minor fleet of British cruisers commanded by Vice-admiral David Beatty. In the engagement that followed several ships went down. Soon the main German fleet appeared, and the English retired toward the main fleet with the enemy in close pursuit. The British grand fleet seems to have been located somewhere near the middle of the North Sea, and on receiving news of Beatty's encounter with the Germans Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, who was in command, hastened toward the scene of action. With the arrival of the grand fleet the battle was joined once more; but it was already late in the day, and the gathering darkness soon put an end to the fight. Both sides suffered severely: the English reported the loss of fourteen ships and the Germans admitted having lost eleven. Both sides also claimed the victory; but the English remained on the field of battle after the enemy had retired, and the British navy continued in control of the North Sea.

The military plans of the Allies. 1916. The Teutonic powers had had their inning, but their efforts, mighty though they were, had produced no decisive results. The fighting continued about Verdun all through the summer and into the late autumn; but the confident hope of reducing the great fortress and forcing the French to accept an early peace had perished long before. Meantime the Allied governments after long and careful preparation stood ready to deliver three great blows — in the east, in the south, and in the west.

A Russian offensive. June–August. The Russians delivered the first blow. Early in June, about the time when the tide was beginning to turn on the Italian border, a Russian army counting more than a million men began to move forward

against the Austrian lines on the eastern front. The offensive was under the able direction of General Brussilov who had fought with distinction in Poland and Galicia. For a period of ten weeks Brussilov's advance continued; and when the force of the offensive had finally spent itself, 350,000 Austrian soldiers, at least one-half of the army that had faced Brussilov in June, had passed behind the Russian lines as prisoners of war. Many of these were Czechs and Jugoslavs who no longer cared to fight for a German dynasty against their Slavic kinsmen across the border. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy had begun to disintegrate.

The Italian advance in Istria. June. Thoroughly alarmed at the new dangers in Galicia and Bukowina the Central Powers now began to rush reënforcements from the other fronts to the new battle ground. During the summer months of 1916 the Germans transferred eight divisions from the western front and the Austrians withdrew several divisions from the Italian border. General Cadorna was not slow to take advantage of this movement: about two weeks after Brussilov's advance had fairly begun, an Italian offensive was in progress along the southern front. The Austrians were forced to retire from their advanced positions on Italian soil and to yield the important city of Gorizia about twenty miles north of Trieste. But the dry plateau of Istria favored the defending forces and Cadorna's progress toward Trieste continued painfully slow.

The great offensive on the Somme. July-November. In planning their operations for the year 1916 the military authorities of the Allied Powers had agreed that a sustained effort should be made to break through the German trenches in the region of the Somme valley in northeastern France. The offensive was to be launched in June, but the German attack on Verdun disarranged the plans somewhat, and conditions did not seem favorable till a month later. In this offensive the British contingents were under the command of Sir Douglas Haig who had succeeded to the chief command in December of the previous year, while the French divisions were under the control of General Foch, who had shown brilliant generalship in the first battle of the Marne. On July 1 the attack began with a violent drive on both sides of the Somme River. For some days the assailing forces made notable progress; but German resistance

soon became more stubborn and effective, and what gains were made were dearly bought. In October weather conditions became very unfavorable and the advance lost its early momentum. When the offensive closed (in November) the enemy's line remained unbroken along its entire length. But the pressure had been relieved at Verdun, and the crown prince brought home defeat. In the two great drives on the western front, those at Verdun and on the Somme, both sides suffered terrible losses. The Verdun offensive is believed to have cost the Germans at least 300,000 men. The losses in the battles of the Somme were even greater; it is estimated that each side lost in dead, wounded, and prisoners, more than 600,000. Since the energy in this drive was provided in large part by Haig's army, the British losses were greater than those of the French, perhaps 400,000 men.

Rumania enters the war. August 27. During the spring and summer of 1916 the net results of the warfare had been distinctly in favor of the Allied forces. Another Balkan state, Rumania, was consequently encouraged to join in the attack on the Central Powers. The Rumanian people had long been torn by conflicting desires and emotions: the horrors of the conflict were patent to all, and the greater part of the nation no doubt hoped for continued peace. But across the Carpathian Mountains lies the territory of Transylvania, which, though it had for many centuries been under Hungarian control, is inhabited largely by Rumanians. The king of Rumania belonged to an older line of the Hohenzollern family and seems to have promised his German kinsman that his government would, if possible, assist the Teutonic powers, and at the worst would remain neutral. However, the hope of winning and annexing the "unredeemed" Rumanian lands in Transylvania finally decided the nation, and King Ferdinand found himself compelled to declare war on the Austrians. The omens appeared distinctly favorable: not far to the north were the lines of Brussilov's victorious Russian army; on the Saloniki front General Sarrail commanded a strangely assorted but powerful group of armies counting a total of 700,000 men. From both these sources Rumania had reason to expect effective assistance. On August 28 Rumanian forces began the invasion of Transylvania, and for some weeks continued their advance without serious check.

But the Germans and the Austrians were preparing a counter-offensive against which the little Rumanian kingdom could not hope to stand. A strong Teutonic force was gathered in Transylvania before which the Rumanians were soon driven back to the mountains. The Germans easily forced the mountain passes and poured out upon the rich Rumanian plain. Meanwhile General Mackensen with an army composed of Germans, Turks, and Bulgarians entered the Dobrudcha, a Rumanian district south of the Danube. Thus the Rumanians were caught between two great armies and defeat was inevitable. Bucharest fell in December and the western half of the kingdom was added to the widening area of German conquest. The Rumanian government retired to Jassy.

Divided counsels in Greece. The Rumanian disaster may be ascribed chiefly to the fact that the Allies failed in their promises to support and defend the kingdom in its attack on the Hapsburg monarchy. The Russians did render some assistance on the new front; but the expected offensive against the Austrians did not materialize. There seemed to be no energy any longer in the Russian government, and a few months later came the revolution. In Saloniki, too, there seemed to be a curious lack of energy. General Sarrail's attempt at an offensive against the Bulgarians was a dismal failure. The explanation must be sought in the fact that Saloniki is on Greek soil and that the Greek kingdom was rapidly drifting in the direction of civil war. A strong party headed by the veteran statesman Venizelos believed in giving open support to the Allies in the hope of enlarging the Greek kingdom at the expense of the Ottoman empire. Another party headed by King Constantine (whose queen was the kaiser's sister), while insisting on Greek neutrality, was believed to be strongly pro-German in sympathy and purpose. So long as there was any danger that the Greek army in the rear of Saloniki might be called into the field on the side of the Central Powers, Sarrail's arm was powerless.

The importance of German control in the Balkans. The German operations in the Balkans proved to be of great consequence. The occupation of Serbia in the previous year had enabled the Teutonic empires to establish direct communications between Constantinople and Berlin. Train loads of munitions and other supplies were dispatched to the Bosphorus

where the need of these had long been evident. The occupation of western Rumania gave access to vast stores of food which were greatly needed in Germany, where the strangling force of the British blockade was threatening the population with the increasing horrors of famine. Rumania is also rich in oil, a necessity in modern warfare since motor transportation has become such an important factor. The events on the Danube also had a decided moral effect on the disheartened people of Germany, for the year closed with the cheering news of important victories still echoing in the German mind.

A peace offensive. December, 1916. Believing that Germany could at least suggest a termination of the war without sacrificing the advantages that her soldiers had won, the kaiser's government in December (a week after the fall of Bucharest) proposed a conference on neutral soil to consider the possibility of reaching an agreement to end the war. The Allies rejected the offer with scorn, characterizing it as "empty and insincere." Victorious German armies were in possession of Poland, western Rumania, Serbia, nearly the whole of Belgium, and a large part of France; until these were driven out, or until the Germans were willing to confess defeat, the governments of the many countries at war with the Central Powers could scarcely entertain the proposal of a peace conference. An effort by President Wilson to bring the belligerents into a conference had a similar fate. The Germans apparently were willing, but the Allied nations declared themselves unable to accept the good offices of the president, inasmuch as it seemed impossible at that stage of the war to secure an acceptable peace. In reply to President Wilson's request for a statement of their war aims, they stated that these included "first of all the restoration of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, with compensation due to them; the evacuation of the invaded territories in France, in Russia, and in Rumania with just reparation; . . . the restoration of provinces formerly torn from the Allies by force and against the wishes of the inhabitants; the liberation of the Italians, the Slavs, the Rumanians, and the Czechoslovaks from foreign domination; the delivery of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks." The spokesmen of the Allies also committed their respective governments to the expulsion of Turkish authority from the European Con-

continent, and to the "reorganization of Europe" on a basis that would guarantee national freedom and security to all peoples, great and small.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For references to the literature dealing with the Great War see below, ch. XXX, bibliographical note.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WORLD WAR. 1917-1918

Military "preparedness" in 1914: In the earlier months of the Great War much was said about the military preparedness of Germany and the lack of such preparedness elsewhere in the world, particularly in our own country. It is quite evident that the Prussian war machine was never in a more perfect condition for swift and effective work than in 1914; it seems also clear that the enemies of Germany were not sufficiently prepared to receive the shock of the Prussian onset. But even though Europe had for more than a generation resembled an armed camp, it seems to be true that no country, not even the German empire, was adequately prepared for a war extending over a period of more than one year. Few believed in the possibility of a long conflict: a war beginning in August would, according to the best military opinion, be fought to a conclusion by the close of the year. Lord Kitchener alone seemed able to foresee what actually came to pass: he urged the English to prepare for a long struggle, one that would continue for three years or even longer.

The British navy. On the part of Germany the war was a swift attack by the entire people in arms. The Allies soon discovered that to avoid certain and ignominious defeat they, too, must devote all their energies to the business of making war. This meant the reorganization of the whole social and economic life for three chief purposes: to provide armies, to manufacture munitions and other necessary equipment, and to provide and distribute food. Winston Churchill had scented war, and the British navy was prepared and ready for action on an hour's notice. In the naval review at Spithead a few weeks before the outbreak of the war, "216 actual fighting ships passed slowly before the royal yacht . . . with decks cleared, guns uncovered, steam up, and magazines replenished." Contrary to custom this great fleet was not again sent out but was kept in British waters, ready for any event and for any form of naval service.

The British army. On the other hand, Great Britain had only a small, though highly efficient, standing army. The first business, then, was to provide a military force adequate for offensive purposes. Lord Kitchener of Khartum, in whose abilities as a military administrator the English people had great faith, was appointed secretary of state for war. He proceeded at once to the task of raising and organizing an immense standing army, which by mid-summer, 1916, had reached the impressive total of 5,000,000 men. But by that time Kitchener was no longer in the war office: on June 6 a cruiser on which he had embarked struck a mine near the Orkneys, and the general was among the missing.

Kitchener's place was taken by David Lloyd George, who, as minister of munitions, had performed efficient service in organizing the industries of the kingdom for war purposes. Lloyd George attacked the problems of his new office with characteristic energy. In the closing year of the war the British commonwealth had no fewer than 7,500,000 men under arms and fighting in three continents. Of this vast army England contributed 60.4 percent, Scotland 8.3 percent, Wales 3.7 percent, Ireland 2.3 percent, the self-governing dominions and other colonies 12 percent, and India 13.3 percent. A part of the Indian contingent was made up of laborers and carriers, but the greater part was a combatant force serving on the battle fields of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Conscription in Great Britain. To develop this army the war office had to depend for nearly two years on voluntary enlistments. Unlike the other European powers, Great Britain had never demanded a general compulsory enlistment, a fact in which the English people have always taken great pride. But it was clear to many that under the new conditions of warfare the only wise policy was to resort to conscription. Though long reluctant to depart from the traditional methods of recruiting, the government was finally forced to ask Parliament for authority to draft the man power of the kingdom for military purposes. The opposition was strong and bitter; only after a long agitation was such a law secured. On May 24, 1916, conscription became a fact on the island of Great Britain. The law was not extended to Ireland, as it was feared that an attempt to force the Irish into service would lead to chronic

rebellion and thus decrease rather than increase the forces available on the various battle fronts.

Munitions. A large army requires a vast and varied equipment. When hostilities began the Germans appear to have been well provided with guns and the necessary munitions; the French, too, were fairly well equipped in this respect, while the English had only moderate supplies to draw from. In 1914 Britain manufactured what was believed to be a sufficient quantity of munitions to supply the normal British army of 200,000 men; but after a few months of warfare it was discovered that the military authorities had underestimated the capacity of the modern rapid-firing gun to consume ammunition. It therefore became necessary to provide extensive plants for the manufacture of guns, shells, explosives, and other materials needed in war. Into this industry women laborers were drawn in large numbers. When the third year of the war began the English were manufacturing as much munitions in a week as they had made in a year before the outbreak of the war.

The food problem. As in all the other European countries engaged in war, the problem how to provide adequate food for the army and for the population remaining at home soon became a serious one throughout the greater part of the kingdom. In the five years preceding the war England had imported 80 percent of the wheat and wheat flour consumed within her borders and had also secured large quantities of other grains from across the seas. To a nation thus situated, it is clear that the activities of the German submarines must prove a real menace. As this form of warfare was progressively intensified, the English people were gradually pushed nearer and nearer to the borderland of actual starvation. There was a considerable increase in the acreage devoted to cereals in 1915; but in 1916 the totals showed a decrease, due, no doubt, to the fact that the men were gradually being drawn into the army. To some extent the deficiency in farm labor was being met by the employment of women as farm hands: in 1914 about 80,000 women were employed on farms; in 1917 the number had risen to about 270,000. German prisoners of war were also employed to some extent in agricultural work. Steps were taken soon after the outbreak of the war to organize a food adminis-

tration; but it was not till the autumn of 1916 (the crop of that year was below the average), that the government felt able to insist on the organization of a ministry of food. Parliamentary sanction was given in December and Lord Devonport was appointed the first food controller.

A coalition Cabinet. May, 1915. When England went to war the Asquith ministry was still in charge of the government. With a few changes this was the same Cabinet that Campbell-Bannerman had organized in 1905. For some time there was a truce in Parliamentary politics, the opposition giving loyal support to the measures of the government. But in the spring of 1915 the Unionists notified Asquith that unless the leaders of their party should be admitted to the Cabinet, they would no longer maintain the truce. The basis of this demand was the belief that the government had shown gross neglect in not having provided an adequate supply of munitions; there was also a feeling that all was not well with the admiralty, Sir John Fisher having found it necessary to resign his position in that department because of disagreement with his chief, Winston Churchill, who was still first lord of the admiralty. The prime minister agreed to the demand and proceeded to reorganize his Cabinet as a coalition government. In the new ministry the Liberals held the greater number of places; but the new Unionist members were men of strength, ability, and political experience, whose presence in the Cabinet councils added real vigor to the government. An important development was the formation of a new ministry of munitions with David Lloyd George in charge. The energetic Welshman threw all his wonderful strength into his new duties, and before many months the problem of munitions had found a satisfactory solution.

Dissensions in the Cabinet. The coalition Cabinet administered the kingdom for a period of eighteen months. It was not always a harmonious body, and opportunities for disagreement were plentiful. There was much dissatisfaction with the prime minister both within and without the ministry, his most outspoken critic being Lloyd George, who had served with Asquith as Cabinet minister for ten years. Lloyd George felt that his chief lacked vigor, and it seems probable that the belief was well founded. Asquith was a statesman of the older school: he believed that every question should be thoroughly

examined and discussed before a final decision should be reached and recorded. But the war refused to take account of English traditions. When plans were being formed looking toward a more active prosecution of the war Lloyd George objected to having the prime minister hold a membership in the body that was to be created for that purpose. The outcome was that Asquith and his Cabinet were forced to resign; and the king, finding that the Unionists would not undertake the administration, asked Lloyd George to form a new ministry. The task was accepted and from that day the British government began to show vigor and energy such as it had not displayed for years (December, 1916).

David Lloyd George. The new prime minister was of Celtic stock and possessed in full measure all the outstanding qualities of his race. Of a strongly emotional nature, Lloyd George is powerful in the forum of human appeal. Unlike his predecessor, he seemed to reach his conclusions through some process of intuition rather than through intellectual effort; but his decisions, nevertheless, often showed remarkable wisdom. His great service to the English people during the terrible years of the war did not, however, lie wholly in wise management or efficient administration, but rather in the fact that he was able to transmit to the masses something of his own enthusiastic faith in the early and complete victory of British arms.

The War Cabinet. The new ministry, which was also a coalition government, remained a ministry only. Instead of the usual Cabinet made up of twenty or more men holding high administrative offices, Lloyd George organized a Cabinet of five composed of himself as prime minister, three Unionist members (Bonar Law, Earl Curzon, and Lord Milner) and one Laborite, Arthur Henderson. Of these five only one,—Bonar Law who became chancellor of the exchequer and government leader in the House of Commons,—held a real ministerial office. For the next three years Cabinet government virtually ceased to exist in the British kingdom. The members of the War Cabinet rarely attended the sessions of Parliament and showed no particular interest in Parliamentary criticism.

The Imperial Cabinet. At the same time the government called in representatives from India and the self-governing colonies, whose duties were to coördinate the military opera-

tions of the British commonwealth as a whole. This group came to be called the Imperial Cabinet. There was no constitutional warrant for such a body in British history, except the fact that the king still retains the power to summon to his council any man who owes allegiance to the British crown. The members of the Imperial Cabinet therefore acted solely on their authority as the personal advisers of the British king. One of the more important members of this group was General Smuts, a South African who had served with the enemies of England in the Boer War. Both the War Cabinet and the Imperial Cabinet were important institutions; but no attempt was made to maintain a rigid organization in either case. After a time the War Cabinet was slightly enlarged, though it never counted more than seven members. But within these two groups there were three men who spoke with the highest authority for the kingdom and for the empire: David Lloyd George, Lord Alfred Milner, and General Jan Christian Smuts, — a Welshman, an Englishman, and a Boer.

The Fourth Reform Bill. 1918. A constitutional measure of great significance was the Fourth Reform Bill, passed in 1918, by which Parliament gave further recognition to the militant forces of British democracy. By this act the franchise was enlarged so as to include virtually every man who had reached the age of twenty-one years and every woman of the age of thirty or above who had for six months occupied a home either as owner or tenant in her own or in her husband's name. Plural voting was practically abolished, and the law further provided that Parliamentary elections should be held in all districts on the same day. The most important provision of the act was the one extending the franchise to women. The conservative classes were not keenly interested in this measure, but so loyally and so efficiently had the women of Great Britain labored in the cause of English victory that the opposition did not have the courage to break its silence.

The hopes and plans of the Allies. 1917. Meanwhile the Allied governments were planning a series of military movements which they hoped would end the war. Their great duty, as they saw it, was to drive the invader out of the territory that he had seized and occupied and force him back into his own country. To accomplish this they planned (as they had

planned in 1916) to launch simultaneous offensives on all the various fronts. During the winter of 1916-17 vast preparations were going forward in all the countries at war with the Central Powers: with greater armies and more guns, with a larger number of aeroplanes and a greater supply of munitions, they hoped to make it impossible for the enemy to remain in his trenches. The blow, when it came, was to be crushing and decisive; but, as usual, the Germans struck first.

"Unrestricted submarine warfare." It was clear to the war lords of Berlin that Germany was approaching the exhaustion of her resources and that, consequently, a decision must be sought at the earliest opportunity. It was also felt that the chief obstacle to victory was England; with England out of the way the Germans were sure that they would soon be able to deal effectively with the French. England, therefore, must be brought to her knees. This could be accomplished only through the destruction of British power on the ocean. But as long as neutral merchants were trading freely in British ports, even the total destruction of the British merchant marine would scarcely be sufficient; only by isolating the British kingdom from all contact with other maritime powers could the Germans hope to win a victory over the hated enemy beyond the sea.

There were those in Germany who for some time had argued strongly for some form of "unrestricted submarine warfare," to be directed, not only against the shipping of the enemy, but also against any craft under whatever flag that should attempt to enter a forbidden port. The proponents of this form of warfare were to be found principally among the "Junkers," or landed gentry in eastern Prussia. The higher officials of the German government did not, however, regard the proposal with much favor; and it was only after a discussion continuing at intervals for a whole year that the chancellor and his chief aids could be brought to endorse the plan. On January 31, 1917, the German government informed the world that on the following day all restrictions on the activities of the German submarines in certain specified areas would be removed. Three such areas were delimited: all the waters surrounding the British Isles from the coast of Norway to some distance east of Ireland and from the Arctic Ocean to the coast of Spain,

an area of a million square miles, were to constitute the first and principal zone; a second was to include the waters of the Arctic Ocean east of a line drawn from the North Cape 350 miles northward into the frozen sea; a third comprised the greater part of the Mediterranean Sea. Into these waters no ship, belligerent or neutral, would be allowed to sail; the submarine captains were ordered to respect no flag but to sink whatever form of vessel they might meet in their search for prey.

A problem of international law. The order was atrociously cruel, but the Germans held that it was no more cruel than the English blockade which had increased the death rate among the civilian population of the Teutonic lands to an alarming degree. There was this difference, however, that the blockade was a form of warfare that the world had recognized for centuries, while the submarine warfare, with its utter disregard for the safety of sailors and passengers, was almost unknown to the law of nations. The order was executed with terrible efficiency. For several months the submarine took a frightful toll, and it seemed that before long England would have the choice of starvation or submission. In time, however, methods of fighting the submarines were found, and the great German drive on the ocean failed, as the others had failed on the land.

America driven into the war. 1917. But the most important result of this unrestricted warfare was that it forced the United States to surrender her claims to neutrality and to take her place among the active enemies of the German empire. Our relations with Germany, which had continued unsatisfactory ever since the sinking of the *Lusitania*, developed a new crisis in the spring of 1916. On March 24 of that year a German submarine sank the *Sussex*, an unarmed English ship, while it was crossing the Channel. Among the injured on this occasion were two American citizens. On April 18 President Wilson sent a vigorous protest to the German government, adding a threat to sever diplomatic relations, unless the German admiralty should discontinue its cruel practices. After some haggling the kaiser's government finally agreed (May 4, 1916) that there should be no more sinking without warning or without an effort to save lives, "unless these ships attempt to escape and offer resistance." Coupled with the promise was a demand that the American government "insist that the

British government forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war." The president accepted the promise but refused the condition. When the new plans for a more violent submarine drive were announced, this promise was formally annulled.

Three days after the announcement outlining the new war zones had appeared, the American government dismissed the German ambassador and severed all diplomatic relations with Germany. Three weeks later the president requested authority from Congress to provide American merchantmen with cannon suitable for defense against the submarines. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany, and such action was taken four days later. Technically our country remained at peace with Austria-Hungary till near the close of the year; but this position could not be maintained, and on December 7 Congress formally declared war on the Hapsburg monarchy.

A little more than a month after the declaration of war the president signed the selective service act, and the American government began preparations for war on an immense scale. It was a year or more before American troops could assist decisively on the fields of France; but the moral effect of the decision at Washington was great and immediate. Meantime, twelve other governments on the American continents followed the example of the United States and declared war on Germany.

The March revolution in Russia. While the Allies were rejoicing in the prospect of assistance from the New World, disquieting news began to filter across the Russian frontier. On March 8 food riots broke out in Petrograd. These were not an unusual occurrence, but the riots this time developed into revolution. A week later Petrograd, Moscow, and Odessa were all in the hands of the insurgents. The tsar was forced to abdicate, and the whole system of Russian autocracy crashed to earth.

In the early months of 1917 the miseries of the Russian people had reached the point where human endurance threatens to break. The railway system had broken down; consequently, food did not come in sufficient quantities to the urban centers. The famished nation was further mourning the loss of 4,000,000 lives that had gone out on the battlefields, a loss that was

generally attributed to inefficiency and even to treason in the tsar's government. At the same time two important though somewhat crudely organized elements were lying in wait seeking to destroy the autocratic régime. Of these the more influential was the Liberal group, whose cardinal belief was that the people should be allowed to participate more largely in the general as well as in the local government. The Liberals were strong in the national Parliament; and when the riots broke out they forced the issue and demanded control of the administration. A provisional government headed by Prince Lvov, an enlightened Liberal of aristocratic birth, undertook to administer Russian affairs until the nation should provide itself with a new constitution. Prince Lvov's associates were nearly all of his own political faith; though among them was counted a famous lawyer and orator, Alexander Kerensky, who believed firmly in Socialistic principles.

The other revolutionary element was the Socialists, among whom there were many factions and many tendencies. The Socialists had developed considerable strength among the peasants, the soldiers of the army, and the workingmen of the cities. To insure organized effort the Socialist leaders were forming political councils among the soldiers and the workingmen; these were the so-called Soviets. The activities of the soviet agitators among the men at the front soon proved disastrous to discipline and morals. In July whole regiments mutinied, threw down their arms, and deserted the colors. The Russian war-machine on the Polish front crumbled and fell.

The November revolution in Russia. Bolshevism. Though hoping to establish a political democracy, the new government was gradually forced to take on the character of a dictatorship. On the other hand a vigorous revolutionary movement of a more extreme type was gathering strength, and in November a federation of the soviets took over the government and established a dictatorship under the leadership of Nicolai Lenin.

The leaders of the March revolution professed genuine loyalty to the cause of the Allies, though they were naturally anxious to bring the war to an early termination. But the more extreme Socialists, or Bolsheviks, the faction that carried through the November revolution, had no interest in the issues of the great conflict; they were eager to initiate an economic revolution, to

reshape Russian society along communistic lines. Realizing the futility of attempting to carry forward a new and thorough economic policy while the nation was still at war, Lenin and his associates opened negotiations with the Germans for a separate peace at Brest-Litovsk. A treaty was finally agreed to and ratified in March of the following year. Russia had now definitely withdrawn from the war.

The Hindenburg line. The defection of Russia was a serious blow to the Allies. Since there was no longer any need to maintain an eastern front the Germans were now able to send heavy reinforcements to the other battle fronts. In the west they made no extensive military movements in 1917 except to shorten and strengthen their lines by withdrawing (in February and March) to a new series of defenses known among the Allies as the Hindenburg line. This was not a line but a belt of territory, in places nearly twelve miles wide, fortified by line after line of defensive positions, with trenches, ditches, and traps to halt the dreaded tanks, and bristling with barbed wire belts and areas, with mines and machine gun nests, and with emplacements for guns and bomb throwers. Important parts of the system were concreted dug-outs built for comfort as well as for safety, connecting trenches, and narrow gauge railways for transporting supplies and munitions. Behind the belt lay vast dumps, or store yards, of munitions, materials, and tools. Farther to the east were three other shorter lines of the same general character. The construction of this wonderful system of defensive positions was begun in 1916, and when completed it comprised a fortified area approximately 200 miles in length and 50 miles in width.

The second battle of the Aisne. April, 1917. The British and the French now seized the initiative and delivered a series of attacks along the new German front, in the hope of finding some vulnerable point. In April the French under General Nivelle made a desperate effort to crush the enemy's line in the valley of the Aisne River. A powerful army was thrown into the attempt, but the German lines held, and in a few days the attack began to slow down. So great were the losses in this "second battle of the Aisne," that the French military authorities found it advisable to retire Nivelle and to appoint General Pétain as commander-in-chief of the French armies on the

western front. Pétain was succeeded as chief of staff by General Ferdinand Foch.

The battle of Cambrai. November. In November Sir Julian Byng, who commanded the British forces before Cambrai, led an attack on the German lines in that region. The battle of Cambrai is notable for the fact that tanks, though not new to the war, were used in this advance with telling effect. For some days it seemed likely that General Byng's attack might prove very significant; but a German counter-offensive soon forced the British back to their old positions. In nearly all the major operations of the year on the western front the Allies made some territorial gains; but on the whole the progress was rather slight.

The Italian disaster at Caporetto. In the autumn the Germans delivered a stunning blow against the Italian positions on the Isonzo river. The Italians had begun an offensive in May, hoping to drive forward to Trieste. For several months the advance continued and some ground was gained, but the Austrians remained in force in the coveted city. Meanwhile, the German general staff under the guidance of the resourceful Erich Ludendorff, the friend and trusted lieutenant of General Hindenburg, was preparing a mighty counter-offensive. Late in October the armies were ready and the order was given to advance. A furious blow was struck at the Italian left, the lines yielded, and the Germans and Austrians poured through the gap, threatening destruction to the whole Italian army. The Italians were forced to abandon their costly gains and to make a swift retreat toward Venice. On the Piave river, seventy miles to the rear, they were finally able to make a successful stand and the new lines were held in the face of determined attacks from the Austrian forces. The army was saved; but the losses had been terrible, and for some time yet the Italian forces were in great peril.

"Defeatism." The month of December found a deepening gloom in the councils of the Allies. The promise of the spring before had born little fruit, Russia had virtually withdrawn from the war, Italy was still reeling from the blow that the Germans had struck a month before. America had not yet been able to throw a decisive weight into the scales of warfare. A form of despair known as "defeatism" was spreading through-

out the war-weary world; its victims, willing to confess defeat, were calling for a peace negotiated on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities," or some similar formula. Defeatism was most prevalent in France and in Italy where it was to some extent responsible for the rout at Caporetto; but the mood was also found in England, where Lord Lansdowne was urging "peace by compromise."

The war in the Holy Land: Jerusalem. And then, on December 10, came the startling news that an English force had entered the gates of Jerusalem the day before. The hopes of more than eight centuries had found their fulfilment: the Holy City had been rescued from the power of the infidel. The Christian world was almost too amazed to rejoice.

In their operations against the Turks the British had found it expedient to collect a considerable force in Egypt for the defense of the Suez Canal. It was also thought wise to seize the approaches to the canal from the north and accordingly a force was dispatched across the isthmus into Palestine to dislodge the Turks who were strongly entrenched in that region. The British moved cautiously forward across the desert, but made little progress before the autumn of 1917, when the new commander, General Allenby, who had won high honors in the British cavalry service, gave orders for a new advance. Battles were fought near ancient Gaza and storied Beersheba, and on November 16 the invading forces entered Jaffa. General Allenby now turned eastward and after some fighting forced the Turks to evacuate the Holy City.

The revolt in the Hedjaz and the fall of Bagdad. The military value of Jerusalem was not great; but the taking of the city had considerable importance for its effect on the Mohammedan mind. All the holy cities of the Moslem world, Mecca and Medina, Bagdad and Jerusalem, had now passed out of the power of the Turks. A year earlier the sherif of Mecca, an Arab chieftain claiming descent from the Prophet, had renounced the overlordship of Turkey and had taken the title of Sultan of the Hedjaz (1916). It should be noted, however, that the new sultan, though he claimed all the rights of a sovereign ruler, looked to the British government for guidance and protection.

The revolt in the Hedjaz had been followed four months

later (March, 1917) by the fall of Bagdad to a British expeditionary force under the command of General Maude, whose task it was to continue the invasion that had been interrupted by the disaster at Kut-el-Amara. The Arab fringe of the Ottoman empire was falling away. The prestige of Constantinople was waning.

The belief in a German peace. When the year 1918 began its course, the German people, though suffering keenly and desperately anxious for a speedy peace, were confident that the war could end only in a distinctly "German" peace. They had now overcome nearly all the enemies who had dared to meet them on the battlefield: Russia, Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, Belgium, and Italy had all tasted the bitterness of crushing defeat. Only two effective opponents remained in the field: the French and the English. The conviction was general that if one of these two should be defeated, the other would be compelled to give up the struggle. News had come that the American government was calling an enormous force to the colors; but this was not yet an effective army, and the Germans believed the war could be finished before the manpower of the New World could be utilized in the European trenches.

A "surprise effort" planned in Berlin. Ludendorff. The Prussian military authorities accordingly determined to launch a new offensive against the western enemies as early as the season should permit. The other fronts were not to be neglected: the Austrians would be expected to resume operations against the Italians in Venetia, and the Bulgarians would find work to do on the roads leading to Saloniki; but the supreme effort was to be made in France. Here the attack was to be launched with a force so great as to be overwhelming and irresistible. It was freely admitted that the losses would be terrible—there might be a million casualties or even more among the German forces; but the Allied lines would be crushed, and the way would be open to Paris.

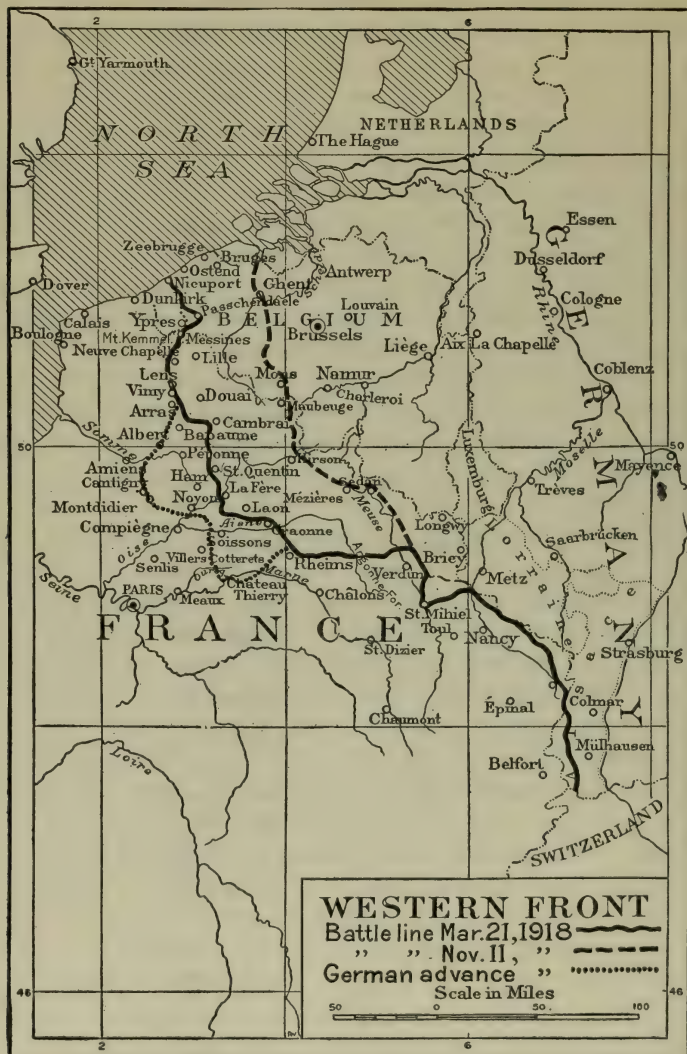
Since August, 1916, Hindenburg had directed the German armies as chief of the general staff; but the movements of 1918 were not wholly under his control. More and more the actual direction of the military operations seems to have come into the hands of General Ludendorff whose talent as an

organizer was recognized on all sides. During the months of February and March Ludendorff was enlarging and strengthening the Teutonic armies on the western front preparatory to the greatest offensive movement of all time. The center of this activity was the neighborhood of Cambrai and St. Quentin where the British trenches joined those held by the French. Though the Germans worked with great secrecy, using the night rather than the day, the British were fully aware of what the enemy was planning. But Lloyd George, believing that experience on the western front had shown the futility of mass attacks, took no steps to reënforce the British lines. When the attack came (on March 21) General Gough, who commanded the fifth British army, had only fourteen divisions with which to meet the combined strength of forty divisions massed and organized to crush his lines. In places the line was very thinly held; "between the Somme and the Oise Gough had less than a bayonet a yard, and Ludendorff knew it." Three hundred thousand men were rushed to France early in April, but by that time the German offensive had taken its terrible toll.

The March offensive: the Somme. Ludendorff's chief purpose in this attack was to drive a wedge in between the French and the English army and in this way to destroy the forces opposing him. In this he almost succeeded. He also hoped to seize the city of Amiens through which ran the railway that served as the main artery of the British front. The onset was terrific and on the second day the English line gave way at several points. A gap was actually formed between the English and the French lines, but the Germans failed to discover the fact before a new French force had come up to close the opening. Though greatly discouraged Gough's army managed to escape complete destruction. The third army (commanded by General Byng), which held the trenches north of St. Quentin, also suffered material losses, but was able to retire in good order. When the offensive closed, after a week's duration, the Germans had pushed their lines to a point within ten miles of Amiens; but the English still held the coveted city and railway.

The April offensive: Ypres. On April 9 the Germans attacked once more, this time farther to the north between Lens and

Ypres. Ludendorff hoped and planned to pierce the British front, and to drive forward to Calais. Again the enemy gained an important stretch of territory, though less than in the March



drive. Toward the end of April the fighting died down with Ludendorff's promise still unfulfilled. The British and the French continued to hold an unbroken front from the North Sea to the Swiss border.

General Ferdinand Foch. The losses had been terrible. In less than six weeks of fighting the British had suffered casualties to the number of 300,000; in addition they had lost much equipment: 1000 guns, 4000 machine guns, 200,000 rifles, 70,000 tons of ammunition, and 200 tanks. But the Allies were now thoroughly awake to the dangers of the situation; for some time heavy reinforcements had been pouring into the British lines. An important move had also been made looking toward a more perfect coördination of effort on the western front. At a conference of British and French officials and generals held while the March offensive was still in motion, Ferdinand Foch, a seasoned French general with a high reputation for successful strategy, was placed in charge of all the operations of the Allies on the western front. Three weeks later (April 14) he was given the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the Allied forces in France and Belgium. His chief lieutenants were Field Marshal Haig, General Pétain, and General Pershing, commanding respectively the British, French, and American armies.

The May offensive: the Aisne. Along the whole front in northern France and Flanders the Allies were now preparing to meet the shock of the next blow which they knew was sure to come. It fell on May 27 when Ludendorff launched his third offensive. This time the attack was directed against the French lines north of the Aisne river. Again the line of the Allies weakened and the Germans crowded forward to the Marne. When the drive was halted, Paris was less than fifty miles away.

The June offensive: the Oise. In the second week of June Ludendorff attempted a fourth offensive, this time against the French positions along the Oise River. The first offensive had left the German front with a large triangular bulge having its apex near Montdidier; the third had created a smaller triangle with its apex at Château-Thierry. Ludendorff planned to connect these two triangles by advancing into the intervening territory. If this movement should prove successful, Ludendorff would not only be able to shorten and strengthen his line, but would also come into control of a forested area southeast of Compiègne, which, so long as it remained in the possession of the French, might prove a source of much embarrassment. But

the offensive was not successful. Foch was prepared, and after a few days the attack broke down.

The American Expeditionary Force. For a period of a month after the breakdown of the last German offensive there were no great movements on the western front. But Ludendorff was not idle; he was busy making preparations on a large scale for a new drive in the direction of Paris. It was a gambler's throw, for the German generals were now facing a constantly growing army, reënforced from a hundred camps across the sea. Though the Americans had not appeared in any large numbers on the battlefield, they had shown all through the spring, and particularly in the third and fourth offensives, that the professed German contempt for American training and valor was misplaced and undeserved. During the summer months of 1918 American troops were being landed in France in growing numbers. On June 15 the government at Washington announced that 800,000 soldiers had been sent to the battle lines over the sea. "From the month of June onwards 300,000 American soldiers were brought each month across the Atlantic, a feat of transportation which is without parallel in the history of war."

The July offensive and Foch's counter-offensive. The new drive was to proceed from the great salient created by the May offensive, a triangle having its angles near Soissons, Rheims, and Château-Thierry, the sides measuring an average of thirty miles in length. Into this triangle Ludendorff poured vast numbers of men and vast quantities of war materials, more than could conveniently be used within the somewhat narrow limits of the salient. On July 15 the Germans proceeded to the attack, and during the first three days of the battle the advantage was chiefly theirs. The fighting was particularly violent on the Champagne side of the salient and about the city of Rheims, an important railway center which Ludendorff wished to control. But Marshal Foch was again prepared, and on the fourth day he opened a counter-offensive. He delivered his attack on the western side of the salient between Château-Thierry and Soissons, in front of which he had quietly collected a considerable force. After a short period of intense bombardment, a large number of tanks moved forward cutting through the German defenses. These were followed by strong forces of French and American infantry. The fighting in this area continued for

three weeks, and when it finally ended the Germans had been driven out of the triangle and across the Vesle River, back to a line only seven or eight miles in advance of the positions which they held before the great March offensives. The "second battle of the Marne," like the first, had ended in victory for the Allies.

Failure of the German plans. While Ludendorff was retreating from the Marne, the French and the British farther to the north were preparing to wipe out the salient created by the first German drive. On August 8, 2000 guns opened fire on the German lines near Montdidier. A few minutes later 200 tanks, followed by masses of cavalry and infantry, began moving forward toward the German defenses. The defeat of the enemy was complete. By the close of the month the Amiens salient, like that on the Marne, had disappeared. Everywhere the Germans were being crowded back to their old defenses in the Hindenburg line. Elsewhere, too, the plans of the German high command had resulted in failure. The Bulgarians remained inactive in Macedonia, and an Austrian offensive on the Piave River, undertaken about the middle of June, had ended in speedy defeat.

General Pershing at St. Mihiel. September 12. Foch now began the preparation of plans and forces for a grand attack on the Hindenburg line. As a prelude to the great drive an American army with French auxiliaries was sent forward on September 12 to wipe out an important salient in the German line at St. Mihiel, a dozen miles southeast of Verdun. General Pershing ordered the attack at dawn and the fighting continued for thirty hours. The outcome was a complete success: the salient was taken and 16,000 Germans were made prisoners of war.

Marshal Foch's great offensive. September–November. During the month of September there was hard fighting at many points along the western front; but the great advance that was to end the war did not begin before the last week of the month. Marshal Foch had planned a great series of offensives extending from the Belgian front to the valley of the Meuse. In the extreme north the Belgians were to strike in the neighborhood of Ypres. Farther to the south, on the old battle ground between Cambrai and St. Quentin, the British were to renew their attacks

in stronger force. General Mangin was to send his troops forward against the enemy in the valley of the Oise. In Champagne the offensive was to be directed by Generals Gouraud and Berthelot. On the extreme right General Pershing was to work his way northward between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River. These attacks were to be launched simultaneously and were to be carefully timed with reference to movements on the other battle fronts.

The offensive commenced on September 26 when Pershing and Gouraud began operations on a line extending from the Meuse River westward for a distance of about forty miles. On the following day the British under Generals Byng and Horne struck the German defenses in the neighborhood of Cambrai. On the 28th King Albert of Belgium, leading an army of Belgian, French, and British troops, launched an offensive between Ypres and Dixmude. On the same day General Mangin renewed his attack on the German lines between the Aisne and the Oise. On that day there was fighting on all these various fronts, the Germans resisting desperately but no longer hoping for a victorious outcome.

On October 8 Field Marshal Haig struck again at the German line to the south of Cambrai, this time with extraordinary success. On the following day his forces broke through the Hindenburg system and the second line just behind it. The fighting continued for a month longer, the Allies moving steadily eastward. On November 2 British and Canadian forces broke the fourth line of German defenses at Valenciennes. It is interesting to note that on November 11, when the fighting ceased, British soldiers entered the city of Mons; and thus the war closed for the British army on the same field where it had begun in the tragic days of August, 1914.

Germany facing defeat. The great German army, though everywhere defeated, was still intact; but it now stood only a few miles within the French border with its defenses broken at all points. In Belgium the German lines had been forced back a distance of nearly fifty miles from the Flemish coast; but the enemy still held the greater part of the Belgian kingdom. As early as the month of August the German authorities had begun to realize that the war was lost. At the same time they believed that in any discussion of peace terms the envoys of the Father-

land would have a certain advantage over their opponents so long as the German armies were still camped on foreign soil. It was therefore important to retain as much as possible of French and Belgian territory.

The Meuse-Argonne offensive. But whatever value these plans may have had in August was completely destroyed by the Meuse-Argonne offensive of the American Expeditionary Force which closed on November 7 when Pershing's army entered the historic city of Sedan. One of the principal German lines of communication was the railway that runs from Metz northward through Sedan, Mézières, and Lille. If this line should be cut by the Allied forces, it would be extremely difficult to conduct an orderly retreat back into Germany, for an army with its vast supplies of munitions and other materials needs many roads and railways. The task of seizing this important railway Marshal Foch assigned to the American army. The Germans understood thoroughly the importance of holding the Meuse valley, and all the reserves that Hindenburg could spare were sent to reënforce the southern lines, but to little purpose. Owing in part to the strenuous warfare of the enemy and in part to the nature of the country (which was rough and broken and poorly provided with roads) Pershing's progress was slow; but the American advance could not be stayed. Early in November the objective was reached. "We had cut the enemy's main line of communications," wrote General Pershing, "and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster."

The Bulgarian surrender. September 30. During the last two months of the war the standards of the Allies were advancing triumphantly on all the principal battle fronts — in the south and the east as well as in the west. In the kingdom of Greece a new situation had developed which made it possible to utilize the armies on the Saloniki front in a vigorous drive against the Bulgarians. The condition of civil war which obtained in Greece throughout the winter and spring of 1917 was terminated in June, when the French government intervened at Athens and forced King Constantine to abdicate and to leave the kingdom. Venizelos now became prime minister, and in July Greece was formally enrolled among the enemies of the Central Powers. A year later General Franchet d'Esperey, who had stood with a

French army next to the British in the first battle of the Marne, was appointed commander-in-chief of the many armies on the Saloniki front. On September 14 (two days after the Americans had begun their attack on the fortifications of St. Mihiel), Franchet d'Esperey began to move northward against the Bulgarian lines in Macedonia. Weary and dissatisfied, the Bulgarian soldiers were no longer able to fight with much vigor; two weeks later Bulgaria surrendered and withdrew from the war. The Allied armies continued their march, and after three weeks the Balkan peninsula had been cleared of Austrian forces to the Danube River.

The surrender of the Turks. October 31. A few days after Franchet d'Esperey had begun his offensive in Macedonia, General Allenby resumed his attack on the Turkish forces in the Holy Land. On September 22 he defeated a Turkish army in northern Palestine, forcing the surrender of 25,000 men. A week later the British entered Damascus; by the close of October they had advanced as far as Aleppo in northern Syria. Meanwhile, the leaders of the Turkish war government had resigned their offices, and the new government lost no time in asking terms of peace. On October 30 an armistice was signed, and on the following day Turkey withdrew from the war.

The collapse of the Hapsburg monarchy. On October 29 the Austrian foreign minister had notified President Wilson that the Austro-Hungarian government was ready to negotiate a separate peace. There was deep despair in Vienna. Five days earlier the Italians under the vigorous command of General Diaz had suddenly launched an offensive in the valley of the Piave, which had sent the Austrian columns reeling back across the frontier. From the south Franchet d'Esperey was approaching the border with a large, victorious army. All through the Slavic provinces of the empire there was insurrection and the revival of ancient sovereignties. On November 3 the Italians and the Austrians signed an armistice to take effect on the following day, and the Hapsburg empire in its turn withdrew from the war.

A peace ministry in Berlin. In Germany, too, the government was preparing for the inevitable. Early in October the chancellor's office was given to Prince Maximilian of Baden, a man of liberal views, who had long maintained an attitude of

mild opposition to the group that controlled in Berlin. One of the new chancellor's first acts was to send an appeal to President Wilson in the interest of a speedy peace. A few days after the appointment of Prince Max, the Reichstag was informed that the German armies had suffered defeat and that victory was now impossible. Bulgaria had already withdrawn from the conflict. Turkish surrender was only a matter of days. Later came the news of the evacuation of Serbia and the report that Austria was asking for an armistice.

The German revolution: the end of the war. Two days after the surrender of the Austrians the German sailors in the harbor of Kiel mutinied, and soon the torches of revolution were blazing in nearly all the industrial centers of the empire. Soldiers' councils were being organized in the army, and military discipline of the older sort almost ceased to exist. The kaiser fled across the Belgian boundary into the Netherlands; and Friedrich Ebert, a saddle maker, who sat in the Reichstag as a Socialist deputy, took his place as the visible head of the German state. The first duty of the new government was to consider the possibility of an armistice on the terms laid down by Marshal Foch. Early in the morning of November 11 these were finally accepted, and the greatest military venture of all times came to a dismal end.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

The armistice. November 11, 1918. In September, 1918, the supreme command of the German army had finally come to the conclusion that the war was lost and that peace should be sought at once. Yielding to pressure from the headquarters at the front, the German chancellor on October 5 sent a message to President Wilson asking for an armistice with a view to early negotiations for peace. After some discussion the matter was referred to the military authorities on the western front. The terms of the armistice that ended the war were accordingly outlined by Marshal Foch in conference with his chief lieutenants, Haig, Pershing, and Pétain. Foch's draft was subsequently discussed at a meeting of the Supreme War Council (in which the governments of England, France, Belgium, Italy, the United States, Greece, and Serbia were represented) and was approved with slight changes only. The terms were harsh and severe to the point of humiliation; but they were such as might be expected from a victorious generalissimo whose duty and business it is to make sure that hostilities cannot be renewed. The Germans were required to hand over a vast amount of materials which might be used in active warfare: guns, aeroplanes, locomotives, railway cars, and motor cars. As a further security against resumption of hostile activities they had to agree to the occupation by Allied forces of all the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine with bridge-heads at Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne, each covering the area within a radius of nineteen miles. Of more direct interest to Great Britain was the requirement that the German fleet was to be handed over to the victors. Accordingly on November 19 and 20 the Germans handed over thirty-nine submarines. On November 21 the German high seas fleet, counting seventy-one ships, was surrendered to Admiral Beatty. The ships were interned in the waters of Scapa Flow, a strait in the Orkneys, where they rode at anchor till the following June, when they were nearly all scuttled and sunk on the order of the German commander, Admiral Reuter.

The British public received the news of the armistice with great demonstrations of joy. In vast numbers the citizens of London repaired to Buckingham Palace to render homage to King George, the human symbol of the unity and the power of the British state. But before many hours the stern realities of a difficult and complex situation began to force themselves on the attention of thinking minds. Three days after the armistice the chiefs of the Labor party gave notice that their membership in the coalition would cease with the Parliament then in session. The ministry appeared to believe that the situation demanded an appeal to the country, and asked the king to dissolve Parliament. On November 25 the Long Parliament of the World War accordingly ended its sessions after an active existence of nearly eight years.

The second "khaki election." December 14, 1918. In the campaign that followed three leading groups or parties contended for the favor of the electorate: the Labor party, the Asquith Liberals, and the Lloyd George coalition, composed of Unionists and the Liberal adherents of the prime minister. The coalition announced a program including a preferential tariff (with free trade in food and raw materials), a protective tariff covering certain "key industries," a speedy settlement of the Irish problem, and a series of important domestic reforms. The Independent Liberals promised to continue the policy of free trade, to give home rule to Ireland, and to remove the wartime restrictions on civil liberty. The outstanding plank in the Labor program was a proposal to tax not only income but capital, a necessary step preparatory to "building a new world."

But very soon all these proposals faded out of the voter's mind. In one of his campaign speeches the prime minister promised to bring William II to trial as a common criminal and to make Germany pay the cost of the war. In the excited state of the public mind as it was two weeks after the armistice, a candidate standing on a platform of retribution could not be defeated. The polling showed that the Georgian coalition could count on at least 484 members out of a total of 707. Of the leading opposition groups the Independent Liberals returned with 28 members and Labor with 62. Asquith, who had sat in the House for more than thirty years, was beaten; seventeen of his former colleagues in the ministry went down to defeat

with him. The more prominent leaders of the Labor party, Arthur Henderson, Philip Snowden, and Ramsay Macdonald, were also beaten. Lloyd George had every reason to consider the outcome as a vote of confidence in himself and his colleagues and as an emphatic rebuke for his opponents, who were believed to have hampered his efforts to secure a victorious peace.

The Peace Conference and the treaties. With the election out of the way, the British government could give its energies to the important business of establishing peace in the world. In January the representatives of the nations associated in the war with the Teutonic powers assembled in Paris to consider what terms of peace should be submitted to the enemy. It was a large assembly, containing, as it did, about seventy delegates from thirty-two states and countries. In the delegations representing the various nations of the British commonwealth were several men of great strength, ability, and influence. David Lloyd George, A. J. Balfour, Lord Milner, and A. Bonar Law served as delegates from the United Kingdom. Louis Botha and Jan Christian Smuts represented the Union of South Africa. R. L. Borden and W. M. Hughes, the prime ministers of Canada and Australia, were delegates from those dominions. E. S. Montagu and S. P. Sinha had credentials from the empire of India. All told the British empire had eighteen representatives at the conference table. Newfoundland, though not technically a dominion, was present in the person of its prime minister, W. F. Lloyd.

Inasmuch as it is almost impossible to organize a body of this character into an effective unit, it was only natural that the control of the proceedings should come into the hands of a small group of influential men representing the five principal powers. Three were particularly prominent: Georges Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson, and David Lloyd George. With the assistance of a large body of scholars who were counted expert in the history, the geography, and the economic conditions of the territories in dispute, these men proceeded to redraw the boundaries of "Middle Europe" and certain other parts of the broken world. The conclusions reached were formally adopted by the conference and were expressed in four treaties, three of which are still in force. The first and most important was the treaty with Germany signed at Versailles on June 28. Treat-

ies with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey came later and were signed respectively at Saint Germain (September 10), at Neuilly (November 27), and at Sèvres (August 10, 1920). The treaty of Sèvres was, however, of short duration only, being replaced by a new agreement signed at Lausanne, July 23, 1923.

Significant features of the new treaties. In dealing with the many problems created by the outcome of the war the men of the Paris conference deviated quite decidedly from the precedents set by similar conferences in earlier times. The results were therefore not entirely conventional, for the treaties of 1919 have certain features peculiar to themselves which may prove important in future history.

1. In reconstructing the boundaries of central and south-eastern Europe the leaders of the conference sought to apply the principle of nationality. The result was not ideal in every respect, and some of the boundaries established will doubtless have to be redrawn in the future. Still, the fact remains that the present map of Europe corresponds more nearly to the demands of nationality than any other map in modern European history.

2. It was agreed that there should be no levy of indemnities in the older sense, but that the enemy should be required to pay for the damages wrought by his "aggression" both on land and on sea. This was called "reparation" and would normally be paid in greater part to France and Belgium, though some of the other belligerents were also to share in the payments. As to the amount that the Germans might properly be required to pay, the several countries were not in agreement, and the question was therefore left to a special commission. The problem of German reparations has since become a matter of international concern and has strained the relations of France and England almost to the breaking point.

3. During the war the hope was generally expressed that the peace conference would be able to create some sort of an international organization with sufficient strength to maintain the peace of the world, at least during the period of recovery and reconstruction. President Wilson was pledged to such an organization, and it was largely through his influence that the conference was induced to set up a League of Nations. Many Englishmen were deeply interested in this project, and it is re-

ported that the details of the League Covenant were the work chiefly of Lord Robert Cecil (a younger son of the late marquis of Salisbury) and General J. C. Smuts. The senate of the United States refused America's adhesion to the League, and the absence of the most powerful and most resourceful nation on earth from the meetings at Geneva has to some extent lowered the prestige and the effectiveness of the organization. However, the League has now a membership of fifty-four states and promises to become a real force in world affairs.

In the assembly of the League the British realms were allowed six votes: one for the empire as a whole, one for India, and one for each of the four self-governing dominions. Recently, by admitting the new Irish Free State to its membership, the League has increased the number to seven. In this way international recognition has been given to the fact that what was once called the British empire is no longer an empire in the conventional sense of the term but has become (in the words of General Smuts) "a British Commonwealth of Nations," or "a league of free states, free, equal, and working together for the great ideals of human government."

4. The conference also devised a new form of colonial tenure, the so-called "mandate." It was agreed that the colonial possessions of Germany should not be returned to that country but should be taken over for the benefit of their inhabitants by the civilized world as represented in and by the League of Nations. Certain territories that Turkey had lost in the war were to be disposed of in the same way. The actual administration of these lands was to be assigned to one or another of the Allied nations. In this expedient the British government was vitally interested, inasmuch as the greater part of the territory covered by the mandate provision was quite likely to be assigned eventually to the British crown or to one or another of the British dominions.

The British mandates. The lands that in this way have become associated with the British commonwealth are located in the Pacific Ocean, in Africa, and on the Arabian fringe of the Turkish empire. The German colonies in the Pacific lying south of the equator were nearly all assigned to Australia and New Zealand, the German part of New Guinea, with certain groups of neighboring islands, to Australia and the German part

of Samoa to New Zealand. The greater part of German East Africa, a small part of Kamerun, and approximately one-half of Togoland were entrusted to the British crown, while German Southwest Africa was handed over to the Union of South Africa. By the treaty of Sèvres the Turks agreed to surrender all claims to Syria, Hedjaz, Palestine, and Mesopotamia; of these territories the last two have become British mandates.

Egypt. Thus there were added to the dominions of the British crown large and important areas, nearly all of which were believed to have great economic possibilities. Some of them proved, however, to have even greater possibilities in the way of trouble and expense. That economic imperialism has its seamy side was soon made evident by a violent nationalistic outbreak in Egypt. During the war the Egyptians had remained loyal to the British sovereign and had in various ways assisted in the prosecution of the war: for one thing, the new railway running northeastward across the desert of Sinai into Palestine was built in large part by a labor corps recruited from the Egyptian peasantry.

In the earlier months of 1919 there was much disturbance in the Nile valley and riots were frequent in the larger Egyptian cities. The agitation was led by Said Pasha Zaghlul, a prominent member of the national assembly. To a large extent the unrest was due to causes that were not related to nationalistic aspirations: economic conditions were not satisfactory, and there was a wide-spread feeling that the British rulers did not properly appreciate the help that Egyptians had rendered in the war with the Turks. Like so many other dissatisfied groups, Zaghlul and his followers took their case to the conference in Paris, where they received scant attention. The agitation, however, did not cease. In April the Egyptian civil service went out on a strike as a protest against the continuance of the British protectorate. But General Allenby soon put an end to the disorder and the officials returned to their duties.

The unrest continued and found occasional expression in dangerous riots, especially in Cairo and Alexandria. The British government, though not willing to withdraw entirely from the Nile country, was anxious to devise an administrative arrangement that would give the natives a larger share in the government of their country. In December, 1919, a mission

headed by Lord Milner was sent to Egypt to seek a satisfactory settlement. For a time it seemed as if an understanding might be reached, but in the end the mission failed. Two years later (February, 1922) General Allenby was sent to Cairo on a similar errand and finally succeeded in arranging a settlement that both parties were willing to accept. On March 15, 1922, Ahmed Fuad, the sultan of Egypt, announced that the protectorate had come to an end and that his kingdom was once more a sovereign state. The independence of Egypt is, however, of a somewhat qualified character, for the British still occupy a privileged position in the Nile valley. The foreign relations of the kingdom will to some extent be supervised by the British foreign office; the Suez Canal remains a British waterway; and the British flag continues to wave on the upper Nile.

Palestine. The problem of Palestine dates from November 2, 1917, when A. J. Balfour, in a letter to Lord Rothschild, stated that British policy in the Near East looked toward the establishment of "a national home for the Jewish people" in the Holy Land. This pronouncement from the British foreign office seemed to commit the government to Zionism and was not relished by the Moslem and Christian inhabitants of the country, whose ancestors had held the Palestinian land for centuries. The fear of Zionism became even more real in the summer of 1920 when the English government sent Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew and an active Zionist, to Jerusalem as high commissioner in the Holy Land. In recent years there has been some immigration into Palestine, chiefly from the great Jewry in Poland and adjacent regions. This movement has led to an interesting union of Moslem and Christian forces in active opposition to Jewish penetration. It was clearly seen in Downing Street that the situation demanded a more explicit statement of the British policy with respect to Zionism, and such a statement was made by Winston Churchill, the colonial secretary, in a speech delivered in Jerusalem in March, 1921. While admitting that his government was pledged to give the Zionists an opportunity to establish a Jewish home-land in Palestine, he declared that the rights of the Arabs and the other inhabitants of the country would be respected and no effort would be made to establish a distinctly Jewish state in the Holy Land.

The Palestine of the British mandate is a small territory

lying between the Jordan river and the Great Sea. The regions to the east of the Jordan, — the ancient Gilead together with the lands of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, — have been formed into a separate state under the sovereignty of Abdullah, one of the sons of King Hussein of Hedjaz. This state, called Kerak or Transjordan, is wholly Arabic in culture and sympathies and consequently does not enter into the reckonings of Zionism. The remainder of Palestine covers an area of about 9,000 square miles supporting a population of at least 700,000. It is clear that there can be no extensive colonization of Jews without at the same time displacing a large part of the Arab population. The situation in the Holy Land is therefore not without embarrassing possibilities, so embarrassing that many Englishmen favor surrendering the mandate. This will scarcely be done, however, for the reason that Palestine controls the Asiatic approach to the Suez Canal, and has on that account a definite military importance.

Mesopotamia. When the end of the war came the British were in undisputed control of the great Mesopotamian valley, the armies of General Maude having advanced as far as Mosul, six hundred miles from the Persian Gulf. It was therefore natural that the mandate for Mesopotamia should be given to the British crown. But the population of the great valley with its many feuds, racial, religious, and economic, was difficult to control, and the military occupation proved very expensive. During the first three years following the peace of Versailles the average cost of the Mesopotamian venture was £50,000,000 annually. Mesopotamia is rich in oil, particularly along the northeastern border where the oil fields continue across the Persian frontier; but in the face of the Mesopotamian budget the British taxpayer was unable to maintain his interest in the prospect of future profits from that source.

In the summer of 1920 Sir Percy Cox, an English diplomat who had held various important offices in the Orient, was sent to Bagdad as high commissioner with instructions to set up a native government. The new commissioner began by forming a provisional council of state in the autumn of the same year. Sir Percy also promised the tribesmen a king of their own choice. The most prominent candidates for this honor were the sons of King Hussein; and in August, 1921, after what was naïvely

called a referendum, Emír Feisul, one of these princes, was proclaimed king of Irak.

The creation of the new kingdom has by no means solved the Mesopotamian problem. The great valley remains a British mandate but the boundary between native authority and alien control has been difficult to determine. In October, 1922, an effort was made to regulate the relationship by means of a treaty and to substitute an alliance for the obligations of the mandate, which is a term much disliked by the citizens of Irak. As matters stand at present the British government is pledged to render financial and military assistance to the new state for a limited number of years. In return the British are allowed to retain their present privileged position in the great valley and Irak thus becomes in a measure a vassal state.

The Indian empire. The most difficult of all the imperial problems that developed during or after the war was that of India. It was to be expected that the aristocratic classes in Hindustan would some day revolt against a political system which gave the places of real authority to foreigners only. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, which enlarged the viceroy's council and otherwise made places for a large number of natives in the administration, were a step in the direction of self-government; but it was a short step only, and the Hindus were not satisfied. Their country remained an absolute monarchy under foreign control.

During the earlier years of the war the dissatisfied elements were gradually being assembled under a new banner, that of home rule. In 1916 the Indian Home Rule League was founded, and the agitation began to take a form that the British government could not ignore. The following year Edwin S. Montagu, the secretary of state for India, made a journey to that country to study the situation and to determine whether the time was ripe for extensive changes in the Indian constitution. Montagu spent several months in the Orient and out of his investigations came the Montagu-Chelmsford report in which the viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, joined.

The recommendations of this report were given legal force in the Government of India Act, which received royal sanction on December 23, 1919. The most prominent feature of this act is a division of power between British officialdom on the one

hand and native councils or assemblies on the other. The act created an Indian Parliament composed of two chambers, a council of state and a legislative assembly. The council is to consist of not more than sixty members, thirty-four of whom are to be elected. The assembly is a larger body composed of at least 144 members, of whom at present 104 are elected. The members that are not elected receive their appointment from the government. A somewhat similar system was provided for the provinces, where the legislative councils have an even larger majority of elected members. These bodies are entrusted with extensive powers, but their authority is not complete, for the law recognizes a category of "reserved" subjects which remain within the authority of the governor or the viceroy.

The Hindus were not generally pleased with the new scheme: it seemed so much less than what they had hoped to receive. Not only had British officialdom reserved important matters for its own decision; it had also been careful to provide that in cases of disagreement between the alien executive and the native legislature the executive can act of his own volition. In 1923 the national Parliament refused to renew a tax which the executive deemed necessary; Lord Reading, the viceroy, accordingly proceeded to levy the tax on his own authority. Many were also displeased to find that the suffrage had been placed on a narrow property basis. In a population of more than 300,000,000 only 5,000,000 had been given the ballot. But among all these many millions only six percent can read and write; and it seems quite clear that to place the Indian franchise on a broad foundation might prove a dangerous experiment.

The revolutionary movement in India. While this new scheme of government was being prepared in Westminster, a powerful opposition movement was taking form in Hindustan. A leader had been found in Mohandas K. Gandhi, a native lawyer of real culture and rare eloquence. Believing that India was ready for responsible government, perhaps of the dominion type, Gandhi opposed the Montagu plan with all his strength. But he soon advanced to a more extreme position, holding that India should not only repudiate the British connection but should also return to the Oriental ways of living. Especially did he object to the use of European cloth and preached the restoration of the native spinning wheel into every Indian

household. Being of an idealistic type of mind, he hoped to overcome the enemies of his country through organized passive resistance; the shedding of blood was not to be allowed.

In September, 1920, the Indian National Congress (from which the moderate elements had withdrawn two years before) adopted Gandhi's proposal that the Hindus should refuse to coöperate in the work of setting up the new government. But "noncooperation" did not prove very successful; in the elections that came later in the year candidates appeared in nearly all the constituencies, and a respectable number of electors went to the polls. Early in the following year the new constitutional machinery was successfully set in motion in Delhi and elsewhere in the empire with all the pomp and pageantry that the Oriental mind seems to require on such occasions.

Meanwhile Gandhi and his followers were traveling steadily forward along the highway of revolution. In November, 1921, the National Congress called on the country "to undertake civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes." But civil disobedience, which is nothing less than defiance of law, could scarcely be maintained without violence, and Gandhi was therefore never able to give his plans and methods a thorough trial. During the autumn months of that same year the situation throughout the country had grown perceptibly worse and the government finally decided to adopt a more rigorous policy of law enforcement. Several of the more important revolutionary leaders were arrested and sent to prison. Gandhi was allowed to remain at large for some months yet, but in March, 1922, he was indicted for "attempts to excite disaffection toward the government." He pleaded guilty to the charge and was sentenced to serve in prison for a term of six years. Contrary to the common fear the conviction of the revered leader caused no disturbance. The revolutionary movement has not disappeared, but it seems helpless without Gandhi.

The Sinn Fein movement in Ireland. The most severe test of British statesmanship was provided, not by the devotees of Gandhi or Zaghlul, but by the Sinn Fein movement across the Irish Sea. After the Dublin revolt of 1916 had been put down, Lloyd George, believing that the Irish themselves ought to be given a larger share in the discussion of home rule, decided to call a convention of representative Irishmen to discuss the

principles of an Irish constitution. The convention met in the summer of 1917, but after a lengthy session it found itself unable to reach an agreement which the Irish majority might be willing to accept. The failure of the convention served to strengthen mightily the cause of Sinn Fein, which during the last year of the war became the dominating influence south of the Boyne.

The drift of Irish thought toward revolutionary ideals was due to a variety of causes. The assurance that the Allies were at war in the interest of oppressed nationalities did not seem convincing to a people that had been denied the gift of self-government, even after Parliament in 1914 had enacted the promise into law. To this grievance another was added in April, 1918, when conscription was extended to Ireland. When the act was passed the home rule members withdrew from Parliament; the Irish labor unions called on the people to resist conscription; and the Catholic hierarchy instructed the priesthood to nullify the law by an anti-conscription oath. This oath was administered to the laity of all classes on April 21, 1918. The Irish mind was being prepared for revolution.

In the Parliamentary elections of the same year Sinn Fein seized the opportunity to secure an expression of revolutionary sentiment. The outcome was the election of seventy-three Sinn Feiners, all of whom were pledged to abstain from attendance at Westminster. A month later (January 21, 1919) twenty-nine of these members (many of the absentees were detained in government prisons) assembled in Dublin and adopted an Irish declaration of independence. A republic was proclaimed with Eamon de Valera, a prominent Sinn Fein leader, as president. The assembly further decided to send delegates to the peace conference, which, in Irish opinion, was pledged to hear the case of every nationality demanding independence. But such conferences have at no time in history been called to parcel out the territories belonging to the victors, and the Paris conference naturally refused to consider the Irish appeal.

The Irish republicans had now no choice but retreat or rebellion; they chose the latter course. An open rebellion having confessedly no chance to succeed, the leaders adopted a policy of passive resistance, which very soon took on a decidedly active form. The government tried to maintain order with the help of the Royal Irish Constabulary, a police force made up almost

exclusively of Catholic Irishmen. But soon the mortality among policemen became so great that few men cared to enlist in the force. The government now began to recruit the constabulary from the returned British soldiery, the new men being familiarly known as "black and tans." The war continued as before, the Sinn Feiners employing methods of ambush and assassination, and the black and tans replying with reprisals, which often meant the execution of persons who had only slight connection with actual warfare.

The fourth Home Rule Bill. Meantime, Parliament had attempted to deal with the situation by the passage of a new home rule measure which, it was hoped, would be satisfactory to the Irish people. This bill, which became a law in December, 1920, virtually created two Irish states by setting up two Parliaments, one in Belfast for the Protestant counties of Ulster, and another in Dublin for the remainder of the island. At the same time the unity of Ireland was in a measure preserved by creating an Irish council composed of twenty members from each of the two assemblies. Provision was also made for the consolidation of the two Parliaments into one whenever that should seem practicable. The ancient law forbidding the appointment of a Roman Catholic to the lord lieutenantcy was repealed, and Lord Edmund Talbot, Viscount Fitzalan, a Catholic layman of high rank, was sent to Dublin as viceroy of Ireland.

Elections under the new arrangement were held in May, 1921. In the south 124 Sinn Feiners were elected without opposition. Dublin University returned four Unionists, the only Unionists chosen. In Ulster 40 Protestant Unionists were elected out of a total of 52. Early in June the Ulster government was organized in Belfast with Sir James Craig as prime minister. At the present writing this government is still in operation. In southern Ireland the law remained a dead letter.

The treaty of December 6, 1921. In 1921 the Irish revolutionary army counted at least 100,000 armed men; but the government of the crown had a force almost as numerous camped on Irish soil. Believing that after two years of turmoil and smothered warfare the Irish people were losing faith in the promises of Sinn Fein, the British government indicated a willingness to discuss terms with the leaders of the insurrection. In July de Valera had a conference with Lloyd George in London; but this

parley brought no results. Only after many letters and messages had passed between the "president" and the prime minister could a real conference be arranged for. The sessions were held in Downing Street, beginning October 11 and continuing for two months. Each side had five representatives at the table. Among the Irish delegates the leaders were Arthur Griffith, the intellectual chief of the Sinn Fein movement, and Michael Collins who was credited with much influence in the republican army. On the English side the more prominent members were Winston Churchill and Lloyd George.

The most difficult problem before the conference was Ulster, the Irish being anxious to secure a unified Ireland. But the Ulster leaders were immovable, and the British Cabinet was pledged against coercion. Only after the Irish envoys had been given to understand that the alternatives were a divided Ireland or a continuation of the war did they yield on this point.

The Irish Free State. The December treaty created a new dominion within the British commonwealth, the Irish Free State, with a constitutional status similar to that of Canada. A week after the document had been signed at Westminster it was laid before the *Dail Eireann*, or the Irish members of Parliament chosen in 1918. De Valera fought the agreement with all his strength; but after a long and bitter debate the Dail ratified the treaty by a narrow majority. On January 14, 1922, the Parliament for southern Ireland elected in the previous May met and organized a provisional government headed by Michael Collins. Two days later the new government was formally inaugurated by the lord lieutenant.

For a time there was fear in England that Collins and de Valera might reach an understanding that would virtually nullify the treaty, but Collins remained loyal. In June the country elected a new Parliament, the membership of which was overwhelmingly in favor of supporting the Free State government. De Valera and his associates refused, however, to yield. Civil war broke out with all its terrors of ambush, assassination, and executions. During the year Griffith died and Collins was murdered. The chief position in the state passed to a relatively new man, William Cosgrave, who seems determined to uphold the December covenant. The civil war continued for more than a year, or till July, 1923, when de Valera announced that the

Irish republicans would cease fighting and would seek to realize their ambitions by political methods. In the elections that were held the following month the supporters of the Free State government were again victorious; but the results showed that a strong minority still believed in the feasibility of maintaining an Irish republic.

George V is still king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the six Protestant counties, though enjoying home rule, are still a part of the kingdom and send representatives to the British Parliament. Southern Ireland, on the other hand, lies wholly without the kingdom, though recognizing the king as ruler of Ireland. The crown is represented in Dublin by a governor-general, and for that position Lloyd George selected Timothy Healy, a veteran Irish political leader who had fought for home rule since the days of Parnell. For the corresponding position in Ulster the government selected the duke of Abercorn, a Scottish peer of the Unionist faith.

Economic difficulties. In dealing with the ills and the troubles of Greater Britain Lloyd George and his Cabinet were seriously hampered by economic troubles and Socialistic movements within the United Kingdom. For nearly two years following the armistice Great Britain enjoyed real prosperity. The Continental countries, having expended their supplies of manufactured products during the war, were buying heavily in the English markets. Prices rose to unusually high levels; British coal, for example, sold on the Continent for \$24 per ton and sometimes at an even higher figure. Consequently there was a reasonable demand for English labor; wages continued to rise and the working classes ceased to be disturbed by the high cost of living. It was clear, however, that this condition could not last indefinitely. Europe was too exhausted to continue purchasing beyond the point where her immediate necessities were reasonably satisfied. In the summer of 1920 the British export trade suddenly began to decline. British industry sank into a languid condition, and economic distress appeared in a million homes.

While the peace conference was still in session a feverish unrest developed in the ranks of organized labor. The chief cause of this was a growing fear that in the process of economic adjustment there would be a material reduction in the scale

of wages. During the war the workingman had become accustomed to a higher standard of living, and in this respect he was determined to allow no change. But this standard could not be maintained on the older scale of wages unless there should come at the same time a decided reduction in the scale of prices, of which there were no reliable indications.

The laboring classes were in a position of great strength. They were organized as never before, and some of the general bodies had further strengthened themselves by entering into alliances with other crafts. A combination of this sort was the so-called Triple Alliance including the coal miners, the railway men, and the transport workers. If these three bodies should decide to unite their forces in a great strike, British industry would be completely paralyzed.

Coal strikes and railway strikes. The agitation had its usual outcome: all through the years of 1919 and 1920 there were strikes and rumors of impending strikes. The English coal miners called a strike in the summer of 1919, but this was soon settled. In September a great railway strike was called involving 600,000 workers. This continued for more than a week, but the railway men finally returned to work on the promise that the existing scale of wages should be continued for another year. In October, 1920, a million coal miners laid down their tools and remained idle for two weeks. The specific issue was a demand for an increase in wages; but in the background was a larger issue, one that some of the leaders frankly described as the first stage in a revolution. For some time the miners had been urging "nationalization" of the mines, by which was meant government ownership and operation. In this agitation they had the support of a government commission, the so-called Sankey commission, which after prolonged study of the coal problem had given a qualified approval to the proposal for government ownership. In the settlement the government refused to consider the demand for nationalization; but an increase of two shillings in the daily wages was allowed on the promise that the miners would increase the production of coal.

Trouble reappeared in the coal industry the following spring (1921) with the pooling of profits as the chief issue, though the rank and file of the miners' union were also interested in a dispute about wages. The situation looked extremely threat-

ening, for the railwaymen and the transport workers supported their allies and had ordered sympathetic strikes. But when the miners' executives arrogantly refused to discuss the wage question, their allies balked and cancelled their strike orders. The movement to organize the coal industry into a single unit failed. But in the final settlement the government and the mine owners agreed that the miners' wages should be twenty percent above pre-war standards, and that the profits of the industry should be divided, the greater portion to be paid to the men in addition to the regular wages.

Social and economic legislation. With the decline in commerce and industry came the evils of unemployment which began to appear a year after the armistice. For three successive winters British workmen to the number of two or three millions have passed the time in enforced idleness. In July, 1923, the press reported that there were still more than a million men without employment in Great Britain. A similar situation in another country, with strikes, idleness, and revolutionary propaganda, might have resulted in a popular uprising; but Great Britain remained at peace. An important influence to this end was the policy of national insurance which Parliament had adopted in 1909. In December, 1919, a new insurance bill was drawn covering 12,000,000 workers. The principle was the same as in the earlier measure, contributions by the workers, the employers, and the government, though the new bill slightly reduced the amount paid by the workers. Out of this insurance fund the unemployed were to be allowed 15s per week. National insurance supplemented for a time by unemployment doles proved to be not only a relief for the unemployed but an insurance against revolution, and the taxpayers were reconciled to the burden.

Since the days of Joseph Chamberlain an important element in the Unionist party had been pledged to a fiscal policy involving a protective tariff. Such a policy, it was held, would stimulate industry and would consequently serve to reduce unemployment. As a Liberal and a free trader, Lloyd George could not agree to a policy of protection except in a somewhat diluted form. But he finally promised to accept the expedient of a preferential tariff, to allow a measure of protection for certain new industries, and to support a bill to prevent "dumping," or

selling alien goods in England at prices below the cost of production.

Lloyd George redeemed his promise in part when he allowed preferential duties to be written into the budget of 1919. But it was redeemed more completely in the Safeguarding of Industries Act, which was passed in the summer of 1921. By this enactment a duty of thirty-three and one-third percent was placed on the products of the so-called "key industries," a group of new industries the products of which had become essential to the proper manufacture of war materials. Among these were dyes, certain drugs and chemicals, optical glass, and scientific instruments. The act also contained provisions against dumping. The Liberals opposed the measure, fearing that the government was preparing to abandon the policy of free trade; however, the downfall of the coalition ministry a year later seems to have made such an outcome impossible, at least for the present.

Changes in foreign policy. After the decline of industrial activity the leaders of the labor movement began to see the futility of continuing the fight for higher wages and turned their attention to the baffling question of how the demand for British products could be revived and restored. It was inevitable that a study of this sort should lead to a new interest in foreign policy. During the years following the armistice the affairs of the foreign office were directed, first by Balfour and later by Lord Curzon. These men both enjoyed the confidence of the conservative classes; but the opposition was very early convinced that so long as their policies were followed there could be no return of prosperity to the British mill towns.

England and Russia. The business of the foreign office is varied and extensive, for Great Britain has interests and commitments in many parts of the world. In recent years, however, its chief concern has been with three perplexing problems: those of the Near East, German reparations, and Soviet Russia. Before the war the Russian markets had consumed vast quantities of goods from the British factories, for which the Russians had paid with raw materials of various kinds, grain, oil, flax, and timber being among the more important. With the outbreak of war those markets were in large part closed, and when the Bolshevik leaders came into control in Petrograd, Russian

trade with the Allied powers ceased completely. All Englishmen were anxious that trade relations with the Russian people should be resumed; but the more conservative Britons felt that the Soviet government must first be overthrown. An influential group headed by Winston Churchill believed that the British government should give financial aid to the various reactionary movements that were forming on the Russian borders. The Cabinet finally accepted this view, and a large sum of money (£100,000,000 is the estimate) was spent for this purpose. But after a year of failures the prime minister, who had never been enthusiastic for intervention in Russia, announced that the Churchill policy had been abandoned and that the government was ready to enter into negotiations with the Soviet republic in the matter of trade and commerce. A few months later (March 16, 1921) an agreement to resume trade relations was reached and signed. But the Russian trade, owing, perhaps, to the unspeakable poverty of the Russian people, has thus far shown no signs of activity or vigor.

British policy in the Near East. In the hope of building up a strong Christian state in the Near East, the statesmen of the peace conference materially extended the boundaries of the Greek kingdom at the expense of the Turks, whose defeat appeared to be final and complete. But a nationalist movement under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha roused the Turks to new resistance, and the war-weary Greeks were unable to hold what the treaty of Sèvres had allowed them. In August, 1922, they were disastrously defeated by the Turkish soldiery, and Greek ambitions in Asia Minor perished in a day.

Lloyd George supported the Athenian government as long as he was able to do so, but after the collapse of Greek military power in Asia Minor British public opinion forced him to adopt a policy looking toward a speedy peace. In the negotiations at Lausanne (extending over a period of nearly nine months) the Turkish envoys secured a notable victory in that Turkey received unqualified recognition as a sovereign power and was restored to its earlier place as a European state. In return the Turks agreed that the Turkish straits should be opened to war ships as well as to merchant ships and recognized the Arabic lands as forever lost to the Ottoman state.

The problem of reparations. In the years before the out-

break of the Great War the English manufacturers counted the Germans among their best customers. It was hoped that normal trade would be restored after the return to peaceful relations; but this hope was blasted by the action of the conference respecting reparations. The conference laid down the requirement that Germany should pay the damages suffered by the civilian population of the Allied countries from German activities during the war. This obligation was further extended to cover the payment of pensions to wounded soldiers, because, as General Smuts argued, a soldier becomes a civilian in the process of demobilization. One of the first duties of the Allied governments after the adjustment of the conference was to agree on a definite total to be collected as reparation. After a series of conferences the sum was fixed at 132,000,000,000 gold marks (\$33,000,000,000), of which the sum of 50,000,000,000 was to be considered as already due. The remainder was to be paid in annual instalments extending over a long series of years. The Germans protested that the sum was far beyond their ability to pay, but they were not in position to deny the obligation, which they had accepted in ratifying the treaty of Versailles.

Gradually it dawned on the British mind that the reparations agreement had delivered a serious blow to English industry. Having no gold with which to make the required payments, the Germans had to secure the needed supply through the sale of manufactured products. In this they were quite successful: inasmuch as the scale of wages was lower in Germany than in England, the German traders were able to undersell their English rivals in the markets of the world. Thus the English saw the German people transformed from a good customer to a dangerous competitor. Believing that the Germans could not pay the total agreed upon, the British prime minister (A. Bonar Law) proposed at a conference held in Paris in January, 1923, that the sum be reduced to 50,000,000,000 gold marks. The French premier was disposed to accept this reduction but insisted on certain "productive guarantees," to which the British would not agree. The conference having failed, the French proceeded to occupy the industrial district in the Ruhr valley with a view to forcing payments from the unwilling Germans. The invasion of the Ruhr created a profound impression in England, and the opposition of the government to the French policy in the

Rhine country seemed to have the support of nearly all classes and all parties. But as the Cabinet was not disposed to suggest intervention, British displeasure had no appreciable effect on the international situation.

Labor and foreign policy. These changes in foreign policy have in large part been forced by the threatening attitude of British labor. The leaders of the Labor party have strong leanings toward Socialism and have, therefore, a natural sympathy with their Socialistic brethren in Germany. While repudiating the political and economic theories of Bolshevism, they have also shown a tolerant interest in the strange Soviet experiment in Eastern Europe. In the summer of 1920 when it was feared that Great Britain might be called upon to aid Poland in her effort to stem the tide of Bolshevik invasion, the labor leaders served an ultimatum on the government threatening to call a general strike, if England should declare war on Russia. Lloyd George replied in defiant language; but fortunately the Russian defeat made a test of strength in England unnecessary. At the same time it is doubtless true that economic considerations have weighed heavily in the balance even among the English Socialists. The great anxiety of labor (and of Englishmen generally) has been to restore economic prosperity to the nation, which is generally regarded as possible only through a peaceful rebuilding of the entire economic structure in every part of Europe.

The passing of Lloyd George. During all these years a violent warfare had raged around the person of Lloyd George, who remained prime minister till October, 1922. That a man who had risen to fame as a radical could continue at the head of a government, the strength of which was drawn chiefly from conservative sources, is an achievement that is unique in English history. Crisis followed crisis, but Lloyd George appeared after each contest with renewed strength. However, after nearly six years of the strenuous life in Downing Street he finally mistook the temper of the English people and was hurled from power. In the hour of Greek defeat he called on the British dominions to rally in defense of British interests in the Near East. The English people interpreted this to mean a call to arms against the Turk, and the response was distinctly unfavorable. The more conservative Unionists seized the

opportunity to terminate the coalition. Andrew Bonar Law, a Scottish business man of Canadian birth, was chosen leader of the Unionist party. In the face of this revolt the Cabinet had no choice but to resign, and the coalition government ceased to be.

King George now sent for Bonar Law and requested him to form a ministry. Parliament was dissolved and a new election called for the following month. The outcome was a victory for the Unionists who returned to Westminster with 344 votes, a majority of 73 over all the other parties combined. The Asquith Liberals carried 60 districts and the Lloyd George Liberals 57. The salient feature of the election was the heavy vote polled by the Labor party, which increased its membership to 138. Nearly one-third of all the votes cast in a poll of 13,500,000 were given to the Labor candidates.

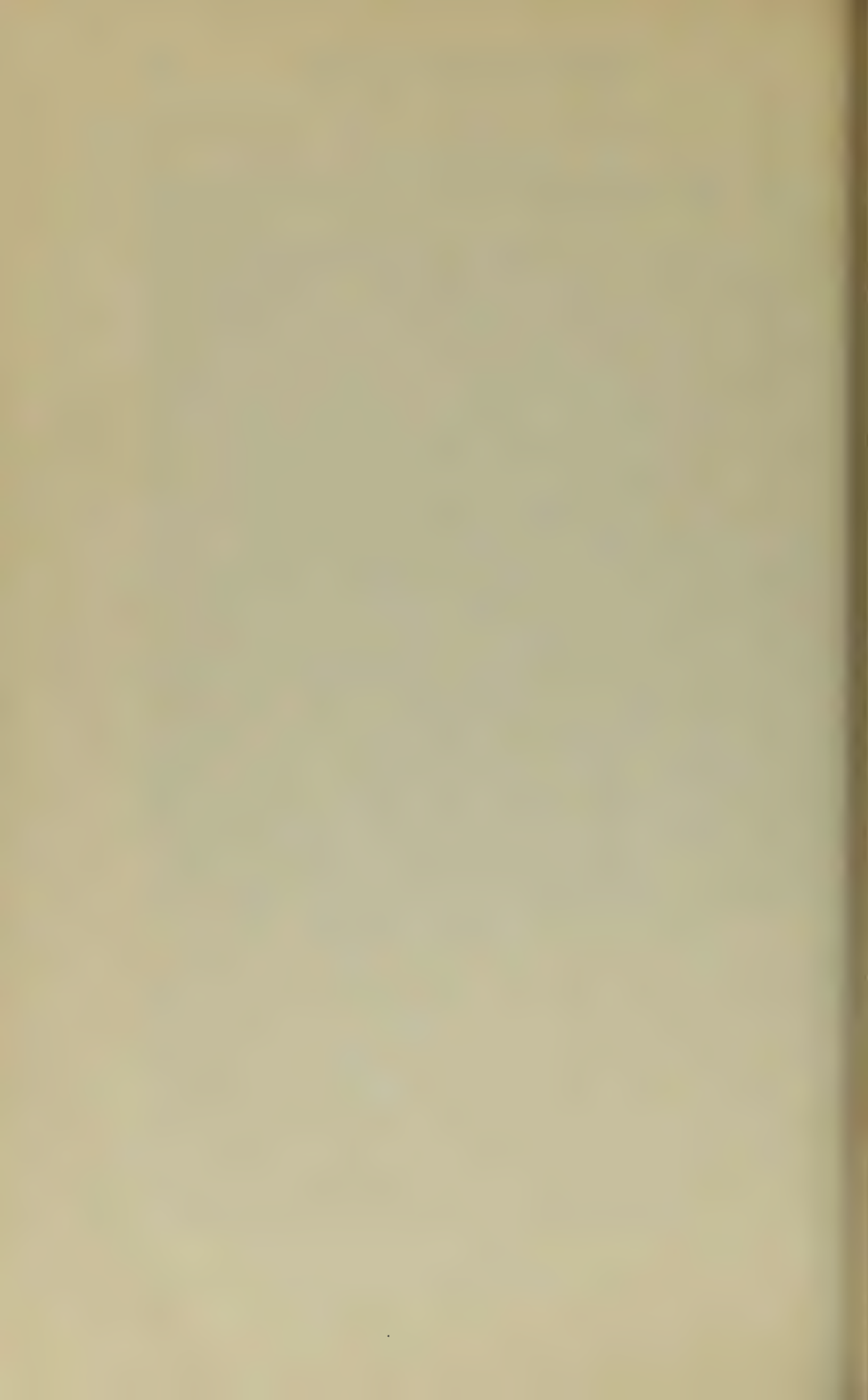
The Unionists in power. The new administration was a dull, unimaginative body composed largely of peers. It announced no policy except a vague purpose to restore "tranquillity" to the jaded land. Bonar Law was a man of recognized ability, and much was hoped from his administration; but he suffered from a dangerous illness, and after a few months he was forced to withdraw from public life. So great was the poverty of leadership in the dominant party that the high office of prime minister had to be given to Stanley Baldwin, an English business man with a limited experience in official life. As chancellor of the exchequer under Bonar Law he had arranged a satisfactory settlement of the British indebtedness to the United States and had otherwise proved himself to be a man of ability and promise; but whether he possesses the talents necessary to constructive statesmanship has not yet been revealed.

It seems probable, however, that the government of Great Britain will be conducted along traditional lines for some years to come. The Labor party and the divided Liberal party are now of almost equal strength at the polls, each having cast some 4,000,000 votes at the last election. But neither is able to conduct an effective opposition. The Liberal party in its present state of disunion is powerless. Labor can grow only through further disintegration in the Liberal ranks. But as long as the present situation continues, the leaders of the conservative party are likely to remain on the treasury bench.

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